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Vol. 50
1949

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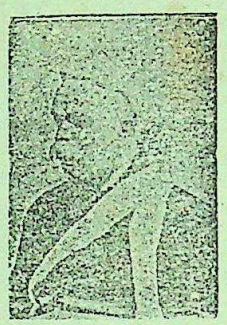

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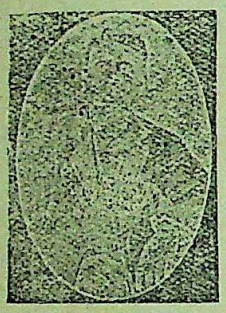

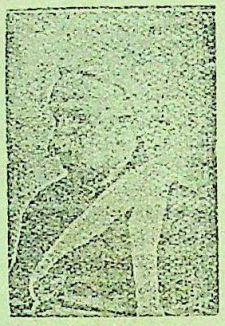

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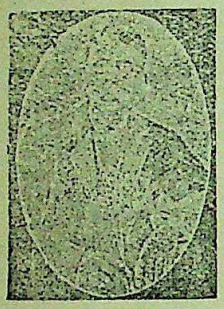

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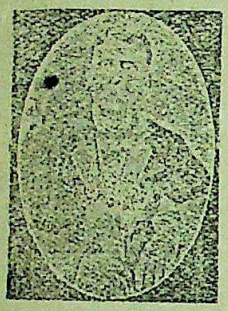

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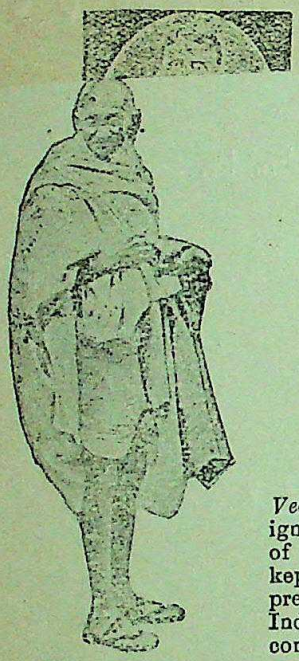

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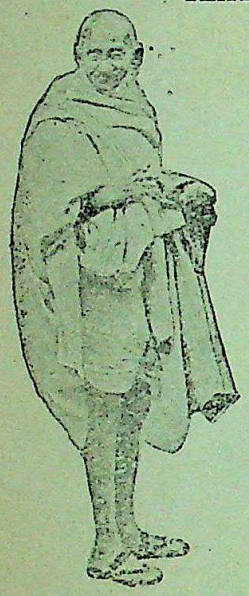

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Editor : G. A. NATESAN Associate Editor : B. NATESAN

Vol. 50.] JANUARY 1949 [No. 1.

THE EDITOR THANKS

—:o:—

WITH this number the *Indian Review* commences its fiftieth year of publication. On an occasion like this I wish to take the opportunity to thank the contributors, subscribers and advertisers for the generous interest they have evinced in my efforts to make the *Indian Review* the popular monthly periodical it is to-day. During this long period of 49 years the *Review*, with the co-operation of its writers and readers has attempted—with what success it is for others to judge—to cater to the needs of an ever growing public. With the exception of a single issue in May 1931 which was published as a double number, the *Review* has continued to appear without interruption—a fact which, to me as Editor, is naturally gratifying. I am not so vain as to think that I could have carried on for such a length of time without the efficient co-operation of the staff and a host of friends and the unfailing indulgence of readers who are no doubt fully aware of the difficulties of the Press in the years under foreign domination.

On this happy occasion I deem it my duty to express my gratitude to Mr. B. Natesan for the invaluable services rendered to the *Review* and to the firm with singular devotion during the past 40 years.

The opening of a new era of freedom for our country entails new responsibilities no less onerous than in the past. New occasions teach us new duties.

The Editor has seldom indulged in personal sentiments in these pages but he cannot let this occasion pass without a word of gratitude to the many friends and helpers in the cause of a periodical devoted to the furtherance of national interests and general enlightenment.

One particular feature of this periodical must be mentioned. I have always attempted to enlist the co-operation of all classes of readers and writers, irrespective of race or religion, avoided anything savouring of provincialism or communalism, and always insisted on a national outlook. The *Indian Review* is an All-India journal and it will continue to strive for a progressive and integrated India.

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Vol. 50.] JANUARY 1949 [No. 1.

THE FIRST YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE

BY PROF. SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A.

Principal, D. A. V College, Sholapur.

ON August 15, 1947, the reins of Government in India passed into the hands of Ministers scarcely one of whom had much experience of government or administration. Sir Gopalaswamy Iyengar was the only exception; but he was a Minister without portfolio. Sardar Baldev Singh had held office in the Punjab but exercised little power in a government that was officially described as Unionist in principle but coalition in personnel. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherji had been the unofficial helmsman of the Government of Bengal for a very short period. The assumption of independent status by India was further followed by the retirement of a very large number of senior civil servants In the armed services the conditions were still more difficult. The retirement of the British officers from the army soon deprived India of experienced military personnel. Not a single senior Indian officer had ever exercised independent command on the battle-field. In trade and commerce as well, foreign trade had mostly been organized, till recently, through British or American houses. Some of these now ceased to function throwing another burden on Independent India. To these unfavourable factors must be added the new and emergent tasks some of which had been accumulating in the wake of the war and others had arisen on account of our Independence and consequent partition of the country. There was shortage of food and shortage of cloth. The country's railways were ill equipped to handle satisfactorily the tremendous volume of traffic in passenger and goods which it had to face now.

A year of Independence, a year and four months to be more precise finds India, not only alive but kicking. Her prestige abroad has immensely increased, her Prime Minister is hailed today as one of the leading statesmen of the world. Some of her representatives abroad have acquired international recognition for their handling of the world problems with probity, independence and strength. Her Government has handled with courage, the supreme task of keeping law and order in the country. Her army has proved itself worthy of recognition not only as an efficient striking force in Hyderabad and Kashmir but as a successful agency for tasks which were obviously too difficult for her civil services. The safe evacuation of millions of citizens from hostile areas into India was a Herculean task which the army performed so well.

Many problems, it is true, remain still with us unsolved. But a look round the world would prove that in our failure to solve some of them, we are not alone. The most adaptable of the world's people, the English, are still on short ration and are pursuing an austerity standard of life. Not a single country of the world can be cited as having done any better in solving its labour problems. India has not gone completely socialist in a year, nor has England in more than three years of a Labour Government in power. The Communist party is

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not very happy in Independent India—in fact it is much less happy than it was in British India. This is but natural, in Independent India, as elsewhere in the world, there is no room for political parties inspired from outside her own frontiers. Independence would not have been worth a day's purchase if the new Government of India had started taking its orders from Moscow instead of from London. Some of the minorities have realized that they can no longer claim special privileges for the simple reason that it is not necessary for an Indian Government now to purchase support for its policy by granting special rights and privileges to classes that had hitherto been loyal to the British rulers of India. The princely order has bowed to the inevitable and remembered in time —despite all the Conservative coaxing to the contrary—that they were Indians as well as Princes.

The refugee problem is all our own. But the history of the world has no record of such a large scale migration of people covering such a large hostile area being carried out at a lesser cost either in men or money. We are now all wiser after the event; it is doubtful, however, if it would have ever been possible to make peaceful arrangements for the transfer of population and an amicable settlement of claims in property arising therefrom before August, 1947. The Congress would not have countenanced any such arrangement, the Hindu Maha Sabha would not have touched the question even with a pole, the Muslim League would have demanded larger areas in Bengal and the Punjab, if such a thing had been suggested. The settlement and rehabilitation of the emigrees are far from being satisfactorily carried out at present. This is not because of any unwillingness to explore all possibilities but because of limitations of time, space, materials and resources.

But when all is said and done, it is necessary that we should not only rejoice in our achievements but search for any shortcomings revealed during sixteen months in office. We would be all the stronger for the knowledge thus gained. After all, Independent India began her career short of funds, lacking in many resources, denuded of army officers, civil servants and trained personnel of all kinds. If her achievements during this period are nothing short of miraculous, her deficiencies must be conceded to be at least on the mundane level.

The first and foremost blemish in our record is our failure to distinguish between the party, the government and the administration. From the President of the Indian National Congress down to the latest recruit to its ranks there has been a lamentable attempt at obliterating the lines that should divide these three institutions with the result that the pranks of every congressman have been foisted on to the Government. What should have been national celebrations and times of national rejoicing have, not seldom, been marred by being turned into party festivals. Call for service has sometimes fallen flat on the ears of the emotional youth of the nation when it has come, for all practical purposes, from the party rather than the government. There is dearth of talent in the country but even all the available talent has not been utilized. Members of the government have sometimes acted, in their pronouncements at least, as lightheartedly as if they had no cares of office to keep them sober.

Akin to this has been the obvious distrust of the experts. True, till August, 15,194, almost all our experts were British and therefore suspects in the eye of the new Government. Indian civil servants had with an exception or two, followed the powers that were as they were bound to do as permanent officials. They thus shared the hatred usually reserved for British civil servants as instruments of keeping India in chains. But outside official ranks there were plenty of experts who were sometimes wooed. As soon as their findings clashed with the pre-concieved notions of the governments in power, the experts were dropped like hot potatoes. Many a fiat was issued by Ministers 'on their own' to be interpreted away in hot haste. As the party dominated the scene, the experts were asked to conform

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to its views. Some of them did only too gladly; you can find several of them occupying 'lucrative offices' in New Delhi or abroad. The formulation of any consistent policy in commodity prices, minimum gains allowable to capital, export import trade, new industries and education have been all the more difficult on account of the Government's failure first to form a Brains Trust and then to use it if and when formed. As no government can be run without expert assistance, this policy has led to the emergence of a breed of experts whose qualifications nobody ever scrutinized because they were very often ministerial finds. A very easy, though dear, method of producing experts was to select young trainees for training abroad without adequate proof that such training would be of immediate use on their return or that the trainees were the most suitable persons to be benefitted by such training.

These two tendencies have led to some discontent in the armed forces and among the permanent civil servants. Hosts of new jobs—all more lucrative than working on the daily grind in the secretariat or the Army—have been created and offered to persons from outside the ranks of permanent officials. No competent authority is called upon to pronounce either on the requisite qualifications for the job or on the appointee's claims to their possession. It is amusing to find that whereas a revised scale of salaries has been suggested for the new entrants to higher civil services, the appointments so far made in higher ranks do not reflect the tendency to rationalize salaries. In the army, new scales of salaries have been applied retrospectively to Indian officers barring a few at the top. Whereas we have been so lavishly spending money on entertainment and sumptuary allowances to the staffs of our embassies abroad, in the army an attempt has been made to cut down some of the allowances below permissible standard. Those who formulated the scheme forgot that an English army officer was supposed till recently to maintain himself at his own expense during the first seven years of his career. He was seldom married before he got his captaincy. Now that industry and trade are expanding in the country, there are bound to be a large number of openings for brilliant young men outside public services. So far the cream of India's youth gravitated to public services because they offered both power and high salaries. But when higher openings are possible elsewhere, to decrease the salaries of the higher civil servants in their *earlier years* is far from being an act of wisdom. English traditions of public service arose partly because some families sent their sons to permanent services—particularly the diplomatic services and the armed forces—in a spirit of dedication and family tradition. We have no such traditions here; rather the contrary. Government service is looked upon here as a gold mine to be digged into from all sides. Another reason why salaries in the earlier years should have been made more reasonable is the fact that civil servants are now expected to come into contact with big business almost every day of their lives. The integrity of the services as well as efficient discharge of functions without fear or favour both demand that the urge to economy in earlier years should be kept within reasonable limits.

The hall mark of civil service in England has been impartiality, honesty and anonymity. Of course, the British members of the civil service in India were the *raj* and their personal achievements were very much publicized. Now that making of policy is in the hands of the Cabinet, it is unfortunate that the activities and achievements of a selected number of officials have been thrust too much on public attention. It was very unfortunate that when the States Minister was ill or convalescing, an impression was allowed to gain ground that the department was being run by the Secretary of States Ministry. There were many other glaring examples of similar publicizing of the activities of certain public servants. If this publicity is the price of the abolition of the titles, the sooner the titles are revived the better for all concerned. If the permanent officials are thus allowed to come into the limelight, they will have to play as such to the

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gallery as our politicians. This would do away with the only safeguard that can make democracy work by impairing the morale of the services and breeding the habit of looking up to the Minister and the party in power among the civil servants. As the democratic government of the modern type is yet in its experimental stage in India, we cannot afford to drop the safeguards that have made it work elsewhere.

The year has also revealed the failure of the Central Intelligence Bureau and our Publicity Departments on more than one occasion. The bureau had became a parody of its old self on account of the opposition of the Provincial Government to its activities after 1937. The publicity departments had been serving the powers that be. To switch these two organizations to new needs was a tremendous task, in which we were not very successful. The evidence produced in some of the recent trials underlines the failure of the Central Intelligence Bureau whereas the attitude of the British press on the Hyderabad issue was a glaring example of the failure of our publicity organization. Agents of the Central Intelligence Bureau have to be posted all along our land borders if we want to keep peace there. It takes the Government of India more than a fortnight now to learn of a disturbance in Tripura or Assam if not in the Punjab. This is not a very desirable state of things and the sooner it is put aright the better for all concerned. The achievements of the Governments in power have often been badly handled and unartistically presented. Who would be drawn to read the *People's Raj* in its present format? It is also necessary that all publicity work be centralized at the Centre and in the Provinces.

Some members of the Governments have shown themselves prone to making statements of unformulated policy in odd places to all sorts of persons. Such pronouncements have very often defeated their very object. It serves no purpose to announce how the Government intends dealing with black marketeers, capitalists, speculators, trade and industry *after six months* or so. Such declarations please no body and when after the stipulated period the Government fails to live up to its promises, its credit is shaken. The English custom of making announcements of policy in Parliament when it is in session might well be followed here with advantage. The American practice of holding press conferences might be of some service if the conference were to be held by officials permanently authorised to do so and trained in their work. The Ministers should not waste their time and energy in attending all sort of functions where they may be tempted to make speeches. Official reports of the speeches of Ministers should always be taken so as to avoid the unseemly wrangle between the press and the Ministers on the correctness or otherwise of the speeches made.

It is time the various Governments decided what questions were matters for Cabinet discussion. Instead of consultations between some Ministers, Cabinet meetings may be held more regularly and more frequently to cover all important questions. The English custom of submitting names for certain appointments to the King has the advantage that all the Cabinet Ministers know about the appointments made before they are Gazetted. The creation of new posts carrying salaries—including allowances—above Rs. 1000 per mensem should be subject to Cabinet approval. The number of Ministers and their departments should be fixed by statute so that the Government takes the approval of the legislature before setting up new departments.

An attempt is being made to 'sell' Indian Culture in India abroad. It is rather unfortunate that many of these sent to do this abroad represent an Anglicised way of life in themselves rather than being representatives of the culture they are supposed to represent. There are some among them indeed who had never relished anything Indian all their lives. The attempts to produce to order state-sponsered histories of Indian Philosophy or of the country itself are doomed to be failures if attempted at the present moment. We need not always

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pander to the foreigner's interest in India by producing works which should otherwise mature slowly. The government can render help in the matter by grants to appropriate bodies for specific purposes rather than undertake such works itself. In some cases where time for final appraisal is yet far off, grants for research would be more appropriate than nationalization of scholarship.

But the most important lesson to be learnt from the experience of the past year is that the Government should take first things first. A large amount of the time and energy of Ministers is being wasted in considering schemes and plans which, however desirable in themselves, need not detain us at present. Every new scheme requires a new officer—or work party—to consider it. Sometimes when important questions were waiting consideration in a department, the entire energy of the Minister was found to be occupied in minor matters of doubtful benefit to the country at present. Much hardship could have been avoided if the Ministers concerned had taken cognisance of the country's drift to scarcity in cloth and food in time instead of busying themselves otherwise. The need for economy should have been driven home to the Ministers the moment they took charge. But there seems to have been a keen competition among Ministers and among Provincial Governments in setting up departments the creation of which could easily wait. The setting up of embassies and representatives in some of the countries could easily wait till we have requisite staff for the purpose. While the Russian embassy in India has been flooding India with its releases every week, it is doubtful whether our embassy in Russia is equipped to discharge such a task even if it had a mind to do so.

We have certainly embarked on a great adventure. We are making the biggest experiment in Democratic Government so far made in the history of mankind. Our problems are immense and they had been allowed to pile up for some time past. We have a courageous skipper but the ship of state can steer safely only if the officers and the crew possess the nautical skill required in handling it including a knowledge of the shaols and rocks in the course. Some of these obstacles have been charted above in the hope that this may render the task of our rulers easier.

T. S. ELIOT

BY MR. P. LAL

THE twentieth century, with its remarkable display of poetic ingenuity, its intensive experimentation and radicalism, boasts of no greater poet than T. S. Eliot. Eliot is versatile, he is at once a poet, an innovator, a sociologist and a thinker, and a literary critic of profound and penetrating intelligence. An undoubted master of poetic technique, he exerted, and is yet exerting, a powerful influence upon contemporary verse.

St. Louis, Missouri, (September 26, 1888,) was the birthplace of Thomas Stearns Eliot. He started writing while at college and contributed some poems to *The Harvard Advocate*, the College literary journal, of which he was also the Editor. He married in 1915; and in 1917 appeared his first volume of poems, "Prufrock and Other Observations." After that followed book after book of prose and poetry: "The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism," "The Idea of a Christian Society", "Collected Poems" (1909-1935), two poetic dramas, "Murder in the Cathedral" (1935) and "The Family Reunion" (1939), "What is a Classic?" "Selected Essays," and in 1944 he gathered together in one volume titled "Four Quartets" what is surely his most important and significant poetic achievement and the really great literary production of the century, the four interlinked philosophic poems, "Burnt

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Norton," "East Coker", "The Dry Salvages," and "Little Gidding." With "Four Quartets" Eliot seems to have reached the peak of his genius—suddenly all poetry has stopped coming from his pen and he is mainly absorbed in his duties as Director of the publishing firm of Faber & Faber.

After initial neglect honour upon honour has been heaped on him. In the 1948 New Year Honours List he was awarded the Order of Merit, the highest honour that can be bestowed on an English subject; and in the same year he received the Nobel Prize for Literature, a rather unexpected award.

In the light of this it is interesting to trace his subtle but sure development since 1917. J. Alfred Prufrock's first sound in this world must have been discontented squawk: even when he came of age, "inhibited, culture-ridden," he was voicing distrust and disappointment, and wondering why

> In the room the women come and go
> Talking of Michelangelo.

Prufrock is confused, wavering:

> Do I dare
> Disturb the universe?
>
> . . . . . .
>
> So how should I presume?
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Then how should I begin
> To spit out all the butt-ends of my days and ways?
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Shall I part my hair behind? Do I dare to eat a peach?

"Prufrock" was written while Eliot was still at Harvard: and it may be very true that Prufrock is in part the undergraduate Eliot struggling to find sense in the petty "bourgeois" haphazard modes of living.

But as poetry, Prufrock fails. It is futile to point out how many times it has been given prominence in anthologies as representative of Eliot's style; so is "To a Skylark" supposed to be significant of Shelley's poetry. Prufrock is nothing of the sort: it is only a prelude to maturement in "The Waste Land," which in turn is in a way a prelude to the magnificent "Four Quartets." If any single poem is to be taken as representing Eliot's poetry, it must be the "Quartets," nothing else.

For in Eliot poetry is a dynamic, changing process, quite unlike the static state of things that occurs in most mediocre poets, and even in some good ones. Instead of shifting and developing, a certain permanent immobile standard intrudes and affects all verse the poet composes. But no specific period (prior to "Four Quartets," of course) in Eliot gives way to analysis of this sort. From the tentative blunderings of Prufrock and the revolting antics of Apeneck Sweeney one is led to the sober, age-old philosophisings of Krishna on the battlefield of Kurukshetra: a strange transition, to say the least, but one that was bound to seem inevitable to any close observer of Eliot's poetic and incidentally philosophic progress.

The early poems of Eliot show a distinct influence of the French symbolists and Gerard Manley Hopkins. The five "Landscapes" with their spondaic beat can remind the reader only of the style of Hopkins. Later on, as thought and technique progressed, Eliot imbibed a bit of Robert Browning, a bit of Donne and Marvell, and tried personal experiments in metre not far removed from the elusive metres of the Elizabethan lyrists. But the predominant influence, as Eliot himself admits, is that of Ezra Pound. The charge of obscurity in Eliot is ill founded. He is no more vague than Shakespeare in his references to ancient religious books, little-known mediæval poets, and his quotations from all sorts of sources. The very ordinary reader can unravel the maze with the help of a simple commentary.

If "Prufrock" blundered, "The Waste Land" (1922) recoiled, partly in horror and partly in pity. It was a relentless, brutal exposure of the "sham and hypocrisy" of the post-war world, and Eliot was in perfect hold over himself and his genius. But the same old sense of futility and helplessness lingered: man groped, his eyes blind-folded, struggling, half-hoping:

> What shall we do to-morrow?
> What shall we ever do?

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"The Hollow Men" (1925), a surrealistic fantasy, nearly told him what to do—nothing. Or perhaps, if something must indeed be done, one could

> . . . go round the prickly pear
> Prickly pear, prickly pear
> At five o'clock in the morning.

A grand disillusionment was creeping into Eliot's philosophic conceptions, and the poet was flung about in kaleidoscopic confusion and meaninglessness :

> This is the way the world ends
> This is the way the world ends
> This is the way the world ends
> Not with a bang but a whimper.

But, whichever way the world ended, the essential job was to explore the present, and Eliot banked on religion to aid him in his exploration. In "Ash-Wednesday" (1930) he plumbed introspective consciousness and extended this introspection to outside objects in an attempt at universal synthesis of religious experience. Alternating between fits of despondent weariness and sensuous romantic passion for earthly beauty, a tortured voice cried out for spiritual constancy, one that was not granted, leaving the poet in awful throes of expectation.

"Four Quartets" was Eliot's final attempt at extracting spiritual constancy out of impermanence and worldliness. Purely as poetry, "Four Quartets" is incomparable; the music has a flavour all its own. Eliot's remark that genuine poetry can communicate before it is understood can find no better self-illustration than the "Quartets." Page after page glows with sublime poetry, a veritable storehouse of music, passion and calculated thought.

Though many philosophies jostle each other in the "Quartets" a main important one can with some difficulty be extracted. Harking back to the "Bhagavad-Gita' it is the philosophy of inaction in the midst of action. The senses move among objects of experience; the body does actions; but the tainting power of these actions is nullified by an unconscious abandoning of their fruits. Man cannot even sustain himself without work, obviously; as Eliot himself says in "Burnt Norton' "Desire itself is movement." The way out of this dilemma is the relinquishing of the fruits of one's deeds and the offering of them to God:

> We must be still and still moving
> Into another intensity
> For a further union, a deeper communion
> Through the dark cold and the empty desolation,
> The wave cry, the wind cry, the vast waters
> Of the petrel and the porpoise. In my end is my beginning.
>
> (East Coker).

"Good writers," comments Ezra Pound in his "A B C of Reading," "are those who keep the language efficient. That is to say, keep it accurate, keep it clean. It doesn't matter whether the good writer wants to be useful, or whether the bad writer wants to do harm." If this be a criterion of excellence in literature, Eliot has surely qualified and won. In his hands language is kept accurate, clean, efficient. What is more, it is "suggestive" a quality all good poetry must of necessity possess. He is one of the very few writers at present who are helping to improve and enrich the potentialities of the English language; for this he ranks with Donne, with Dryden, and with Browning; for this alone he ought to command wide importance.

Critics have always been confusing Eliot the intellectual with Eliot the poet. That is a great pity: his double literary personality makes him critic of great insight and acuteness, but as a poet he remains a self-confessed romanticist. Few romantics indeed have transcended the sheer verbal hypnosis and romance of "Marina"; Coleridge himself with his fantastic neurotic imagination never dreamed of the exotic poetic paradise. Eliot has magically conjured up :

> What seas, what shores, what grey rocks and what islands
> What water lapping the bow
> And scent of pine and the woodthrush singing through the fog
> What images return
> O my daughter.

Even Eliot never again attained such poetical meaning coupled with such felicitous musical spontaneity.

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INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

THE issue before India is simple. If our membership with the Commonwealth lowers our status internationally in the slightest degree, we should at once come out of the Commonwealth. Even if there be considerable material gain we must not compromise our independence and sovereignty. If, however, India in the Commonwealth can be as free and independent as any other free and independent State in the world, we should next consider what material gain or loss we may have by our association with the Commonwealth. The Lahore Resolution of the Congress need not be binding on India now. The situation has completely changed in the course of the last 20 years, and India has to make her decision in the light of this new situation.

Practically our membership of the Commonwealth does not in any way lower or reduce our sovereign status in international affairs. Actually every member of the Commonwealth is fully and completely independent in internal as well as external affairs. Like all other members India can pass any law altering her constitution, citizenship, flag, army, tariff etc. even if that goes against Great Britain. India sends Ambassadors to foreign countries and receives Ambassadors from them. She can enter into any treaty with any sovereign State in the world directly and independently. So even India remains a member of the Commonwealth which no longer is British but of which Great Britain is a member, her independence is real and complete. But there is one institution which theoretically obscures her sovereignty. It is the Common Crown. King George VI is the King of India as well as of Great Britain and also of course, of all the Dominions in the Commonwealth. But the common Crown does not mean domination by one over the other. George VI is as much our King as England's. If England changes her King that will not be automatically valid in India. The King will be legally valid for India only when the Indian Legislature passes a law to that effect. So the common King does not imply that India is subordinate to England any more than England is subordinate to India.

There is, however, one theoretical difficulty. In English constitutional law for anything done by the King, his Minister is responsible. When the Indian Minister advises George VI to put his signature on a treaty or document, the King does it on behalf of India and on the advice of his Indian Minister. It is, therefore, clearly not binding on England. But English constitutional lawyers and all the world know that George VI puts his signature on the advice of his English Minister. Final responsibility, therefore, rests on the English Minister. This is one of the reasons why such a procedure carries more weight and prestige in foreign relations. It can, therefore, be interpreted that in external affairs (members of the Commonwealth, and hence) India is dependent on Great Britain. This difficulty can be removed by necessary legislation as the Eire has done it already.

While this may be a pure legal subtlety, there is another reason why the institution of the Crown may obscure our sovereignty. It is psychological. Our masses are ignorant and they cannot make the distinction between King George VI before Dominion Status and George VI after Dominion Status. Before Dominion Status the British ruled over us and George VI was the King. If after Dominion Status George VI continues to be our King the belief with the Indian masses naturally persists that Great Britain in someway or other has some control over us and that we are not completely independent. Therefore, because of our past relations with Great Britain and because of the ignorance of our masses it is desirable that the independence which we have won should not only be real but that it should also be obvious.

Again, the difficulty can also be removed without abolishing monarchy altogether and without ceasing to be a member of the Commonwealth. Our Constitution may remain silent on the King and for internal purposes the

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name of the King need not be used. Besides the Governor-General representing the Crown, we have a President of the Republic elected directly or indirectly and all appointments, promulgation of laws etc. may be announced in official papers in the name of the President or in the name of the Ministry concerned. But for diplomatic purposes the office of the King may be used. Thus whatever weight or prestige the name of the King carries in international and diplomatic relations, we can have without sacrificing anything. Eire also did the same and possibly our Government is also contemplating a similar line of action.

Though these difficulties—nominal and technical—can be removed by a single stroke of the pen, the real and political position of India *vis-a-vis* Great Britain cannot be improved. Legally India as a sovereign State may be equal to Great Britain as a sovereign State but in economic resources, industrial strength and organisation Great Britain is far superior and India in the Commonwealth will remain a sub-ordinate member. Many of us may not like to be a member of an Association wherein another member actually if not technically holds a superior position. This, however, is no justification for our withdrawal from the Commonwealth. If India is weak so are some other members. Besides, simply withdrawal from the Commonwealth cannot improve her position. If to-day India in the Commonwealth is weak and inferior, to-morrow India out of the Commonwealth will not be other than what she is. Membership of the Commonwealth, therefore, does not reduce the International Status of India as an Independent and Sovereign State. Let us next consider what is the material gain or loss India may have by her association in the Commonwealth.

The basis of the Commonwealth is free and voluntary association. No one dominates. No one is subordinate. No force or compulsion is used. Any member may withdraw any moment it likes, *prima facie*, therefore, there is every reason to continue in this association. As it is a union and as union is strength every member will derive all the benefits that flow out of Union. In defence and in diplomacy its membership will carry greater weight. An enemy will think thrice before attacking one member. Members in isolation will be weaker. England has a Navy, Canada has an Air Force and India has an Army. In the event of a war joint action by all of them will definitely be stronger and effective. India at present practically has no friend in International Affairs. Diplomatically she is now isolated. Therefore there is greater reason why she should be in the Commonwealth. Economically there is greater scope for co-operation. Our resources can be best utilized in co-operation with others. We have man power, we have natural resources, but no capital and organisation. In co-operation with others we can develop our resources and can be the granary as well as the workshop of at least this portion of the globe. We can have coal from South Africa, wool from Australia, wheat from Canada, plants and machines from Great Britain. In return we can supply tea, jute, cotton manufactures, iron and steel etc. to these countries. On one issue, however, no co-operation is possible. No Dominion will allow Indians to migrate and settle there, and those Indians who have already settled, are receiving discriminating and humiliating treatment. England up to now has no such restrictions on Indians but the scope for settling for Indians in England is practically nil. This racial discrimination therefore is a serious issue on which all attempts for co-operation may fail. But it is doubtful whether our withdrawal can help us. Our protest against South Africa will attract more notice and possibly some sympathy if India is within the Commonwealth rather than without. We can cite the instance of the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan, both members of the Commonwealth. We are practically at war though it is undeclared and the agency of the Commonwealth has failed to settle the dispute. The Commonwealth cannot settle all the disputes and cannot establish complete rule of law amongst its members. It can, however, offer better opportunities for coming closer

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if the members so desire. In the Commonwealth Conference, both the Prime Ministers met and they might have got and lost some opportunity for a peaceful solution of the Kashmir problem.

There is another consideration why India should continue in the Commonwealth. We have our Sterling Balances in England. So long as England is our debtor we should not cut off our connection with her. If not at a time, at least by instalments we can buy capital goods as well as consumption from the Commonwealth countries.

Let us see what we lose by our membership of the Commonwealth. Union certainly is strength but that strength really depends on the degree of unity amongst the members. If the members are united only in name, then clearly that Union is not strength but a source of irritation just as the Union between the Hindus and Muslims had been. Actually other members of the Commonwealth have so many things in common and so far as they are concerned the Union is strength to them. India practically has nothing in common except the memories of some bitterness and suffering in the past like Eire. Do we really feel for the Canadians or the Australians and do they feel for us? If there is no sense of unity we cannot expect any mutual support.

Our association with Great Britain will mean that those powers who are against Great Britain will be automatically against us. At present nothing is so attractive to Indians as her leadership amongst Asiatic powers. India in the new situation aspires to become the leader of these powers, but some of these powers clearly will not support India if she continues to be a member of the Commonwealth. Our friendship in one group will mean loss of friendship in another group. This contention again is not so convincing. Actually it is clear that the Asiatic powers will ultimately yield to either the Anglo-American capitalistic group or to Russian Communism. India has already banned communism and her association with the Anglo-American group is almost a certainty.

Another alternative is possible. India economically is badly in need of capital goods which America alone can supply. Instead of developing our trade and industry with the Commonwealth countries, we can leave the Commonwealth and directly establish, as Pakistan is most likely to do, trade relations with America. Experience has shown that those trade relations develop into closer political relations. This involves great risk as it may virtually mean American domination of India.

WOMEN AS TEACHERS

By Prof. B. S. MATHUR, M.A., B.A. (Hons)

SADHU T. L. Vaswani has a very beautiful idea in his illuminating book "The Secret of Asia":

> We must begin with the child; not without reason did the great Hindu physician of old, Susruta, emphasise in his 'Ayurveda' the importance of child-training. And a prophet of another nation declared 'A little child shall lead them'. The child is the cradle of the future, and the eternal Wonder-Worker, who shapes the destinies of nations, works His daily wonders above the hills, along the blue, around the air, painting the rose and setting the stars in the fields of space, in order to bless the nation's children. It is for man to co-operate with the purpose of the universe: it is for us to guard India's future by helping India's children to develop into efficient men—the children whom Krishna loved and Christ blessed, saying—'of such is the Kingdom of Heaven'.

These words of wisdom and experience are of infinite value to-day when we are thinking of the reconstruction of our entire education. We know that without the reconstruction of our education with an inseparable reference to India's past we cannot hope to go ahead and make much progress to be in line with the progressive and progressing countries of the world.

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Also it is plain to us that we have to look to Western knowledge and we will have to adopt the modern outlook. We cannot go back to our ancient traditions in toto. We will have to think in terms of modifications according to changed ideas and ideals. But this much is true that we will have to look to our children and their interests, if we want perfect progress in education in our country. Child-training is of the essence.

But who are to co-operate in this divine purpose of development of children? Men, yes and by all means. They are more advanced at the moment in India. They have benefits of education and conference which our women have but in a very limited measure. And then, only a limited number of women have these benefits. So men have to see to the perfect and comprehensive development of children in the interest of India's rise to happiness and power. But we have to look to women more in the long run than to men. And why so? Men are by nature not endowed with those qualities which they should possess in order to be successful teachers and upbringers of little children. It should be binding upon educated women to take to the profession of teaching if they take to any profession. I have said "if any" because I know we are still not modern in our outlook and we cannot comfortably see our women stepping out and taking to some profession to make their independent living. That is why I advocate the modern outlook. Think of the countries of the West. They have such a measure of progress. There women are educated and they are busy in the joyous and useful task of educating little children. Their task is joyous because that is something which is very natural to them. It is given to women to bring up children. They can quite naturally teach them. More than that, they can educate them. Education does not consist in imparting outside information or knowledge. That imparting of knowledge or information is useful but not very useful. It might make the child well-informed but it does not prepare him for the emergencies of life. Life is such a complex experience or affair. It is impossible to anticipate it in childhood in the process of imparting knowledge. What is, therefore, urgently needed is the right type of education that can prepare the child for all the complications of life. This education, I say, women are best fitted to give to our little children. Men can teach them in advanced stages but not in early stages. And so the need for women-teachers.

We have to make the education of our children really creative and useful. We will have to take the help of children-lovers. To my mind women are best children-lovers. Education is an experience in love and delicacy. The mind of the child is so delicate. Women can study it thoroughly and affectionately. Why not make them their teachers, their real creators?

Real creators or upbringers these women have to be if they are to be successful as teachers of little children. Thus far we have been able to give a certain type of education to them but this has not produced a happy impression upon them. There is a enough in the prevailing system that is to be condemned and that can be held responsible for present unhappiness in the matter of educating our children. There is a lot of attention given to memory work. There is enough by way of information to be communicated to them. Teachers are not well-trained. They do not *live with them*. There is considerable artificiality in the attitude of teachers towards the children. But the greatest reason for the unhappiness is that we give them male teachers, who are not fit to project themselves into their minds. They have something hard about them: they are dreaded and they cannot easily create an atmosphere of love. Without love there is no (and there cannot be actually any) right type of educational experience for the children. This defect will soon disappear if we ask good and well-educated women to take to this

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profession of nation-building from the roots. Nations have grown to power and prosperity from little children. This planning for national happiness is to be started in the schools, where our hopes of to-morrow are nurtured and educated.

The great fact, therefore, about education is that it has to be an experience of love and illumination. I might repeat: Education is for life and it must be love. Without love there is no life. We have to cut off all hatred from the world. Think of education as an instrument for removing hatred. Our children will have the best lessons in the art of love and happy living from the delicately constituted women, possessing knowledge, experienc and kindness.

One thing more. Female teachers wi lead children from schools to their home and there will be no separation betwee the school and the home. If there is real atmosphare of love in schools due t female teachers, schools will be like ou homes to the children. And so educatio will be a continuous experience; fro school to home and from home to scho all an experience in love and illuminatio That will be an ideal education, educatio for love, peace and sanity, an educatio that is our immediate need to work fo our prosperity.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN INDIA*

By Mr. T. BHEEMACHARYA

Director of Industries, Holkar State, Indore.

INDIA is being constituted into a sovereign democratic Republic, and naturally our industrial organisation must be conducive to the growth of the democratic spirit. Democracy claims to maintain an atmosphere under which every citizen feels that he is free to develop his personality on the basis of his natural abilities. Personality is developed through work and as Professor J. C. Kumarappa observes. "If work be made a means of developing one's personality in all its three aspects of intelligence, character and artistic sense, then it is obvious that work cannot be planned and dictated from the centre, but must be decentralized." Economic centralization—which is dictato ship—and political decentralization which democracy—cannot go together.

In the light of the above observation w can understand that Mahatma Gandhi ideal of decentralized cottage industrialis is no mere fad of a romanticist eager revive the past; it is the very foundatio on which a democratic society can b built. Fortunately with the dawn of ind pendence it is becoming clearer to o people that 'only the establishment of sma factories and workshops and the organizatio of cottage industries will bring econom relief to rural areas, and with it, hope an enlightenment where despair and ignoranc now prevail.'

But the moment we think of developi cottage industries in the country side, w are confronted with a number of difficult in our way. In the first place the villag do not like any organization. A innovation in their fossilized life is look upon with resentment by the village Brought up in a highly individualis tradition they are impervious to the id

* The Cottage Industries Board recently set up by the Ministry of Industry and Supply, Government of India, has the following functions: To advise and assist Government on the organisation and development of cottage and small-scale industries; to examine and advise how cottage and small-scale industries can be co-ordinated with large-scale industries; to examine the schemes of the Provincial and State Governments for the promotion of cottage and small-scale industries and to assist in co-ordinating them; to advise the Government in the marketing of the products of cottage and small-scale industries in India and abroad.—[Ed. *I. R.*]

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of mutual aid. As they are not organized they generally suffer from a number of handicaps in their profession with regard to (a) supply of raw material (b) finance (c) technical knowledge (d) efficiency and (e) marketing. Let me deal with them one by one:—

1. *Supply of raw material*:—This is one of the chief difficulties of the small worker. He gets supplies which are neither reliable in quality nor adequate in quantity. He has to use bad and unreliable stuff and even that he has to purchase at a higher price. This results in the deterioration of finished products.

2. *Finance*:—The cottage worker is very poor and his only profession is his labour. He is, therefore, driven to take advances from the dealers who, besides charging a high rate of interest, supply the raw material at high prices and force him to sell back the goods to themselves at considerably lower rates than current market rates. He thus loses both ways.

3. *Technical knowledge*:—In these days of scientific discovery and inventions the process of manufacturing daily changes. Besides, fashions and wants are not stable. Such rapidly changing world has no place for crude and primitive methods. Whenever a new method of manufacture is evolved the cottage worker is hit hard. Our cottage workers, most of them being illiterate, have no means of acquiring technical knowledge and therefore cannot keep abreast with the changing times.

4. *Efficiency*:—The efficiency of the cottage worker in output is daily decreasing, not because of his laziness but because his rival has improved his efficiency by using a more effective machine or a new method of manufacture. The cottage worker is still using his primitive appliances.

5. *Marketing*:—This is the most important part of his difficulty. The cottage worker is in need of ready cash and cannot afford to sell his goods in the best market. Both the customer and the dealer take advantage of his difficulty. If the cottage worker goes out to sell his produce by hawking, his work suffers, if he sells it to the dealer, he, being a bad calculator, loses in the bargain, if he takes the design and raw material from the dealer and works for him the latter never pays him reasonable wages. None of his methods of marketing seems to bring him satisfactory income. Besides these, there are certain inherent defects such as absence of standardization and lack of finish in the products of cottage industries.

It is the duty of every Government to help the cottage workers to overcome these difficulties and formulate a scheme to develop cottage industries in the rural areas. There are at present two well known methods of tackling this problem of development tried in different provinces of our country: one is to conduct demonstrations in various places and to teach the cottage workers better methods of production and the other is to start production centres in selected industries in suitable places. The latter is preferable, for by experience it has been found that mere demonstration is not effective enough to induce the rural masses to take to new methods of production. Demonstrations which move from place to place do not leave any lasting impression on the minds of our villagers who are only too willing to relapse into their old habits as soon as the demonstration party moves to another centre. The only way to overcome their prejudices against the new improved methods of production is to convince them of their utility by constantly bringing to their notice better products and by actually helping them to produce better articles which bring more money into their pockets. This can be done by taking recourse to the second method, *i.e.*, starting production centres in selected industries in the rural areas. If a production centre actually located among the villagers makes them produce readily saleable articles and betters their lot their conservatism and fatalism will soon disappear. In short, the idea underlying the establishment of

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a production centre should be to initiate the cottage workers into a system of production according to specification which will facilitate standardization of cottage products. At present the lack of standardization is a serious handicap in the marketing of handloom goods. "The absence of standardization often results in higgling prices, more salesmen, slow turn over, high costs, and low profits." To sum up, the work of the production centre will be:

(1) to introduce improved methods of production by which the existing cottage workers may benefit.

(2) to introduce improved patterns and designs among the cottage workers.

(3) to give raw materials to the cottage workers for manufacturing articles according to specifications and sell the finished products through the Government emporium.

When it is found that the cottage workers have become accustomed to organised work and to use improved apparatus and appliances, a Co-operative society may be formed and the centre may be handed over to the society as a going concern.

To illustrate the *modus operandi* of the above principles we may take the example of the Maheshwar Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society. Prior to the formation of this society most of the weavers, though skilled workers, were all working as wage earners under master weavers. In fact 5 or 6 master weavers controlled the bulk of weavers in Maheshwar. The master weaver used to supply raw materials, advance money to the weaver and pay them nominal wages. During the war period on account of control on mill cloth the handloom sarees had a good market and enjoyed good prices. The master weaver, therefore, could make large profits although it is doubtful whether the real worker could get even a reasonable share. It was, however, apparent to the department of Industries that very soon on account of competition, marketing would become difficult and the real worker would be rendered still further helpless. The chief need of Maheshwar was, therefore, felt to be "Organization". A proposal was, therefore, made to Government to start a Co-Operative Society of Weavers in Maheshwar and this proposal was sanctioned by Government as also a loan of Rs. 25,000 at 3 per cent. interest to be repaid in 10 annual instalments. The Co-operative Society was started in July 1947 and now enjoys a membership of 150 weavers. The production has considerably expanded and has been organized very well. The wages of weavers have been increased and even an ordinary weaver is assured of Rs. 60 p m. The Society arranges for the supply of dyed yarn, takes back the finished products and markets them. The profits accruing from these sales are also distributed among the members as dividends, keeping apart a certain percentage of profits to build the financial stability of the society.

As has been previously observed, the whole problem of cottage industries hinges on the marketing of their products. Here also Government has to come to the rescue of the cottage workers. Government Emporiums generally undertake the work of marketing the cottage products. The Arts and Crafts Emporium at Indore takes up the entire production of the society and does retail and wholesale business in the Indore City. But the main market for these sarrees is to be found in Bombay and Poona. Efforts are being made to induce merchants to take up agencies on behalf of the Emporium. Sometimes marketing Inspectors are sent with these products to those markets so that they may dispose them of. In this way if once the market is built up the Government will have resuscitated this industry and then it may withdraw its paternal care.

What has been done in the case of weaving ia applicable to other industries. Many industries such as leather tanning, palmgur making, paper making, soap making etc., may be organised on Co-operative lines in the rural areas.

Similarly other industries such as oil pressing, bee keeping, pottery, sericulture, etc.

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can be organised on Co-operative lines in the villages.

The poverty of India is to a great extent due to her exports which are largely raw materials. A country which exports raw materials and imports finished goods is bound to grow poorer. The process of transforming a raw material into a manufactured article involves employment for the people. When we export raw material we export employment also and deprive our own people of the opportunities of work.

The return that a manufacturer obtains at the various stages in the course of processing the raw material into the finished products varies. In the earlier stages—near the raw material—the return is small, and as the article reaches the consumption stage the gain increases. Prof. J. C. Kumarappa explains this phenomenon by means of the following example:—

"Let us examine a chain of producers working on the basis of cottage units, manufacturing hair-oil from groundnuts. If a farmer with about four acres of cultivable land, which is more than an average holding in India, produces Rs. 100 worth of groundnuts at a cost of Rs. 70 for seeds and land operations taking five months for the crop, the farmer's income will be Rs. 30. If he is fortunate enough to raise another crop during the year, of wheat he will have a net income of say Rs. 60, from it. These gains, totalling Rs. 80, will represent his annual income.

If an oil presser takes these Rs. 100 worth of groundnuts and presses out oil, the operation will take him about a month during which period the up keep of his bullock will cost Rs. 10, and he will obtain as a product Rs. 125 worth of oil and Rs. 25 worth of oil cake. Thus he gets an income of Rs. 40 per month. Where adequate finances are forthcoming to enable the oil presser to stock sufficient groundnuts for crushing during the whole year he can secure an income of Rs. 500 per year at this rate.

The hair-oil manufacturer can convert this Rs. 125 worth of groundnut oil into scented hair oil, at the cost of Rs. 245 for deodorizing—scenting and bottling, in about a month, yielding Rs. 500 worth of such scented hair oil. This will give him an income of Rs. 130 p. m and with the necessary capital he can get employment throughout the year, netting an income of Rs. 1500 annually.

The facts stated above show that as the process comes nearer the consumption stage more capital but less labour is needed and the income increases. If all these stages take place in the same country, the income of the country, as a whole, is not affected. If all the three persons—the farmer, the oil presser and the hair oil manufacturer—were in the same country, in course of time the varying incomes would adjust themselves within a limited range. But if the farmers were in India and the manufacturers in Germany, this variation in the income of the different groups would never have the opportunity of readjustment but would lead to increasing divergence resulting in progressive poverty in the former country and accumulated riches in the latter.

The lesson from the above calculations is clear. As far as possible the available raw materials should be turned into finished products in the same country and Mahatma Gandhi's movement for village self sufficiency indicate the way of elevating our raw material producers to the level of manufacturers.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

"THE INDIAN REVIEW," (12 as.), edited by Mr. G. A. Natesan and published by G. A. Natesan & Co. in Madras, contains a number of interesting articles. This *Review* is level-headed in its policy and provides a fine example of decorous constructive journalism. Its format is neat and its proof reading is commendably good. Readers who appreciate an unbiassed survey of the political panorama will find it in The Indian Review—*Illustrated Weekly of India.*

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REFORMING THE GUILTY

By HELEN AST

DURING the last few decades there has been a complete change of opinion regarding the meaning and purpose of punishment by imprisonment in all civilised countries.

The extent of the advances made by Britain in this respect (in spite of the interruption caused by World Wars I and II) can be judged by the fact that recently—in the course of a single week—it was revealed that once again a "prison without bars" has been instituted, that a youth club has been founded in a remand home and that Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has given a speech to the prisoners at Pentonville, London, on the economic position of the United Kingdom, followed by a discussion.

These, and many other similar trends in British prison technique are the results of a system which was first developed 50 years ago. Then the Gladstone Committee on the reform of the prisons made certain recommendations to be carried out in due course; these included a statement that the prisons should be changed from a mere deterrent to a means of moral improvement, so that when prisoners were discharged they would be better men and women than they were when they were first imprisoned.

This is actually the programme which has engaged the attention of the prison authorities for many years and induced them to keep pace with the psychological, sociological and educational advances of our times.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The decisive factor in carrying out this aim is, above all, the influencing of law-breakers by educational methods in the broadest sense of the word, by useful work during the day and organised classes for adults in the evening, in addition to vocational training for certain groups of prisoners so that they will be able to take up some trade later on in life.

In 1923 spare-time studies had already been organised in British prisons, with the support of the Board of Education (now the Ministry of Education.) To-day every prison has the services of an educational adviser who collaborates with local educational authorities and voluntary and paid helpers in arranging courses of study, single lectures, discussion-groups and even plays and concerts. This is for the purpose of maintaining a contact with the outside world, to make idle hours interesting and to give to prisoners subjects of conversation which tend to distract their minds from those events which led to their imprisonment.

Such subjects are taught, as foreign languages, current events, appreciation of art and music, radio technique, mathematics, shorthand, correspondence, drawing, chess and many other matters which the prisoners can appreciate. In order that they shall reap the benefit of these courses, they are only given to prisoners who have been sentenced to three months' or more imprisonment. Participation in the classes is voluntary. Libraries, radio, newspapers and magazines supplement these modern training methods.

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Roughly 1,000 prisoners with more than eight months to serve have, since 1946, taken advantage of correspondence courses made available to them free of charge. As many as 62 different courses were arranged and followed in the more usual subjects, including book-keeping, modern language and journalism. Prisoners serving long sentences could also prepare themselves for University examinations.

Adult prisoners' daily work covers—in addition to the traditional manufacture of mats and brushes, basket-making, weaving and mail-bag repairs—a range of subjects including tailoring, shoe-making and cobbling, masonry and paint-work, carpentry, rope-making, saddlery, metal work, precision work, printing and book-binding and even agriculture and horticulture. In this way the prisoners not only do productive work, but learn a trade under expert tuition, which can lead to regular, well-paid work after their release.

This is the treatment meted out to the vast majority of prisoners in British prisons.

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The so-called "star class" prisoners, however—namely first offenders and other prisoners of good behaviour—pass their sentences, if longer than six months, segregated from habitual criminals in special training prisons so as to avoid the possibility of moral contamination.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT

The basic test of the failure or success of a prison system is seen in the number of prisoners with previous convictions and, above all, in the effect on first offenders. As this prison system is fairly recent—the first training prison was opened in Wakefield, Yorkshire in 1939—available statistics are based on a rather short period of observation. Results, however, have been so promising that Britain's Prison Commissioners have decided to continue the system as it is at present.

In the meantime, further training prisons were opened at Maidstone, Kent, and at Leyhill, Gloucestershire, in 1945 and 1946 respectively. Open agricultural camps were attached to the prisons and this has recently been followed by the open prison. Leyhill is one of this kind. This open system was originated by Sir Alexander Paterson, the internationally recognised pioneer of prison reform, who died a short time ago.

MYOPIA OR SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS

BY DR. R. S. AGARWAL—*Delhi.*

MYOPIA or short-sight is rarely acquired in old age. Myopic persons in old age may suffer from progressive myopia or various eye troubles, functional as well as organic. Such patients usually strain while looking at distant objects and in reading. Most of the old myopic patients whose sight is falling due to any cause, can be considerably benefited by relaxation methods aided by the medicinal treatment and glasses.

A doctor friend had heard much about the benefits of Dr. Bates' methods for the prevention and cure of errors of refraction, practised in my Institute. He came to see me with his son who was suffering from myopia. His vision of each eye was 10/30. Before I could start his son's treatment he wanted me to discuss with him about the causes of myopia. I said, "well, I would like to know your views first about the causes of myopia." He explained that myopia is caused by the excessive use of the eyes for near work which gives strain on the eyes. Since the coats of the eye are softer in youth than in later years, the children are unable to withstand the increased tension in the eye produced by near work. Due to the increased tension the eyeball elongates and myopia is produced.

"It means in near work the lens becomes more convex hence the ciliary muscle is under excessive strain. Myopia cannot develop in adults because the coats of the eye are quite strong. Persons who do not use their eyes for near work do not suffer from myopia."

"Well, the following facts are worth considering." I said.

1. The excessive use of the eyes for near work first increases the convexity of the lens and then elongates the eyeball. Therefore, the change should be present in the shape of the lens when myopia is present but according to the supposed theory the eyeball elongates and not the lens in myopia.

2. When there is excessive strain on the eyes constantly, the child should feel the symptoms of strain which are absent in most of the cases who develop myopia.

3. Myopia frequently develops in adults and is observed in peasants who did not use the eyes for near work.

The doctor was puzzled with my arguments. I showed him the following remarks of some prominent ophthalmologists about the production of myopia.

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"A satisfactory explanation of the mechanism by which near work produces myopia has not yet been given"—Tschering: Physiological Optics, P. 86.

"It is not yet determined how near work changes the longitudinal structure of the eye."—Eversbusch: The Diseases of Children, Vol. VII, P. 291.

The doctor's curiosity increased to know the truth about the cause of myopia. I explained to him that myopia is caused by efforts to see the distant objects, and not by strain at near work. Looking at distant objects under strain increases the length of the eye ball, hence right focussing is disturbed. The elongation of the eyeball takes place by the action of the oblique muscles on the outside of the eyeball. These muscles immediately contract when there is strain in seeing distant objects and relax or function normally when the eye is free from strain.

To demonstrate practically I called a boy patient into the darkroom. His complaint was headache while reading. I examined the eyes of this patient at a distance of six feet with the plane mirror of the retinoscope. The patient looked at the blank wall without strain, the retinoscope indicated that the eye was normal. Then I asked the boy to try to read the letters of the Snellen test card which was placed on the wall in front of him. The letters were faintly visible as the light was very dim. As the boy made an effort to read the letters, the movement of the shadow stopped. Then the boy looked at a point on his index fingernail at about ten inches distance in such a way that the pupil could be examined by the retinoscope. The shadow began to move in the same direction. Again the boy looked at the blank wall without trying to see, the shadow moved in the same direction. These facts were observed by the doctor also. No special skill was required to make this demonstration.

To demonstrate clinically that strain in near work does not cause myopia but improves the sight for distance I called the doctor's son and noted down his vision 10/30 without glasses. I gave him fine photographic reduction print to read as near to his eyes as easily possible. After a few minutes' reading the photographic type reduction at about four inches distance, I instructed the boy to read the Snellen test card again. His eyesight had temporarily improved, and the vision 10/2 was recorded and the chart letters appeared clearer than before.

The doctor friend understood that straining the eyes to see at long distance produced myopia, while by making an effort to see at the near point continuously, the eyes become farsighted. Now he wanted me to begin the treatment of his son. I educated his son to blink rightly and directed him how to focus correctly on the Snellen test card at three feet distance by the helo of central fixation exercises.

I explained to the boy that when he looked at the bottom of the letter 'C' the whole letter was visible but the bottom appeared more distinct than the top of the 'C', and when he looked to the part of the letter, the left part appeared more distinct than the part of the 'C'. When he shifted his sight from the bottom to the top and from the top to the bottom of the letter the part of the letter on which he focussed appeared more distinct and blacker than the part of the letter on which he did not focus his sight. In this way he practised on smaller letters also. At times he found it difficult to note the part regarded most distinct, but after closing the eyes for about a minute and remembering the black and white colour he was able to note the clearness in the part of the letter regarded. The chart was gradually shifted to ten feet. Sometimes the boy outlined the letter while his eyes were closed and the occasionally looked at the card letters. The boy improved his sight to 10/15 in an hour's time. As this improvement was temporary I advised the doctor to help his son in the way I had helped him.

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RECENT CONVOCATION ADDRESSES

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ALLAHABAD—SARDAR PATEL

In the course of his convocation address at the Allahabad University on November 27 Sardar Patel said that freedom has come to India at a time when both nationally and internationally the country is in the midst of nerve-racking experiences and in a veritable tumultous sea of problems.

"If I am laying stress on our defects, it is only as a warning against complacency and as a spur to determined effort for our national reconstruction and regeneration."

He added: "We must then consolidate our freedom, build up our unity and strength, make up the long leeway, that is the legacy of the past—and make this country a better and healthier place to live in before we can turn to narrower objectives and smaller ambitions. Few people realise—so peaceful and smooth has been the transfer of power—the dangers we would have faced if we had secured our freedom when we did, fewer still realise what potentially disastrous situations we have successfully tackled during the last year. All this has been possible because the heart of the nation is sound and because our true instincts and faith could successfully stand the shocks. At the same time, if we allow free play to the tendencies which have manifested themselves and to which I have referred, the dangers are obvious. We shall get lost in the weedy undergrowth and sink deeper and deeper in the mire. We shall have choked our freedom to death almost as soon as it was born. India's history tells us that we have bartered away our freedom becasue narrower objectives and selfish ambitions secured ascendency over larger aims and national aspirations. In national emergencies when it was the duty of every one to lend his hand to the plough, divisions have sprung up among our rank and personal ambitions have blinded us to national interests and mutual hatred have taken away all sense of unity and discipline. A nation forgets the lessons of history only at its peril. . . . "Let us consolidate our hard-won unity and integrated harmony before we create any further diversities. Let us concentrate on factors that unite—rather than on those which divide us. The situation is such and the problems so vast and complicated that we cannot afford to rest on our laurels. . . . .

Above all, you must have the freedom of your motherland as the constant object of your care, devotion and attention. In whatever country or clime you may be, whatever may be your country, uphold its honour and prestige, and promote the moral and material progress of your poverty-stricken countrymen. Do nothing which places the freedom of the country in jeopardy. Be constantly alert and active to safeguard it even at the cost of your life."

ANNAMALAI—JUSTICE RAJAMANNAR

Addressing the Annamalai University on December 2, Mr. Justice P V. Rajamannart Chief Justice of Madras put in a cogen, plea for unity and discipline in our ranks.

"I would therefore earnestly appeal to you, my young friends, to resolutely stand up against and fight all dissentient and separatist propaganda. It is easy to exaggerate differences but it is better and wiser, though sometimes it may be difficult, to perceive the fundamental unity of India's cultural life. In any event, even if you think that politically and economically there should be a partial or total separation, there is no justification or need for, and no salvation in encouraging and bringing about any division or separation in the cultural sphere. In the spacious halls of the Palace of Indian Culture there is room for Valmiki and Kambar, for Tulsidas and Thikkana, for 'Sakuntalam' and 'Meghadoota' as well as 'Silappadikaram' and 'Manimekhalai.'

What greater proof do you require today of the fundamental unity of India than this, that a distinguished son of Tamilnad is our Governor-General, an eminent leader of Andhra Desa is the President of the Congress and an enlightened Maharaja of the North is our Governor?"

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UTKAL—DR. RADHAKRISHNAN

"Our country is to-day on its trial and the great qualities which won us freedom require to be developed if freedom is to be consolidated," observed Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, addressing the Fifth Convocation of the Utkal University held at Cuttack on Dec. 3.

"We are free from foreign rule through a peaceful revolution, through the exercise of those great virtues of service, suffering and sacrifice. They are the qualities which are needed to-day to free us from material poverty, social corruption and communal strife. A free India must be a country of discerning people cherishing the value of truth, peace, order and goodwill between man and man, love of truth and quest of beauty. If we struggle for power over our fellows, for power to make money, for power to make life more ugly than it is, it means that life has lost the dignity of civilisation. . . ."

Continuing Dr. Radhakrishnan said: "We look to the universities to supply the nation with good men, men who are better than those of the past, men of the future, men with vision and courage, men who will work for cultural integration and economic progress. . .

It is the purpose of universities to serve as centres of cultural life of the community. They must speak to us of our strong points and defects, they must mould the organisation of our thoughts, refine the crudity of our instincts, educate the will, united by the consciousness of our desire for the happiness of the life that is beautiful and free. We can achieve this only by spiritual creation, only by the combined efforts of literature and science, art and industry.

It is for the universities to provide the leadership so urgently needed to interpret to the rising generation constructive methods of using scientific power, high ideals of a democratic citizenship and a revived faith in the Eternal Unseen."

RAJPUTANA—SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHAR

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Dewan Jaipur, and Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Rajputana University, addressing its Convocation, at Jaipur on Dec 4. called u the students to assist in "consolidating newly-won independence and securing largest measure of social justice for the peopl

"You can only do this, by fighti for the highest standards of rectitude public life, working unceasingly agai communalism and provincialism and strivi to create a strong public opinion in favo of the United Nations. . ."

"India has now attained independence a we are at the threshold of a new era," continued. "You are fortunate—and should be a constant source of inspirati to you and a call to high endeavour—th when you leave the portals of the Universi you will be called upon to play your part shaping the future of Free India."

A distressing fact in India's life, he poin out, was the deterioration in moral values had taken place in recent times.

"We have for example, an extensive bla market which defeats all control measu and causes untold hardship, tax evasions o large scale, lowered standards of rectitude the public services, frequent strikes a deliberate slowing down of vital productio etc. It is your duty—a duty you owe to t country as educated men—to wage unceasi war against this evil. You should work the re-discovery of the spiritual values which India has always stood. . . . . ."

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari expressed gratification at the progress made by the R putana University during its life of 16 mont

"It has been said that the objecti of education is not just knowledge of valu but the embodiment of the ideal in on actions, feelings and thoughts, no less th an intellectual grasp of the ideal. From t point of view, education is a continuo process lasting through life and I ho everyone of you will seek to attain an adequ philosophy of life through a deep study of of the great religions of the world, of humanities or of art in the widest sense."

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BENARES—C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Governor-General of India, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, delivering the Convocation Address at the Benares Hindu University on December 2, exhorted the students to throw off the habit of disregarding law and authority, to develop reverence for the State, to eradicate the tendency to resort to sabotage and appealed to all to have 'faith in our destiny under democracy.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "We have done well in attaining freedom and in showing a bloodless way of overcoming unpleasant things. The process involved in the attainment of freedom through the method of disobedience has left behind certain results along with the attainment of the object. These results like the incidental harm done to the body when you take drugs for curing a serious disease have to be corrected by convalascent discipline, by effort and determination amounting to fervour and truth."

The Governor-General deprecated what he called 'the tendency of sabotage', which had developed as the result of our struggle against foreign domination

"Free and democratic India cannot function in security and prosper and attain strength unless we totally eradicate this tendency to utilise methods of sobotage to attain some immediate object," he said. "Short-sighted hurry to attain an objective good in itself, may lead to great harm being done to the State and society as a whole. We should revive a reverence—I cannot use a lesser word—for roads, for bridges, for all means of communication, for the machinery of production, industrial and agricultural. We should automatically and instinctively feel a horror, as we do when we see any living thing cruelly killed. Otherwise modern society cannot hope to thrive. Respect for the means of communication and means of production must reach the level of religious reverence. We have to rebuild reverence."

AGRA—SAROJINI NAIDU

The Agra University Convocation was held on Novemher 20, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Governor of U. P. and Chancellor of the University presiding.

In her speech Mrs. Naidu urged young men and women to live high and noble lives, following Mahatma Gandhi's advice."

Addressing women graduates, Srimati Naidu said that they should never suffer from inferiority complex and humorously observed that she herself had never suffered from it even when she had been to England at their age. She had seen in those days even British girls suffering from this complex who tried to camouflage their own sex to pass as intellectuals. "But now they have come back to their own and things had changed. There should not be any suggestion of separation at men and women to any department of knowledge. It is as much the birth-right of woman to have higher education as of any man."

ANDHRA—MR. O. P. RAMASWAMI REDDIAR

Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, Premier of Madras, in his Convocation address to the Andhra University which was read by Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, Finance Minister, at the Andhra University campus at Waltair on December 11, declared:

"We are to-day on the eve of an unparalleled experiment, trying to establish democracy on the basis of adult franchise in a country with a population of over 300 millions. We succeed in our colossal experiment only to the extent our educational system succeeds. And if India succeeds, the world succeeds."

Pointing out the inadequacy of the modern educational system, Mr. Reddiar observed:

"Modern knowledge has aided society in its onward march of progress; but when that progress goes off the track and is heading towards a disaster, is not enlightenment to come to its rescue and save mankind from cataclysm? That is the part wisdom has to play."

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WAR WIT

By Mr. T. K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A., L.T.

WAR is a brutal affair, and humanity is sighing for the day when it will be banished from the world once for all. Yet, the capacity of man to smile even in the midst of horror and suffering has been the basis for the efforts of the humorist to snatch some entertainment even in the midst of this terrible business.

Clovis, the founder of the Frankish Kingdom of Gaul, was a master of craft. He mercilessly killed every rival prince of his house. Some escaped. Clovis now lamented that the royal house was faced with extinction, and implored any kinsman who survived to come to him without any fear. Not realising that this was a cunning trap to catch and slay them, these fell into it and were killed. At another time, he instigated an ambitious prince to murder his own father. Then, pretending great indignation at this patricide, he brought about the slaughter of the murderer and annexed his state. Craft seems to accompany many conquests. Edward I of England tricked the Welsh who wanted to be ruled by their own prince. They said 'Give us a prince who speaks neither English nor French.' Edward agreed with alacrity, and the Welsh thought that he had decided on installing one of their own chiefs. Edward presented before them his infant son and said 'Here is your prince. He speaks neither English nor French.' The first Prince of Wales appears thus in English History.

Deceit seems to be easy. Once, a soldier wagered that he could find enough dupes who would sign any petition to the government, no matter how ridiculous. He won. He got hundreds of signatures, asking the American government to create a pension for the widow of the Unknown Warrior.

Gallantry is always praised in war. But, it is not always evident. Before Peter the Great of Russia recognised his army, it was worthless. In an engagement near the city of Nerva with the forces of Charles XII of Sweden, the Russians fled at the first onslaught of the Swedes. Many of the German officers recruited by Peter to lead his forces were not yet well known to the men, and these men shouted as they ran: 'The Germans are betraying us.' The general of the Russian forces had himself to seek refuge in the enemy's camp, exclaiming 'The Devil alone can command such troops.'

Here are some stories told about the women's auxiliary Corps:

A young thing of this force was walking along a lonely road during a hot day. She saw on the way a lake surrounded by trees. She decided to have a nice bath, looked around and, seeing none about, took off her clothes and dived into the water. After a long swim, she came out and, stretching herself on the bank, had a sun-bath. Suddenly to her horror, came a male voice 'Camouflage squadron—Dismissed'! All the trees surrounding her walked away.

. . . . .

At a camp, the soldiers and the W. A. Cs. were given lemon daily to provide them with Vitamin C. A medical committee later found that the men were alright, but the women were deficient in Vitamin C. One of the latter then confessed that they used the lemon for their hair.

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The first W. A. C.: I wonder if John still loves me.

The second W. A. C: Of course, he does; why should he make an exception of you?

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One W. A. C. was hard up. So, when she received a brassiere as a gift from a soldier, she wrote to him without thinking 'I wish you had sent the money. I'm flat busted.'

. . . . .

The following was overheard. A W. A. C. was asking another in the train 'That Tommy with whom you had the date last night seems to be a nice fellow.' The

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other answered coldly 'He must have been. While we were sitting, the light went out, and he spent the rest of the evening repairing the fuse.'

. . . . . .

A soldier while in the hospital, fell in love with his nurse, and they agreed to marry on the day he was discharged from the hospital. The nurse put on a wedding gown for the ceremony, and the happy bridegroom announced to all 'Isn't she lovely? This is the first time I've ever seen her with a dress on.' The blushing bride exclaimed 'It's the first time also that I've ever seen him when he was not in his pyjamas.'

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Soldier: Let us get married or something.
The girl: We'll get married or nothing.

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It was a hot day. The bus was packed with passengers. Everyone was irritable. Suddenly, the voice of a civilian rose loud and clear 'Will some pretty girls please get off at the next stop so that about 50 of these soldiers will leave?'

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An unpopular officer returned to camp exhausted after a week-end of women and wine. Outside the tent where he slept, the men hung a sign 'Temporarily out of ardour.'

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Let us now turn to the warriors and their spouses. One of them, returning on leave unexpectedly, found his wife in the arms of a stranger. He whipped out his gun. "What are you going to do?" his wife shrieked. 'I am sick and tired of your playing with others while I'm away. I'm going to blow my brains out.' 'Thank you' said the woman relieved 'I thought you are going to make a scene.'

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Mrs. Murphy: 'What do you hear from your husband who is in Japan?'

Mrs. Thomas: 'He is there, but the news is bad. He writes that he has a lovely jeep with him. I suppose Jap women are called jeeps.'

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A Tommy wrote in fury to his wife 'For Heaven's sake don't send me any more of these nagging letters. I want to fight this war in peace.'

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A company of marines arrived home. One of them, mistaking one of the female greeters for his wife, gave her a hearty kiss. The woman angrily asked him 'Haven't you made a mistake?' The man, discovering his mistake, sought for an excuse, and said 'I haven't. I haven't seen a woman for three years.'

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A girl turned up wearing two officers' silver bars pinned to her dress. One of her friends asked 'Is your boy-friend a Captain?' 'Goodness, no' she said 'Two lieutenants.'

Here are some stories of men who come home on leave:

One of them was mentioning his experiences and said "I remember the time when all our food, ammunition and beer had run out. We were parched with thirst." 'Couldn't you get any water?' asked one of the thrilled audience. 'We could. But, was that the time to be thinking of cleanliness?'

. . . . . .

A soldier was being entertained. The hostess asked 'May I give you a cup of tea?' 'No tea, thanks.' 'A glass of milk?' 'No milk, thanks.' 'Perhaps you would like a cup of coffee?' 'No coffee'. 'You would prefer a drop of whisky and soda?' 'No soda.'

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We will close with a few snaps at the operation fronts:

A man in a truck, negotiating the muddy street of Belgium observed a soldier shoulder-deep in mud, moving slowly. He asked him 'Can I give you a lift?' 'No, I'm in a jeep.'

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A recruit just joined was writing an accident report. He wrote 'Smith hurt his leg while jumping from a lorry. Under the column REMARKS, am I to put down his remarks?'

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A clergyman addressed the troops. But, the newspaper which carried the report of his speech was cramped for space. The person, reading it next day, was shocked when the report ended with the sentence 'Finally, he told a number of stories that cannot be published.'

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The Admiral has directed that his washerwoman should meet his ship at the port with his laundry. His young lieutenant sent to the port a wireless message 'Have admiral's woman meet him at the dock.' After he had sent it, he felt that it was not clear. So, he radioed again 'Referring to my last message, insert WASHER between admiral and woman.'

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At the air-port, the old lady confessed that it was her first plane trip. A young officer, taking pity on her, sat by her and held her hand in his. She squeezed his hand tight and held it. After the trip was over, she said 'My boy, if you are afraid when we go back in our return trip, you come right back here, and I'll hold your hand again.'

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Dr. Clendening records that many of the world's greatest military figures would have been rejected now on the ground of physical fitness. Washington had false teeth, and Kaiser William II a withered arm. Nelson lacked an eye and an arm. Grant was a victim of alcoholism. Bismarck was overweight and Washington underweight. Napoleon had stomach ulcer, and Caesar, epilepsy.

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A big air raid had smashed the power station at Bremen. The German demolition squad heard a thin, monotonous and persistent voice coming up from the wreckage. They dug and unearthed a parrot which was saying over and over again 'No millitary objects were hit.'

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The German officer was giving instructions to the German wounded leaving the Russian front. 'Remember that you must not depress the people at home. If your arm is disabled, you have hurt yourself in bayoneting a Russian to death, and so on.'

'What if there is a plaster cast on the face?'

'You broke your jaw explaining to the Russians that they were beaten.'

. . . . . .

The German merchant captain said that his ship was torpedoed by a British submarine.

'That is a lie' shouted the officer. The British have no submarines. It must have been a mine.'

'Yes, sir, the mine told me that I had fifteen minutes to take to boats and then struck.'

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The Nazis questioned a Dutchman why he listened to the B.B.C. He replied 'Well, sir, the Fuehrer said that he would be in England in October 1940 I've been listening so that I should not miss the welcome he would get.'

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The quisling said that, if the allies won the war, he would simply put his hat on and clear out of the country. A voice asked 'But, where will you put your hat on?'

Getting out a magazine is fun but it's no picnic.
If we print jokes, people say we are silly.
If we don't, they say we are too serious.
If we clip things from other magazines, we are too lazy to write them ourselves.
If we don't, we are too fond of our own stuff.
If we don't print contributions, we don't appreciate the true genius.
If we do print them, the magazine is filled with junk.
Now like as not someone will say we swiped this from some other magazine—*we did.*

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THE JAIPUR CONGRESS

—:o:—

THE 55th Session of the Indian National Congress which was held at Jaipur in the third week of December last marked an important stage in the history of that great organisation. In the first place it was the first plenary session to be held after the achievement of national freedom. And then for the first time the Congress met in an Indian State. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who presided over the session is a veteran Congressman who has held important positions in the Congress executive and enjoyed the confidence of Mahatma Gandhi.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS

With the arrival of the Akhand Jyothi or the Torch of Liberty carried all the way from Meerut, the Jaipur session might be said to have begun. The Working Committee met in the second week and recorded a number of resolutions touching various aspects of the political and economic fortunes of the nation. On the 16th the A.I.C.C. meeting under the presidency of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel converted itself into the Subjects Committee and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was invited to take the chair and guide the deliberations. The House started by adopting three condolence resolutions, the first of which paid solemn tributes to "Mahatma Gandhi, Father of the Indian Nation."

Thereafter the Subjects Committee approved for the consideration of the Congress two important resolutions, one relating to Congress Objectives and the other on the Foreign Policy of India.

Meeting in the afternoon the Committee unanimously adopted the official resolution entitled "The Message", which set out the new objective of the Congress, reiterated its faith in the principles enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi, and called upon the Congress to work in a peaceful manner for the attainment of social and economic freedom, and for a classless democratic society.

Pandit Nehru, speaking on the resolution, referred to an amendment seeking a reduction in the Governor-Genoral's salary, and disclosed that the Cabinet had decided only the previous day at the suggestion of Rajaji himself, that the Governor-General's salary in future will be Rs. 5,500, free of Income-Tax.

The next day the Committee debated eight official resolutions *viz*: Foreign Possessions in India, Problem of S. African Indians, Greetings to Indonesian leaders, 'States', 'Commualism', 'Labour', Sufferers from Partition and 'Gandhi National Memorial Fund'.

Sri Sanker Rao Deo moved the resolution on Greetings to the people of Indonesia and her leaders which was passed unanimously.

MR. BHATT'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Over two lakhs of people attended the open session on the 18th. Mr. Gokulbhai D. Bhatt, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates referred to Gandhiji's lead and said:

> We are beginning to build up our nation anew, and at this time we should follow the path Mahatma Gandhi has shown us. Bapuji gave us a glimpse of our culture and tradition. He taught us true economics and showed us the one way to effect the welfare of the people, *viz.*, Truth and Ahimsa.

Proceeding Mr. Bhatt exhorted Congressmen all over the country to concentrate their attention on the welfare of the village people. He said:

> Many of our friends have had to assume high offices and undertake grave responsibilities. The position is apt to corrupt and enmesh people and of this we ought to be aware. If we cannot further the welfare of the common people, if we leave the right path or are tempted by circumstance, then we should leave those positions. This has all along been and will always be the Congress creed; no one should doubt this.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

In his presidential address, Dr. Pattabhi dwelt on a wide range of subjects, and in view of the fact that the session at Jaipur is the first after the attainment of freedom, part of the survey related to the past struggle and the remainder was devoted to the problems of the future.

> We gather not to challenge a foreign power ruling over us, as we did at Meerut, but to organise ourselves for the independence that we

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have earned by means unknown hitherto to the world.

Stating that the present Government was the fruit of the labours of the Congress during the past 63 years, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said:

It is our duty as wise men to foresee and formulate the needs of the hour to suit the changing temper of the nation.

The supreme task of the Congress, he said, was

to tone down the extravagant and idealistic demands of the people, and to tone up the measures and moderate the realistic and restricted achievements of the ministers.

Supporting the movement for linguistic provinces Dr. Sitaramayya deprecated the talk of postponement of consideration of their formation in the name of unity. He said: "Unity is not uniformity but harmony in diversity." He added:

A bad thing cannot be made good by mere waiting. A really good thing need not be put off for any reason whatever, especially when it is fundamental. Let therefore, Government take up this problem broadly and boldly and make a people's rule possible by removing the obstacles in their way.

Dealing with the question of free Indian Republic's future relationship with the Commonwealth of Nations he observed:

This relationship cannot be that of a Dominion. It can only be the association of free and independent countries agreeing to have certain reciprocal relations which do not limit in any way their freedom in regard to domestic or international policy.

A SPECIAL MEETING OF SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

A specially convened meeting of the Subjects' Committee of the Congress, assembling on the eve of the open session, reversed by 116 votes to 75 the decision it had taken the previous day on the "standards of public conduct" resolution, which insisted that Cabinet Ministers should also be included in the purview of the resolution, after Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru had virtually made of it an issue of confidence in the Government.

Another resolution, adopted by the Congress Subjects Committee stressed the need for planned projects to meet the production crisis in the country. A plea was also made for fair prices for agricultural products.

CONCLUSION

After one of the longest debates lastin over nine hours, the 55th session of th Indian National Congress terminated la on the 19th evening.

As many as twelve resolutions, some of them very important, covering a very wid range of subjects were discussed an adopted in record time. Two resolution one on the Linguistic Provinces appointin a three-man committee of the Presiden Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel to revie the question and the other on verb amendments in the Congress constitutio were moved from the Chair and passe unanimously. A resolution on communalism moved by Pandit Pant and seconded b Mr. Tandon was ably supported by Mr. Anantasayanam Iyengar, who cautione against entertaining any idea of establishin a Hindu State. When the resolution o Indian States was under discussion Sard Patel, invited by the President, made few forthright observations.

Towards the close of the session Pand Nehru made a statement on the unexpecte turn of events in Indonesia, the arrest o the Republican leaders and the occupatio of Jagjakarta. He warned the Dutch a the resumption of hostilities in Indonesi and said that the Indian National Congre was pledged to end alien domination i Asia. He described the Dutch action a "contrary to all principles of the Unite Nations Charter."

Dr. Pattabhi in his concluding remar thanked the Reception Committee for th arrangments. After a rapid review of th events since he became President of th Indian States Peoples' Conference in 193 till now, Dr. Pattabhi said that he h always been working for the amalgamati of the Indian States Peoples' Conferen and the Indian National Congress.

He concluded by declaring that he wo continue to serve the cause of the Congre in a spirit of co-operation.

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INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

C. R's. Sage Counsel

WISDOM and appropriateness marked H. E. the Governor-General's Convocation Address to the Benares Hindu University and his exhortation to the business-men of Bengal. Striking a new note, instead of the usual platitudes on such occasions, C. R. stressed the value of discipline in renascent India and deprecated "the tendency of sabotage" which had developed as a result of our struggle against foreign domination. Civil disobedience was alright as a method of winning freedom from foreign yoke when once we had abjured violence.

> But the process involved in the attainment of freedom through the method of civil disobedience has left behind certain results along with the attainment of the object. These results, like the incidental harm done to the body when you take drugs for curing a serious disease, have to be corrected by convalescent discipline, by effort and determination amounting to fervour and faith.

Even more apposite was his exhortation to the members of the Bengal Chamber. C. R. has a knack of putting even unpleasant things in a pleasing way. He frankly asked Indian businessmen to take a leaf from their European compeers. He put his finger unerringly on the weakest spot of our body politic when he pointed to the eternal grousing of our people about inflation and rationing and a thousand ills that flesh is heir to. We are making too much of the temporary aberrations incidental to a State in transition. Yet foreigners see nothing so damnable about us. We lack their optimism. "British and other non-Indian elements here," he said,

> have more confidence in India than the nationals of India. An attitude of optimism is the correct one; an attitude of hesitation and doubt is not the correct attitude. It delays things. The Indian commercial and industrial people require education in optimism which people who have come here from outside India can give.

The Drive Against R.S.S.

The other day, at Gwalior, Sardar Patel made an earnest appeal to Maha-sabhites and R.S.S. people to change their outlook as becomes citizens of a truly Secular State. At any rate the Government he said, could not tolerate any challenge to the peace and tranquillity of the State. And he went on to warn them that if they resorted to Satyagraha "we have all the resources necessary to meet such a challenge."

The Sardar has been as good as his word, and it is painful to see that the R.S.S. people should have left themselves loose in the way they have done and the Police should have been compelled to resort to their customary action in such cases. Reports of lathi charges and unhappy reminders of other times are by no means pleasant reading but to call their defiance Satyagraha instead of Duragraha is a perfect mis-nomer. Gandhiji's prescription against foreign rule is sought to be applied against our own. When will the R.S.S. learn that any attempt to disrupt the State at this juncture is a blow aimed at the country and a disservice to the nation? Would that they learnt that they are adding to the difficulties of a Government already storm-tossed by enemies at home and abroad? Let them reflect what they would themselves do if, as a Government, they were confronted with such unreasoning obstruction. It is time they realised that their own freedom and security depends on the stability of the State which they are trying to under-mine by their reckless actions which they mistake for patriotism.

The Delhi Agreement

Indo-Pakistan relations have worsened inspite of repeated Conferences and assurances of goodwill. What is the use of passing pious resolutions at meetings if they are not to be implemented faithfully by the parties concerned? That has been the unhappy experience in the past. The Calcutta agreement made a number of promises and assurances of goodwill. To

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ensure implementation of the agreement, it provided for Dominion Ministers meeting each other "at least" once in two months, and in the case of East and West Bengal "where the situation requires more urgent measures," for the Premiers of the two provinces to meet every month and the chief secretaries once in a fortnight. These meetings, however, never took place! The Delhi agreement, concluded nine months after, seeks to rectify a situation that has grown well nigh desperate—we mean the uninterrupted stream of Hindu refugees from East Bengal—to take only one of the striking items in the list of points discussed. It is comforting to learn that in all matters a very substantial measure of agreement has been reached and, what is more, the present agreement is inspired by the desire to resolve all difficulties arising out of previous agreements and to ensure that decisions reached are, in fact, implemented. We must wait and see.

The Kashmir issue is, of course, a different matter, but if there is any evidence of goodwill in other matters there is bound to be a favourable reaction even on what seems the most formidable obstacle to settlement in the Frontiers of India.

Linguistic Provinces

The report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission has inevitably been a disappointment to enthusiastic advocates of such provinces. It may be that the present is not the proper time for redistribution of provinces when serious and urgent problems are staring us in the face. We should not forget that the administration has not recovered from the dislocation caused by the withdrawal of European personnel and the confusion following the partition. The machinery of Government is already creaking under the strain of problems too numerous and formidable to be ignored. At such a time everything that fosters division should be avoided and no attempt spared to facilitate integration. But then the Congress has all the while encouraged this notion of Linguistic division and the Prime Minister an other leaders have not been averse to it. fact the Provinces have in a way bee prepared to look forward to its implemen ation.

It is therefore impolitic to postpone th matter for an indefinite time, as th Commission would have it. It must b remembered that some Provinces are no mood to accept evasion. The Congre has therefore done well to refer the matt to a three-man Committee to evolve a acceptable solution. Probably the be short term solution, as a contemporar observes would be "to shelve the whol subject by consent for a term of years on th understanding that the interval should b utilised to bring the less developed area as far possible to the same level o prosperity and efficiency as the rest." that could be done the ultimate solutio may perhaps be left to the unforce judgment of the people.

Abolition of Untouchability

The draft Constitution of India embodi certain principles and policies that are n generally found in the constitutions other advanced countries. Prohibition an the ban on cow slaughter and the abolitio of untouchability are all topics that cou never have occurred to constitution-make in the West. Though the framers of o new constitution have adopted ma features of British, continental a American constitutions these are featur altogether racy of the soil. The questio of untouchability is one against whic Mahatma Gandhi fought a life long batt Nothing could have pleased him more th this great step taken by the Constitue Assembly to abolish untouchability and b its practice in any form. The article read

> Untouchability is abolished and its practice any form is forbidden. The enforcement of a disability arising out of untouchability shall b an offence punishable according to law.

This article is indeed a landmark in t history of India's effort to remove soc inequality. The next step is to impleme this great and generous principle in the d to day life of the people.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

Administration of Berlin

BRITAIN, France and the United States formally established a three-Power military government to run their sectors of Berlin.

General Jean Ganeval, French Sector Commandant, announced the Western decision and said the Soviet refusal to attend meetings of the four-Power administration—they walked out six months ago—"cannot be allowed any longer to obstruct proper administration of Berlin."

The door was left open for the Soviet to join in a four-Power Kommandatura again if they "decide to abide by the agreements to which the four Powers are committed."

Reconstruction of Japan

The eleven-nation Far Eastern Commission has approved the formation of Unions and co-operatives by Japanese farmers. The Commission, which sets basic policies for the occupation of Japan, says it has drawn up a formal statement of principles for such organisation, which has been sent to General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Allied Commander.

The Commission's 800-word policy statement says that Japanese farmers should be "encouraged" to form organisation for their mutual economic and social benefit, and should be given full protection by the Occupation authorities and the Japanese Government.

America and India

The American Ambassador in India, Mr. Loy W. Henderson, addressing his first Press conference after arrival in India, declared on December 21, that his purpose in India would be to continue to promote the cordial relations between India and the United States which already rested upon a sound basis.

War in Indonesia

An Indonesian Republican spokesman in Paris claims the recapture of the Republican capital of Jogjakarta taken by Dutch paratroopers on Sunday December 19, when they began their new drive in Java.

The spokesman quoted the Republican Radio for the report and said that rebellion had broken out against Dutch in both East and West Java.

Main resistance centres were Buitzerzorg 30 miles from Batavia, in the west, and Bondowose and the port area of Problinggo in the east.

No reports of Jogjakarta's recapture has been received, by the Dutch authorities at the Hague.

Steps to aid Indonesia

Prime Minister Thakin Nu of Burma urged India to take the initative in calling a conference of Asiatic countries to consider aid to Indonesia in her "valiant and righteous struggle against aggressive Imperialism."

In a telgram to Pandit Nehru, Indian Prime Minister, Thakin Nu said Burma would gladly "play her full part in whatever steps were decided upon at such a Conference.

He expressed deep indignation at the "unwarranted Dutch attack.

U. N. and the Dutch Action

The task of the Security Council should be "to persuade the Dutch to resume negotiations" says the London *Times*.

Commenting on the statement of the Indian Prime Minister on the Dutch action, the *Times* says that Mr. Nehru was "voicing not for the first time the uneasiness felt by the other new nations of South-East Asia as well as by his own country at events in Indonesia."

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE CONCEPT OF A SECULAR STATE. By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Current Thought Series) Published by S. Viswanathan, Madras. Price 12 as.

This pamphlet cites strong historical evidence for India remaining a secular State. Ancient Hindu tradition was of broad-minded toleration and consideration for all religions alike though the rulers were themselves attached ardently to particular faiths. This stands in clear contrast to the spirit of Mediaeval Europe where secular armies were often marshalled under spiritual banners, to wipe out heresy.

The concept of a secular state does not preclude the State's interest in maintaining moral standards among its people. Even in religion, it is not so much strict neutrality as equal assistance in maintaining standards of pure precept and conduct. The author also utters a note of warning rightly against the tendencies of the Secular State in Europe, for both Marxism and National Socialism render unto Caesar the things which are God's.

The case for a Secular State has been already accepted in India; what we want is a consideration of the practical implications. Let us work it as best as possible.

A MEMORANDUM to be presented to the Hon.'ble President of the Constituent Assembly of India, by the representatives of Bihar in the Constituent Assembly. By Sachchidananda Sinha, Patna.

Mr. Sinha has brought together a mass of data to establish the long historic association between the districts concerned and Bihar. His attack on the linguistic argument is however not convincing. Linguistic provinces certainly make for administrative efficiency. The parallels cited are in fact not parallel. Switzerland, Canada, and the U. S. A. are instances of nationality transcending differences of language, and it can therefore be argued that the various languages in India are not a barrier to the attainment of nationhood. Yet Switzerland is divided into essentially linguistic cantons. Canada has also French and English provinces. The inconsistency of the West Bengalees does not destroy the linguistic argument.

Linguistic adjustment may however be postponed in the present circumstances. Mr. Sinha's strong argument is that the districts in question are not predominantly Bengalee-speaking.

The author is rightly indignant against the grabbing of the votaries of amalgamation. The rehabilitation of refugees is not confined to West Bengal.

Geographically the districts are part of the Chota-Nagpur plateau, and the people share many customs with the Biharis of the West.

ASPECTS OF SCIENCE: By Sir C. V. Raman, (Nalanda Publications, Dhan-nur, 3rd Floor, Sir P. M. Road, Bombay 1. Rs. 2-4.)

Sir C. V. Raman is one of the half a dozen front rank Scientists of the world; and rightly, in the tradition of the great British scientists, has the knack of presenting his thoughts and discourses in lucid and attractive form. He has a natural turn for humour too and is fairly fluent in English. All these gifts have made him a speaker of considerable charm and power and his Radio talks are particularly happy revealing his deep interest in the things that move students and laymen alike. The nineteen chapters that comprise the book show his versatility as thinker and expositor alike. The publishers have shown commendable enterprise in obtaining permission of the A.I.R. authorities in their efforts to share the talks with the wider public.

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THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY 1947-'48 Annual, Gandhi & Co., Publishers, Jan Mansions, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta Road, Bombay.

This volume edited by M. P. Gandhi of Cotton Textile Industry Annual fame, has come just when the Government of India have decided to reduce the ex-factory price of sugar. It abounds in very valuable statistical tables quite intelligible to the layman. To the man in the "line", the volume is not only a chronicle of the history of Industry but is almost a reference book.

Here and there in the volume are a number of thought provoking ideas such as, the suggestion that any decrease in price will have to be borne by the cane producers, since the price of cane forms the living share of the cost of production. The author has shown clearly the lowest position that we occupy in the matter of efficiency in the industry from the beginning to the end. Our yield per acre, extraction percentage is all below almost every other sugar producing country in the world.

The author remarks that sugar has practically become a luxury to most poor people and in recommending increased production he does not advise an extention of acrege but suggests increased efficiency in cane production and sugar extraction as the proper remedies.

The book maintains its usual neat get up and will be of great use to economists, food experts, administrators, and the trade.

SECOND REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS. Geneva, 1948, Pp. 138.

This Report deals with man power problems, freedom of association and industrial relations, protection of children and young persons, women's work, industrial safety, maritime labour, statistics, agricultural organisatians and the regional activities of the I. L. O. It also describes the relations of the I. L. O. with the U. N. O. and other International Organisations.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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INDIAN CAVALCADE. By Bhabani Bhattacharya, Nalanda Publications, Bombay 1.

A MONOGRAPH ON HANDLOOM WEAVING INDUSTRY IN INDIA. By M. P. Gandhi, Messrs. Gandhi & Co., Sir P. M. Mehta Road, Bombay 1.

VEDANTA FOR THE WESTERN WORLD. Ed. with Introduction by Christopher Isherwood, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF HYDERABAD. Vol. I. Rural Economy, by Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, Orient Longmans Ltd., Madras.

METHODS AND MIRACLES OF NATURE CURE. By Dr. S. J. Singh, 57 Gwynne Road, Lucknow.

HOW TO GAIN WEIGHT. By Dr. S. J. Singh All-India Nature Cure Assn. 57 Gwynne Road, Lucknow.

THE BIRTH OF INDONESIA. By David Wehl, Allen & Unwin Ltd.

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR PEACE 1920-1946 Ed. by Ethelwyn Best and Bernard Pike, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London.

THE STORY OF STATES INTEGRATION (Survey of Sardar's achievements) compiler: P. D. Master Publisher: M. C. Patel, B.A., LL.B., Oriental Printers Ltd., Mombasa.

INFLATION AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS (Current Thought Series). By T. V. Ramanujam, M.A. Published by S. Visvanathan, 14, Singanna Naick St., G. T., Madras.

I. L. O. PUBLICATIONS

1. THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LABOUR STATISTICIANS, 1948 (Studies & Reports New Series, No. 7. Part 4).
2. SECOND REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS 1948.
3. VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF ADULTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM 1948.

All the three books published by International Labour Office, New Delhi.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

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Nov. 26 Pakistan fails in U. N.: Zafrullah's charges dismissed.

—Sardar Patel replies to Zafrullah and declares India cannot desert Kashmir.

Nov. 27 Sardar Patel addresses Allahabad Convocation.

Nov. 28 Communists within 35 miles of Nanking.

—UNECAFE meets in Australia.

Nov. 29 Standstill Agreement with Nizam extended with modifications.

—Consambly adopts article on equality and abolition of untouchability.

Nov. 30 H. E. C. Rajagopalachari addresses Bengal Chamber.

—Calcutta University awards Doctorate to C. R.

Dec. 1 Vijayawada station of A.I.R. inaugurated.

—Civil War in China: Madam Chiang in U.S.A.

Dec. 2 H. E. C. Rajagopalachari delivers Benares Convocation address.

—Syria's attempt to move Hyderabad question in U.N. fails.

Dec. 3 Mr. R. R. Diwakar appointed new Information Minister.

Dec. 4 Gen. Cariappa appointed Commander-in-Chief of India.

Dec. 5 French India Governor Baron replaced by Mr. Maurice Thompson.

Dec. 6 Inter-Dominion talks begin at Delhi.

—Battle north of Nanking.

Dec. 7 U. K. threatens action against Israel,

—Russia demands dissolution of Korean Commission.

Dec. 8 Indonesia admitted to UNECAFE.

—Constituent assembly adopts article 23 providing cultural and educational rights for the minorities.

Dec. 9 R. S. S. Demonstrators rounded up. C. P. bans publication of Sangh chiefs' statements.

—Indian Residents Bill in Ceylon passes Second reading.

Dec. 10 ECAFE session at Lapstone concludes.

—U. N. Assembly adopts Declaration of Human rights.

Dec. 11 The Nizam in a letter to military Governor refutes Sir Zufrullah and pays a tribute to present impartial and efficient administration.

Dec. 12 Congress Working Committee at Jaipur adopts nine draft resolutions.

—Reds cut Government troops' life lines in Nanking area.

Dec. 13 Boundary Commission reports there is no justification at present for Linguistic provinces.

Dec. 14 Inter-Dominion Conference concludes at Delhi.

Dec. 15 Mr. Attlee accepts Mr. Belcher's resignation.

—Russia vetoes Ceylon's admission to U.N. membership.

Dec. 16 Subjects Committee of the Jaipur Congress agrees to working Committee's resolution on Foreign Policy.

—Fall of Peiping reported.

Dec. 17 Kashmir commission panel arrives for talks on plebiscite.

—Nizam's private army disbanded.

Dec. 18 Fiftyfifth session of the Indian National Congress meets in Jaipur, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya presiding.

Dec. 19 Dutch airborne troops occupy the Indonesian Republican capital of Jogjakarta and capture Drs. Soekarno, Hatta and Shariar.

Dec. 20 Dr. Lozano of the U. N. Kashmir Committee meets Pandit Nehru.

Dec. 21 U. S. Ambassador stresses need for treaty of friendship with India.

Dec. 22 U. N. asked to order immediate cease-fire in Indonesia.

—Tojo and six other Jap leaders hanged.

Dec. 23 Ceylon, India and Pakistan ban Dutch airlines.

Dec. 24 U. N. vetoes Israel's application for membership.

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

INDIA THE POWERFUL BULWARK

India's immense importance as a bulwark against Soviet expansion in Asia is stressed by the London *Economist* in an article.

The former Indian Empire, it writes, has been reconstituted as two states, one with a population of well over 300,000,000 and the other much smaller. "The disparity in population between the two units is accentuated by the contrast of industrial potentials, for India is heir to all the principal industrial areas developed before the partition. On the other hand, Pakistan is better off than India as regards food supplies and is also better furnished with exportable surpluses for the world market.

Further, Pakistan holds the North-Western mountain keys to the Indo-Gangetic Plain and is thus responsible for the defence of India, as well as of the most vulnerable land frontier of the sub-continent. It follows from these facts that India and Pakistan are interdependent to a high degree both economically and strategically and that India's status as a Great Power must vary according to the state of its relations with Pakistan. The two nations in close co-operation can be extremely strong.

If India and Pakistan can work together they can not only assure peace to the whole vast area formerly ruled by Asoka, by Akbar and by the British Viceroys; they will also exert a powerful influence for stability both in the Middle-East, on the one hand, and in South-East Asia on the other. Their joint interests are bound to extend their horizons both to the West and East of the Indian sub-continent."

Not long ago there was hardly a politcian in India who was actively concerned about the country's external interests, continues *The Economist*, all attention was concentrated on the struggle for national independence. "Foreign affairs remained under British direction up to the final transfer of power and it was fashionable to regard the North-West Frontier almost as a British invention. Now that independence has been achieved, the new Governments of India and Pakistan are quite well aware that they have to guide the destinies of their countries in a world of great strains and stresses which can affect the regions close beyond the Khyber or east of the Bay of Bengal."

Nor are they unaware of their countries' dependence on supplies of food, oil and other essential commodities from nearby countries—an interest which must cause them to keep a very sharp eye on what happens in Burma, Indonesia or Iran. "Pakistan, as a Moslem state, has also a special interest in the fate of all the Moslem countries, and therefore, of the Middle East as a whole; and India also has an interest in the independence of the States which can serve as buffers between India and the Soviet Union. Without the strength and cohesion of India, there would be great danger of a Russian expansion all over Asia, because of the absence of any effective resistance by the Asiatic States themselves."

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PRODIGIES

The emergence of a musical prodigy Pierino Gamba who at the age of ten has been drawing crowds to Harringay Musical Festival where he successfully conducted the London Philharmonic Orchestra, has set Scientists thinking. To what can we attribute the amazing ability and experience at such a young age? Robert W. Harter, writing in *Prediction*, observes that medical men attribute such feats to abnormal glands, especially the pituitary, the adrinals and that tiny mysterious gland the pineal.

"Without doubt the secretions of these glands so contribute to, or retard, as the case may be, development of mental ability. But, unless science can prove beyond all doubt that the glands of the new-born child contain minute cells which have within them the innate knowledge, experience, and proclivity of ancestors in the realms of music, painting, mathematics, languages, and other spheres, how can science account for the phenomenal child wonders of every age which puzzle humanity? And science has so far failed to prove this fact."

Anyway there can be no doubt that extraordinary genius at early age has manifested itself in different fields of thought and activity.

Lord Macaulay wrote a universal history when only seven, an accomplishment which an adult four times his age would have considered a feat. At the age of three, when toys reign supreme in a boy's life, John Stuart Mill, the philosopher, began to study Greek. When only five, Jean Phillipe Baratier translated the Greek Bible. When six, he was a member of an ecclesiastical synod in Berlin. And at fourteen, he took the degree of doctor of philosophy. Even at four he could speak German, French and Latin.

"In the realms of painting Roswitha Bitterlich began her painting and drawing career at three years of age. By seventeen she exhibited 400 of her paintings and drawings.

Sir Francis Galton, pioneer of finger-printing which plays such an important part to-day in scientific detection of crime, learned to read when only two-and a half. Multiplication tables, the bane of every school child, he had mastered by the age of five.

Medical science may argue that it was the abnormal glands of Kenneth Wolf, born in Cleveland, Ohio, which enables his such speedy mental development that he was able to talk perfectly when only four months old, able to read at twelve months, and able to study and absorb the knowledge which enabled him to matriculate at only nine years old.

But it was a physical impossibility for the wonder child of Dr. Clench to have even amassed so much law, history, geography, mathematics and astronomy in his brief twelve years, so that the verdict about him was—"This boy has more knowledge than most men in the world."

No scientific explanation can account for Sidis, U. S. A. wonder child, having the knowledge to lecture on the abstruse fourth dimension to learned professors at the age of eleven. Can there be any other solution to the problem of child prodigies, than the only accountable one for the babe Christian Heinecken speaking when only a few hours old—Re-incarnation?

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VARIED USES OF HELICOPTER

Industrial and other uses of the helicopter are increasing rapidly throughout the world, Lawrence D. Bell reports in an article in the current quarterly issue of the American magazine *Air Affairs*. The author, a U. S. helicopter designer and manufacturer, tells how the machines are being used to save and increase agricultural crops, in forest-fire fighting, oil exploration and many other fields. In Argentina, he writes, 10 helicopters are credited with having stopped a 25-million-dollar loss of crops to locusts; in Iraq helicopters are being used to pollinate date palms; in north-eastern United States potato fields record yields per acre are being obtained with the help of insecticide sprayed from the craft.

Extensive use of the helicopter is planned by the U. S. military services. The planes, it is reported, will be stationed at more than 50 Army posts and, eventually, aboard every U. S. aircraft carrier for communications, observation, and rescue work. The latter task is one which helicopters—because of their ability to rise and descend vertically, and hover above a particular spot—have been performing for many years from the Arctic to jungle areas.

Use of the helicopter may be further increased by an invention of a young American engineer, Charles Kaman, and several colleagues, all of whom work in aircraft construction. They have developed a helicopter which is said to be simpler, lighter and less expensive than any previous type; says U. S. I. S.

The Kaman machine, powered by a 190-horsepower engine, is distinguished by twin-revolving rotors whose blades intermesh and change pitch through the operation of small tab attachments behind the trailing edges of the blades. Hitherto, the necessary change in pitch of rotor blades, as they revolve in opposite directions, has been attained by discs and other devices in the hubs. These are of heavy construction and require a mechanism to offset vibrations they cause.

With the Kaman blade there is no vibration, the builders say. Both the blades and the hubs not only are lighter and simpler but cheaper to build and easier to maintain. The Kaman helicopter, its builders say, can be produced for about half the cost of present models.

MUSLIMS IN INDIA

That the India Government's police action in Hyderabad had brought communal peace in India, and the Muslims in India to-day were free citizens again, is emphasised by Mr. Horace Alexander in an aritcle in the "*New Statesman and Nation.*"

Giving the background of the whole Hyderabad episode, and fully supporting the Government of India's action, Mr. Alexander says: "It was a moving experience to participate on Sept. 26 in the service of thanksgiving at the great Jammu Masjid at Delhi, where some 20,000 people, most of them Muslims, but with a sprinkling of their Hindu neighbours, gave thanks for the restoration of peace in Hyderabad, and for their own merciful deliverance.

"A year ago, hardly a Muslim dared show his face or his headgear in the streets of Delhi. To-day, they are free citizens again. Pandit Nehru and his friends have had a hard fight to achieve their secular State. Mahatma Gandhi had to sacrifice his life for it. But today it seems that they have nearly won the battle. The Muslims of India can hold up their head, can walk in the streets without fear."

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PATH TO PROSPERITY

Mr. K. B. Gajendragadkar, Pleader, Satara, recommends the following twenty four maxims to be read carefully and thoughtfully daily in the morning before one begins one's routine work.

1. Make few promises.
2. Always speak the truth.
3. Never speak evil of any one.
4. Keep good company or none.
5. Live up to your engagements.
6. Never play a game of chance.
7. Drink no kind of intoxicating liquors.
8. Good character is above all things else.
9. Keep your own secrets if you have any.
10. Never borrow if you possibly can help it.
11. Do not marry until you are able to support a wife.
12. Keep yourself innocent if you would be happy.
13. When you speak to a person look him in the face.
14. Make no haste to be rich if you would prosper.
15. Ever live (misfortunes excepted) within your income.
16. Save when you are young to spend when you are old.
17. Avoid temptation, through fear you may not withstand it.
18. Never run into debt unless you see a way to get out again.
19. Small and steady gains give competency with a tranquil mind.
20. Good company and good conversation are the sinews of virtue.
21. Your character cannot be essentially injured except by your own acts.
22. If any one speaks evil of you, let your life be such that no one will believe him.
23. When you retire to bed, think over what you have been doing during the day.
24. Never be idle, if your hands can't be employed usefully, attend to the cultivation of your mind.

WARNING TO WESTERN POWERS

The Labour Member of Parliament, Mr. Richard Crossman, writing in the *Sunday Pictorial* asserts that recent events in China should be a lesson for the Western Powers not to depend too greatly on American military power.

"Chiang Kai-shek's armies were equipped with American weapons and supported by a very large and efficient force of American bombers, fighters, and pursuit planes", he wrote. The Communists licked them, though they possessed hardly a single æroplane.

This should be a warning to all those who rely on American air power and atom bombs to protect Europe against Communism.

The democratic world might have been far stronger if we had never discovered the atom bomb. Because we possess it some people think we can rely on air power as a substitute for a real constructive alternative to Communism. It is not in a cold war or in a hot one."

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INDIAN STATES

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Hyderabad

NIZAM REFUTES ZAFRULLAH

The Nizam of Hyderabad, in a letter to the Military Governor, Major-General J. N. Chaudhry, refutes the statements, made by Sir Mahommed Zafrullah Khan recently while asking for an early meeting of the Security Council to consider the Hyderabad situation.

The following is the text of the letter received by Gen. Chaudhry from the Nizam.

My dear friend,

I am surprised to see in the newspapers that Zafrullah Khan has again made a statement regarding Hyderabad and is asking for an early meeting of the Security Council to arrest what he calls 'the fast deteriorating situation of the State.'

As a matter of fact, the situation is considerably better than it was some months ago and the subjects of my State are living peacefully.

There is no doubt that the administration had broken down during the latter part of the last Ministry's regime. But at present, the Military Government has achieved success, not only in restoring but improving the administrative machinery.

All shades of opinion in the State feel that the present administration is impartial and efficient.

I feel happy to think that through the endeavours of the Military Government my subjects are settling down to normal life. I am sorry to note that Sir Zafrullah Khan has made such a misleading statement.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) Nizam VII.

THE HYDERABAD ASSEMBLY

It has been decided by the Government that electoral rolls should be prepared as a first step towards the summoning of a Constituent Assembly for framing a constitution for Hyderabad, says a *firman* issued by the Nizam dated December 1.

The *firman* adds: "I therefore, hereby call upon all officers and all subjects of Hyderabad State to render full assistance and co-operation in measures to be taken for preparation of electoral rolls for the Constituent Assembly."

The Hyderabad Legislative Assembly which was constituted under functional representation with Hindu-Muslim parity in the previous regime has been dissolved. A notification says: "With a view to constituting a fully representative body elected by the people at as early a date as possible H. E. H. the Nizam has deemed it expedient to abolish the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly constituted under the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly Act of 1355 Fasli."

Cochin

TRIBUTE TO PRINCE'S SCHOLARSHIP

A tribute to the scholarship of H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin, Sri Rama Varma was paid by Mr. Justice S. Panchapagesa Sastri, of the Madras High Court, at a public Durbar held at the Durbar Hall Ernakulum on Dec. 4 to present to His Highness the title of "Darsana Kalanidhi" conferred by His Holiness Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam.

Men of letters legislators, and high officials attended the Durbar.

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Mysore

RATIONING IN MYSORE

A new scheme for distribution of cloth to consumers throughout Mysore State was enforced with effect from 1st December by means of the introduction of coupons at the rate of 10 yards per person out of which 5 yards are given in the first instance.

The coupons are distributed on a population basis taking the taluk as the unit and are not transferable from one unit to another. The coupons are distributed on the basis of the food ration card which must be produced for the purpose.

Eight thousand retailers have been selected from the trade for the distribution. This figure includes co-operative societies. There will be no discrimination in regard to classification of the retailers and there will be uniformity by reason of fixed quotas. It is Government's hope that this new scheme will minimise the margin of black-marketing. No cloth merchant can infiltrate into the villages and take away the goods therefrom to the urban areas.

MYSORE & THE MODEL CONSTITUTION

The Government of Mysore, have it is understood, received intimation from New Delhi that an expert committee is to be appointed in the Indian Constituent Assembly to evolve a model constitution for all the States and that it will be instructed to finish its work early.

Pending completion of the work of that committee, the Mysore Constituent Assembly has been requested to hold up its proceedings.

Baroda

BARODA STATE COUNCIL

The Baroda State Council consisting of the Dewan, the Minister for Law and Her Highness Shanta Devi (President) met for the first time at Laxmi Vilas Palace, Baroda in November last, to discharge its duties in the absence of the Maharaja.

The Council gave assent to the 1948-49 budget of the State passed by the Legislative Assembly and also to the 24 bills adopted by the House including the Harijan Temple Entry Bill and the Incometax Bill.

BARODA TO BE DRY IN 4 YEARS

Addressing the Baroda State Legislature on October 18, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, said that by progressive reduction in the consumption of liquor in the State, total prohibition would be achieved in four years. Total prohibition will be introduced in Amreli and Okhamandal districts of the State from such date as might be decided upon by the Government of Saurashtra and Junagadh in their respective territories adjacent to these districts.

The implementation of the prohibition policy would entail a loss of revenue estimated at Rs. 13 lakhs this year.

Danta

DANTA TO MERGE

The Danta State, west of Rajputana and adjoining Palanpur, Sirohi and Idar, will be integrated with the Province of Bombay. The Ruler of Danta has signed the instrument of merger. (The population of State is 31,000.)

Mayurbhanj

MAYURBHANJ ADMINISTRATION

Dr. D. V. Rege, formerly Commissioner of Jubbulpore division of the Central Provinces took over the administration of Mayurbhanj State on November 8, on behalf of the State Ministry.

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Kashmir

U. N. COMMISSION'S REPORT

The difficulties of arranging a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir are stressed in the first part of the United Nations Kashmir Commission's report.

The Commission has presented only an Interim Report and does not attempt to draw any final conclusions or make recommendations for future action by the Security Council.

The report states that the Pakistan army in Jammu and Kashmir "confronted the Commission with an unforeseen and entirely new situation" and "along the lines of the Security Council's resolution of April 21 and the basis of the situation explained in the report, the Commission considered that the Pakistan Government should be asked as the first step towards the final solution of the dispute to withdraw its forces from the State of Jammu and Kashmir with an understanding that as the second step the withdrawal of the bulk of the Indian troops would occur."

In a detailed account of its work of investigation and fact-finding on the spot, the Five-Member Commission states: "The situation which confronted the Commission upon its arrival was different from that which had been envisaged by the Security Council during the deliberations which preceded the formulation of its resolutions in as much as regular Pakistan troops are within the frontiers of the States of Jammu and Kashmir participating in the fighting. This new element necessarily influenced the approach of the Commission with regard to the implementation of the Security Council's resolution on April 21.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE CONSTITUTION

"While Travancore is prepared to consider the model constitution to be framed by the Committee set up by the States Ministry and examine the suitability of the same for adoption in Travancore, the Travancore Government have protested against the suggestion that they should await the model constitution", said Mr. T. K. Narayana Pillai, Prime Minister of Travancore, at Madras early last month in an interview.

Mr. Pillai said that the model constitution aimed at bringing about uniformity in the administration of States. But the Travancore Government's stand was that Travancore had the right to frame its own constitution.

Madhya Bharat

SARDAR PATEL INAUGURATES DARA SABHA

Inaugurating the Dara Sabha, Legislative Assembly of Madhya Bharat in the Secretariat, Gwalior on December 4, the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, emphasised the importance of integrity in administration, spirit of service, and mutual co-operation with the Rulers and services for the betterment of the country.

Sounding a warning to the representatives, he said: "We have taken over from the Rulers a rule that has gone on for many centuries. We have to realise the magnitude and the extent of that responsibility. If we fail to do our duty properly, we shall be sinners."

The Deputy Premier also paid a glowing tribute to the patriotism of the Princes,

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

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Ceylon

INDIANS AND CITIZENSHIP BILL

"The refusal of the Ceylon Premier, Mr. D. S. Senanayake to give an assurance regarding equality of status to citizens by registration, and definite exclusion of Ceylon Indians from the benefits of the three existing Ordinances reduce Indians to an inferior type of citizenship," declared Mr. A. Aziz, President, Ceylon Indian Congress, in a statement on the correspondence between the Prime Ministers of Ceylon and India on the Indian Residents (Citizenship) Bill.

Mr. Aziz added: "The basis of negotiations was: 1. that qualifications for citizenship would be for the inclusion of Indians as citizens of Ceylon; 2. that the procedure laid down for establishing these conditions would be simple; and 3. that citizenship offered would be full."

"All these three points appear to have been violated by the Government of Ceylon. The conditions laid down are such as to make it impossible for a large number of Indians here to become citizens of Ceylon.

Particularly the points referred to about the expiry of the period of residence and the distinction btween married and unmarried persons the requirement of adeqate means of livelihood and each minor child being resident with a person in the island make the conditions vicious."

Mr. Aziz drew attention to the introduction of a new point which the Govenment of Ceylon had not previously raised in the negotiations in 1940 in Delhi and in 1941 in Colombo, namely the "capacity to observe the laws of Ceylon."

South Africa

POLAK ON MALAN GOVT'S. POLICY

Mr. Erick Louw, Chief South Africa delegate to the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, must not take for granted the ignorance of the public here (England) or in India regarding South Africa affairs says Mr. H. S. L. Polak in a letter published in the London *Times*.

Mr. Polak who has had a life-time connection with Indian affairs including ten years' active association with Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa says, with all his attempts to paint an immaculate picture of the South African scene, Mr. Louw has not been able to blot out the race and colour bar there, so strongly condemned by progressive South Africans.

"Had Mr. Louw to pay the normal taxes and at the same time to endure the political, economic and social disabilities of the Natal Indians (whose relatively 'prosperous' condition is due almost entirely to their own unaided efforts and which Mr. Louw's white countrymen are seeking deliberately to undermine) he would better understand exactly where the harrow gripped," he states.

"Now the price—a nominal Indian franchise—which General Smut's Government was willing to pay for the extension of the Transvaal segregation policy to Natal has been taken by the abolition of that franchise by Dr. Malan's Government". Mr. Polak adds, "Is it to be wondered at that the more moderate elements among the Indian leaders have been temporarily overshadowed by the more extreme? Every reactionary activity of Mr. Louw and his colleagues will inevitably increase the influence of the latter. For this, the responsibility will not lie with the Indians."

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Questions of Importance

REPORT OF THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION

The Linguistic Provinces Commission set up by the President of the Constituent Assembly have recommended against the formation of linguistic provinces at present. They have, however, expressed the opinion that when the Indian States have been completely integrated and the country fully stabilised, some of the Provinces should be reformed on an administrative basis.

The Commission, who have submitted an unanimous report, recognise that there is a sincere and strong demand for the creation of linguistic provinces and that its non-fulfilment may lead to much disappointment. Nevertheless, they think that an emergency exists in India which would not justify acceding to the demand at present.

The Commission say that the first and last need of India at the present moment is that it should be made a nation. The Constitution, which is now being forged for India, as also all the multifarious problems which clamour for immediate solution have to be considered in relation to this paramount necessity. Everything which helps the growth of nationalism has to go forward, and everything which throws obstacles in its way has to be rejected or should stand over.

"We have applied this test", say the Commission, "to linguistic provinces, and judged by this test, they fail and cannot be supported. If once the principle is recognised, it will set the ball rolling for the disintegration of the entire country."

The Commission was appointed, as a result of a discussion in the Assembly in November 1947, and of a recommendation by the Drafting Committee in their report. The Chairman was Mr. S. K. Dar, a former Judge of the Allahabad High Court.

INTER-DOMINION ISSUES

The Inter-Dominion Conference between India and Pakistan, which concluded in Delhi on December 15, after sitting for nine days in an effort to iron out outstanding differences between the two Dominions barring Kashmir, reached "a very substantial measure of agreement" according to a Press Note, issued from the External Affairs Ministry.

On the political side, the new Agreement is based very largely on the Calcutta Agreement. The principal new features of the Agreement relate to the provision of machinery for ensuring prompt and satisfactory implementation of the various undertakings by the two Governments.

To resolve boundary disputes between East Bengal and West Bengal and East Bengal-Assam, a high-power judicial tribunal is to be set up before January 13, 1949.

WORK OF ECAFE'S SESSION

A feeling of futility and frustration was prevalent amongst most members of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, whose two-week conference ended at Lapstone (N. S. W.) on December 2.

The five-year "Master Plan" for the development of industry and agriculture produced by a working party of the Commission has been shelved through lack of funds from either the U. S. or the International Monetary Bank.

Hopes that ECAFE would become the Asian counterpart of the European Advisory Council, set up to deal with Marshall Plan problems, have also been dashed.

It was agreed that the Commission would meet in May or June, 1949 in Singapore.

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Utterances of the Day

PANDIT NEHRU'S APPEAL

Addressing a congregation in the Lakshminarayan Temple, Delhi, in connection with the Gita Jayanthi celebration Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the freedom which they had won had no meaning if they were not able to solve the problem of poverty and hunger. He asked the audience to be free from rancour and free from fear and narrow-mindedness. In the past, Pandit Nehru said, India had opened her gates to all people. In the new world of today, India had to be in cordial relations with all countries of the world if she was to attain her proper position in the comity of the nations. He appealed to the audience to follow the great teachings of the Gita, Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi.

SARDAR PATEL'S WARNING

Addressing a public meeting at Gwalior last month, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, said that every loyal Muslim must be treated as a brother citizen and, if anyone thought he was at liberty to trouble Muslims, then the freedom won by them was not worthwhile.

Sardar Patel made an earnest appeal to members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh to change their outlook. The Government of India, he said, could not tolerate any challenge to the peace and tranquillity of the State. He had heard that some of them were waiting to resort to "satyagraha." "I warn them", Sardar Patel said, "that we have all the resources necessary to meet such a challenge."

Sardar Patel criticised Communist activities which, he said, were intended to transplant a foreign system of society and culture into the country by resorting to crimes.

At the outset, Sardar Petel asked all those in the States, who had secured Self-Government, to ponder as to how they got it and what part each one of them had played in achieving it. "If you feel" Sardar Patel said, "that you have done nothing to secure freedom, you must ask yourself what you can do to make the best use of the freedom which has been secured by others at considerable sacrifice and suffering. If you do not think on these lines and you do not make your contribution to the well-being and prosperity of India, India will relapse into slavery and posterity will curse us for having thrown away a good opportunity.

In spite of partition, India is a large entity. To unity it was our first concern. For this purpose, we had to explain to the Princes of 600 States what their patriotic duty was, I am glad that all of them responded to the call of the country. Those who did not listen to that call are now repenting for what they had done. You are seeing the fate of Junagadh and Hyderabad. We have now made it clear that those who are disloyal to the country can have no place here. They must all go. India has room only for loyal Indians. In this respect, religion is no concern of ours. India is ours; we shall flourish or die here."

"Kashmir alone remains to be solved," Sardar Patel said. "We shall settle the problem as well."

PANDIT PANT ON R. S. S. SATYAGRAHA

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, U.P. Premier said at Lucknow on December 15, that the R. S. S. Satyagraha was "ill-advised" and in the context of the crisis through which India was passing, it was also "ill-timed."

He advised R. S. S. youth to divert their energies to constructive channels and not to disturb the peace of the land.

The Premier, who was addressing a Press Conference, declared: "The R. S. S. Satyagraha will not give courage to the soldier who is fighting India's battle in Kashmir. It will only hearten the enemies of India who will rejoice that some people have challenged the authority of the Indian Government. No Government worth the name can countenance an open defiance of the laws of the land which constitutes a challenge to its authority and lowers its prestige in the eyes of the world."

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Political

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SALARY

The Governor-General of India will, henceforth, receive a monthly salary of Rs. 5,500, free of Income-tax. A decision to this effect was taken at a meeting of the Indian Cabinet on December 15.

This was revealed by the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the course of his speech in the Subjects Committee meeting of the Jaipur Congress. Pandit Nehru was speaking on the resolution entitled "The Message," which was moved by Mr. Shankerrao Deo, General Secretary of the Congress.

"Sri Rajagopalachari," Pandit Nehru said, "wrote a letter to me and also to Sardar Patel suggesting that this question should be taken by the Cabinet and the salary decreased. We discussed this question and decided that Rs. 5,500 should be the highest salary in India and it should be free of tax; otherwise the salary will come to only Rs. 3,000 after paying the taxes. The head of every State is exempted from taxes and there is no point why Rajaji should not have this privilege. We took into consideration this question on the suggestion of Rajaji himself and it was only yesterday (December 15,) that we took the decision.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO UNESCO

India's contribution to the UNESCO has been fixed at 3·86 per cent. of the total expenditure by the Budget Sub-Commission of 12 members which concluded its work on December 9 after approving all programmed items for 1949.

The proposed UNESCO Budget is for 7.78 million dollars and it will be submitted to the plenary session of the general conference for approval. The highest contribution is that of the United States, being 38·47 per cent. the United Kingdom coming next with 13.5 per cent. China and France will contribute 7·15 per cent each.

NEW ARTICLES IN THE CONSTITUTION

The Constituent Assembly incorporated in the draft Constitution a directive principle of policy requiring the State to take steps for the organisation of village panchayats and empowering them with necessary powers and authority to enable them to function as units of self-government. The amendment was sponsored by Mr. K. Santanam and agreed to by Dr. Ambedkar.

The Assembly also approved provisions in the draft constitution embodying certain principles of policy to be followed by the State.

The relevant article declares that citizens, men and women equally have the right to adequate means of livelihood, that ownership and control of the material resources of the community should be so distributed as best to subserve common good, that the State should see that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment, that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women, that the strength and health of workers and tender age of children are not abused, and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN SERVICES

One of the Fundamental Rights promising equality of opportunities to all citizens in the matter of public services was approved by the Constituent Assembly. The article was passed with a few amendments after Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. K. M. Munshi had replied to the debate.

The article contains a provision under which reservations can be made in the services for "backward classes." The use of this phrase led to a lot of discussion and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari apeaking on it once again attacked the Drafting Committee for its unsatisfactory work. The Draft, he said, was a "paradise for lawyers." The Article under discussion was particularly loose and vague and nobody could say who the backward classes were.

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Educational

STUDY OF SANSKRIT IN KABUL UNIVERSITY

The Kabul University of Afghanistan has made Sanskrit a compulsory subject in its curriculum for students taking languages. The reasons for its introduction as a compulsory subject are set out in a letter by Sardar Ghulam Mohamed Khan, *Charge d' Affaires* for Afghanistan in Delhi, to Mr. Ghanshyam Singh Gupta, Speaker of the Central Provinces Assembly, who had made an enquiry in this connection.

"Persian and Pushto are direct descendents of Sanskrit and still maintain a large vocabulary derived from Sanskrit," writes Sardar Ghulam Mohamed Khan, adding, "The idea behind the introduction of Sanskrit as a compulsory subject in the University is to make Pushto a more scientific language and to develop it to better standards. It is hoped that Sanskrit will be very helpful in this process."

EDUCATIONAL CONCESSIONS TO BACKWARD CLASSES

The Government of Madras have sanctioned the utilisation of Rs. one lakh provided in the Budget estimate for 1948-49 for the amelioration of the conditions of Backward Classes as distinct from Harijans, by granting scholarship to students reading in the college classes, and high schools. They have also directed that 75 per cent of the Rs. one lakh should be set apart for the grant of scholarships to deserving students of Backward Classes studying in arts and professional colleges, including the Law College, and the balance on the grant of scholarships to deserving students of Backward Classes studying in high schools, preference being given to women students.

DR. ZAKIR HUSSAIN

Dr. Zakir Hussain, Principal of Jamia Millia, was unanimously elected Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University at a meeting of the University Court. Sixty-five members attended the meeting.

TRAINING IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES

The Ministry of Defence have decided to establish a school of foreign languages for officers. To start with, instructions will be given in French, Russian, German, Persian, Arabic, Chinese and Japanese. Though the school is primarily intended for officers of the armed forces, civil officers of various Ministries will also be admitted.

Mr. P. N. Banerjee, a linguist, who knows eighteen modern and four classical languages has been appointed Director of the School.

C. R.'S ADDRESS AT ALIGARH CONVOCATION

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor-General of India, told the students of Aligarh University at a special convocation held on December 15, that universities had a very particular and important role to play in the advancement of culture and education in India. He added that the Government and himself would do everything in their power to enable the Aligarh University to perform its functions in a worthy manner.

NEW APPOINTMENTS

Dr. M. Abdul Huq, Principal of the Government Muslim College, Madras, has been appointed Principal of the Presidency College, Madras, in succession to Dr. S. G. Manavala Ramanujam who has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University.

Prof. K. Swaminathan, Additional Professor of English, Presidency College, Madras, has been appointed to officiate as Principal and Senior Lecturer, Government Muslim College, Madras.

NAUTICAL COLLEGE IN BOMBAY

An important step to meet the acute shortage of Indian Merchant Navy officers was taken recently with the starting of a nautical college in Bombay. For the first term there are 120 students who will receive post-sea instruction to enable them to take the examinations for the certificate of competency.

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KARNATAKA LAWYERS' CONFERENCE

Presiding over the first All-Karnataka Lawyers' Conference held at Dharwar on December 9, Mr. K. R. Karant, former Minister of the Government of Madras, pleaded for an independent, able and efficient judiciary which was a *sine quo non* of democracy and demanded the immediate separation of the judiciary and executive.

Referring to the new constitution of India that was being framed, he said that all of them were supporters and believers of democracy which was based on the fundamentals of civil liberties, of which freedom of person and speech, and freedom of property were important. The function of lawyers was mainly the protection of those fundamental rights. When those rights were being infringed, it became their duty to speak out and say what they felt about it. Certain provisions in respect of civil liberties had just been included in the new constitution in the making. But in the practical application those rights had to be safeguarded.

Speaking about liberty of person and property, he referred to the orders passed by the Madras Government investing the police with greater powers. He warned the Government against the practice of detention without trial.

RIGHT TO MOVE SUPREME COURT

The Constituent Assembly at its sitting on December 9 adopted, what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar described as "the most important, article" in the Draft Constitution, conferring the right on citizens to move the Supreme Court in the event of denial to them of their other fundamental rights. The Court has been empowered to issue directions or orders or writs including writs in the nature of 'Habeas Corpus', 'mandamus', prohibition, 'Quo Warranto' and 'Certiorari', whichever may be appropriate, for the enforcements of any of the fundamental rights conferred by this Constitution.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIARY

Sir Clifford Manmohan Agarwalla, Chief Justice of the Patna High Court inaugurating the annual conference of Bihar judicial officers on December 5, criticised the framers of the draft Indian Constitution and said they had not thought it necessary to insist upon the immediate separation of judicial and executive duties.

For decades, Sir Clifford said, those who were struggling for the freedom of India were made painfully aware of the danger to liberty which existed when judicial and executive duties were mingled and yet, when they had obtained the power to remedy that deplorable state of affairs, they had done nothing effective to remedy the defect.

Sir Clifford asked: "What is the reason? Why is it that a step which seemed so eminently desirable before August 15, 1947, has now lost its appeal for those who were formerly such ardent advocates of it? Is it not obvious that having discoverd that power over those appointed to administer the criminal law helps to lubricate the creaking machinery of administration, the Government is reluctant to part with that power, even though the public they claim to represent demands this long-overdue reform and even though they themselves are fully aware that it is a necessary step if the administration of criminal law is to command the confidence of the people for whose protection it exists?

I consider that without an absolutely independent judiciary, it is idle for the Constitution to contain a list of Fundamental Rights and it will be impossible to keep the springs of justice pure," Sir C. M. Agarwalla concluded.

JUSTICE VISWANATHA SASTRI

The Governor-General has appointed Mr. A. V. Viswanatha Sastri as a permanent Judge of the Madras High court.

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Insurance

AMENDMENTS TO INSURANCE ACT

Prevention of the cornering of control over insurance companies by mere financial interests and steps necessary to avoid inter-locking arrangements between banks and insurance companies were recommended by the Insurance Advisory Committee, which met recently under the chairmanship of the Commerce Minister, Mr. K. C. Neogy.

Provision to this effect will be made in the Insurance Amending Bill, which is expected to be introduced in the next session of the Parliament.

Among other subjects considered by the Committee were restrictions on investments of life funds; restrictions on the remuneration of insurance executives and officers; and limitations of over-all expenses.

STATE INSURANCE FOR WORKERS

The industrial survey undertaken in Madras Province in connection with the proposed Employees' State Insurance Scheme is expected to be completed by March 1949. The survey work commenced in August last and it was formerly expected that the work would be completed within a period of three months. Subsequently, however, it was found that in view of the magnitude of the problem it would take some more months.

The Government have appointed two officers, Capt. C. S. S. Sarma and Dr. S. G. Adinarayana Raju, for carrying out this survey. All districts north of Madras City (numbering eleven) are being covered by Dr. Raju and the other 14 districts by Dr. Sarma.

Explaining the object of the survey, Dr. Sarma stated that it was "to locate the worker concentrations in groups and numbers round about a large or small scale factory, and to site a suitable dispensary and a doctor to be in sole and complete charge of a fixed number of industrial workers under the definition of the Factory Act. The objective was to provide for the industrial worker a dispensary and a doctor within two miles of his habitat and place of work." This doctor who would be a whole-time officer would not be allowed to have private practice. The aim of Employees' State Insurance Corporation was to administer in one consolidated act the various benefits now obtaining for the worker under the Workman's Compensation Act and the Maternity Benefit Act.

Referring to the actual working of the Employees' State Insurance Act passed by the Government of India in April last, Dr. Sarma said that all employees working in factories which had a permanent set-up and which used power and where there were more than 20 labourers on the rolls, would be compelled to avail themselves of the insurance scheme, by paying 50 per cent. of the premium. (The other half of the premium would be shared in equal proportion by the Managements of factories and the Government.) Compulsory insurance administered under the Act would apply to all workers in receipt of a salary of Rs. 400 and less irrespective of their position in the industrial establishments. Under the scheme the workers and their families would not only get the benefit of sound medical advice and free treatment but also 'cash bonus' for the number of days they are asked to absent themselves for medical reasons. The Insurance Fund proposed to spend as much as Rs. 6 per head per annum, Dr. Sarma stated.

FREE MEDICAL AID IN BRITAIN

All visitors to Britain from abroad are now entitled to free medical treatment under the new National Health Service. Those staying for a month or longer receive on arrival a leaflet explaining the facilities at their disposal.

Visitors staying for more than three months can register with any doctor taking part in the scheme. Those staying for shorter periods can in case of illness apply for free medical treatment and free hospital treatment.

Over 18,000 general practitioners and 8,300 dentists have now joined the service. Ninety-three per cent of the population have registered with their doctors. Since last July about 1,750,000 people have applied for free dental treatment.

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Trade and Finance

ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS

India's Finance Minister, Dr. John Mathai, addressing the annual general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 13 said; "We are faced with a somewhat extraordinary situation. On the one hand, there is a marked inflationary trend and on the other, a low level of investment and business activity."

The address by the Finance Minister broke the traditional history of the Associated Chambers, which had previously always been addressed by the Head of the State and, for the past two years, by the Prime Minister, at its annual meetings.

A packed house of India's leading businessmen, West Bengal Ministers and prominent citizens heard the Finance Minister summing up the present economic problem in the country in these words:

The Government of India have already given concessions to encourage the starting of new industries, while they are also themselves engaged in promoting large-scale schemes of agricultural development. As for prices of commodities, the immediate objective is to stabilise rather than curtail prices.

Apart from the increase in cost of production due to the general rise in labour and material cost, one contributory cause has been the level of direct taxation.

Under the Government's declared industrial policy, there will be good scope left to private enterprise to which the Government attach great importance as might be witnessed by the concessions given by them recently to aid new industries and their policy of protection of existing industries.

E. P. T. deposits will be refunded within three years for those who require it for the purpose of financing worn-out plant and machinery.

The Government have no desire to take any steps which will in any way injure British interests in India. At the same time there is a responsibility resting on non-Indian concerns to give reasonable opportunities to the nationals of the country to acquire training and find employment in the industries run by them.

The meeting adopted a number of resolutions dealing mainly with India's export trade policy, tax on capital gains, profit-sharing, labour legislation, sales taxes, railway transport and limitation of divdends.

MARSHALL PLAN FOR ASIA

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, 15 Far Eastern countries headed by India, China and the Philipines have gone ahead with the organisation of a Marshall Plan for Asia. Official Confirmation of this report, however, is not forthcoming as yet. The main object of the plan, the journal states, is to accelerate the pace of industrialization in the East. The spokesmen of the plan, are said to have approached the U. S. Department of State, which advised them to concentrate on throwing the doors open to private investors and private bankers for a sizeable part of the requirements.

INCOME-TAX ENQUIRY

The Governor-General, on November 19, promulgated an Ordinance to amend the Taxation of Income. (Investigation Commission) Act, so as to give effect to certain urgent recommendations made by the Income-tax Investigation Commission.

The Commission had called upon a number of banks to furnish information in respect of all but specified categories of current account and deposit account transactions exceeding certain specified monetary limits during the years 1941 to 1947. Objection was taken on behalf of some of the banks on the grounds, first, that there were practical difficulties in complying with the requisition in view of the efflux of time and, secondly, that they should not be placed in an embarrassing position if the law was not quite clear about the powers of the Commission to call for information about all clients and depositors instead of about specified cases of individuals only.

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Women's Page

MILITARY TRAINING FOR WOMEN

Presiding over the annual conference of the Madras Branch of the All-India Women's Conference, Her Highness the Maharani of Bhavanagar appealed to women to co-operate with the Government as far as possible "in their task of administration and their projects for the betterment of womenfolk in India."

The resolution that was discussed at length at the session was the following one moved by Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathi:

"With a view to emphasising the importance of the principle of equality of status between men and women, this conference requests the Central Government to recruit women to the army in their new schemes of Indianisation. This step will be in conformity with the removal of sex disqualification in respect of all administrative posts in the civil side."

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi seconded the resolution and stressed the need for training women in self-defence.

Mrs. Mona Hensman brought an amendment to the effect that women should be trained for self-defence. Moving the amendment, Mrs. Hensman disapproved the ideal of imparting military training, for women, she added, could serve the army in various other ways, as in ambulance, air raid precaution work, etc. Women were by nature peace-loving and to recruit them to the army was repugnant to Indian tradition. The utmost that could be done was to give them training for self-protection and self-defence.

Mrs. Sushila Indersen and Mrs. Guhapriya spoke supporting the amendment.

Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathi agreed to the amended resolution, which was put to vote and carried. The amended resolution was as follows: "With a view to emphasising the importance of the principle of equality of status between men and women, this conference requests the Central Government to include women in their new scheme of Indianisation for the purpose of training women for self-defence and self-protection."

WOMEN'S PROGRESS IN INDIA

Lady Rama Rau, wife of the Indian Ambassador, expressed dismay in a speech at Washington at America's lack of knowledge of what had been happening in India during the last 25 years—particularly concerning the part women were playing in the life of the Nation.

Measured against the difficulties that had to be overcome, the achievements of the All-India Women's Conference had been little short of dramatic, she told the Advertising Women's Club.

Prominent among these difficulties had been a literacy rate among women in India of only two per cent—the result of the educational system introduced by the British. This system had been out of touch with the spirit of India and, because of this, it was felt that women should remain aloof from it, and remain the lasting link between what belonged to India and what was being introduced into it.

Lady Rama Rau pointed out that social evils which the Women's Conference had set out to remove had not always been evils. As an example, child marriage had been desirable in the old days of the joint family system, when it served as a period of training for the onerous part the woman would be required to play as a member of the family. It was only when the joint family system broke down what was once a perfectly understandable practice became an evil and warranted the attention of reformers.

FREEDOM FROM PURDAH

The Muslim women of the Hyderabad State have submitted a memorial to the Military Governor appealing to him to come to their "aid" for the abolition of the "purdah" system.

"You have given the men in the State the freedom of movement, freedom of speech and freedom in every respect. Please come to our aid and get us freedom from this oppression." The appeal is signed by 500 "purdah-nashin" Muslim women.

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PROF. RENOU ON SANSKRIT STUDIES

"Significance of Sanskrit studies in the West" was the subject of a lecture delivered by Prof. Louis Renou at the Ranade Hall, Madras, under the auspices of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer presiding.

The artificiality of Indian literature, Sir C. P. held, like the artificiality of Latin, Greek and French literature generally coincided with certain national impulses and aspects of national life.

Prof. Renou in the course of his speech said that there were not many authentic facts in the numerous Sanskrit books in India. If he were asked to speak before a French public, continued the lecturer, he would have ardently insisted on Indian humanism. The singularity of the facts or paradoxes was calculated to find a wider audience among the Frenchmen than ever before.

TECHNICAL TERMS

Pandit Nehru has uttered a warning against the evolving of technical terms which the common man could not understand. This tendency had been very marked recently.

Addressing the Central Board of Irrigation in New Delhi last month the Prime Minister, said: "In my personal opinion the terms which have gained currency should be retained. Science and technology know no frontiers, and narrow nationalism is not conducive to the progress of science. By following a policy of isolation, you will really be drifting away from science and the people, and forming an isolated priesthood which no one will understand or care for."

GANDHI BIOGRAPHY IN ITALIAN

A biography in Italian of Mahatma Gandhi written by Professor Tucci, the well-known Italian Orientalist, is being published in Rome. The book deals mainly with the outlook of Mahatma Gandhi and his philosophy.

DEATH OF A. E. W. MASON

The British author, Mr. A. E. W. Mason, died in London at the age of 83. In all, he wrote 27 novels, many of them best sellers.

GENERAL CARIAPPA

The appointment of Lieutenant-General K. M. Cariappa as the new Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army was officially announced on December 4 last.

A Defence Ministry communique said: "The Government of India have decided to appoint Lieutenant-General K. M. Cariappa, G.O.C.-in-Chief, Western Command, to succeed General Sir F.R.R. Bucher, as Chief of the Army Staff and Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army. Lieut.-General Cariappa will take over the new appointment on January 15, 1949."

General Cariappa is the first Indian C.-in-C. of the Indian Army. Genreal Bucher has been Commander-in-Chief since the beginning of January 1948.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN AND UNESCO

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has been elected Chairman of the UNESCO's Executive Board.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has been a member of the Executive Board since the inception of UNESCO and his work in the general conferences and Executive Board has won universal appreciation.

The Executive Board consists of 13 members elected by the general conference in Arts, the Humanities, Sciences, Education and diffusion of ideas and represent diverse cultures and geographical areas. The Executive Board is responsible for the execution of programmes adopted by the general conference and its members and exercises powers delegated by the conference on its behalf as a whole and not as representative of their respective Governments.

INDIA'S AMBASSADOR TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mr. N. Raghavan, first Indian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, presented his credentials to President Klement Gottwald on Dec. 8.

The Ambassador expressed his conviction that "friendship and collaboration between our two countries would contribute in a great measure for the noble ideal of peace, progress and happiness for mankind."

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DR. CHERIAN ON CARE OF THE EAR

"Normal hearing and hearing defects" was the subject of an address by Dr. P. V. Cherian under the auspices of the Madras International Fellowship.

Referring to the causes of defects in hearing, Dr. Cherian said that excessive collection of wax affected the external ear. He warned against the vefy common practice of trying to remove the wax either by the little finger, or by some other means. He also warned against seeking the aid of quacks who offered to remove "not only the wax but also living creatures from the ears." The middle ear went wrong whenever the atmospheric pressure exceeded the air pressure inside the cavity, which was being kept in equal proportion by a tube connecting the mouth and the small bones in the middle ear. Ordinary cold, tonsils or adenoids caused this defect. Highly infectious diseases like typhoid, influenza, chicken-pox, etc., affected the internal ear.

Dr. Cherian then referred to the problem of children born deaf and said that it was criminal to club them along with the mute. The speaker disapproved the use of the nomenclature 'deaf and dumb.' The deaf children were dumb, because they could not hear and imitate the voices. Under certain conditions, their vocal chords had been found to move.

PATENT MEDICINES

Under the Drugs Act, 1940, and the Drugs Rules, 1945, no patent and proprietary medicines, *i.e.*, no non-pharmacopœial drugs, can be imported into, manufactured nor sold in India unless these bear on their label either their composition or the number of the registration certificate granted by the Central Drugs Laboratory, Calcutta, says a Press Note.

Although the Drugs Act and Rules have been in force from April, 1947, the control over patent and proprietary medicines has not actually been enforced so far. It will be rigidly enforced with effect from April 1, 1949.

Radio

VIJAYAWADA GOES ON THE AIR

The Vijayawada station of the All-In Radio was inaugurated on December 1 Sardar Patel, Duputy Prime Minister of Ind thus adding yet another link in the Gove ment of India's scheme for the expans of broadcasting centres on linguistic basi

Broadcasting on the occasion, Sard Patel, Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, Prem of Madras, the Maharaja of Bhavnag Governor of Madras, and Dr. Pattab Sitaramayya appealed to the people of Andh Desa "to make the best and widest use this service, a valuable medium of instructi and entertainment, a medium of m education."

The day's programme included a variet of entertainments by a galaxy of famo musicians and artistes of Andhra. A page in Tulugu depicting Andhra glory throu the ages, violin recital by Dwaram Venka swami Nayudu and folk songs of Andh constituted part of the inauguration d programme.

RADIO SEAC

It is learnt that Radio SEAC (Forc broadcasting station) will probably be tak over by the Government of Ceylon shor It is understood that the British Governm will be paying for the entire cost of runn and maintaing the station in return for use of the station for their transmissions.

Mr. C. Sittampalam, Minister for Po and Tele-communications, said that a tentat arrangement has been made in order prevent delay and facilitate the amalgamat of the Colombo Broadcasting Station Radio SEAC. Pending the amalgamat early this year, the station is now ca Radio Ceylon since the midnight November 30.

RADIO TELESCOPE

A special form of radio telescope will introduced in the near future into astronomical practice which will make possible to observe the planets through clouds surrounding them.

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FOREIGN BANKS IN PAKISTAN

The Governor-General of Pakistan has promulgated the Banking Companies (Restriction of Branches) Act (1646) Amendment Ordinance, 1948.

Announcing this a Press Note of the Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, said: "Under the existing law, while banking companies with their head offices in Pakistan are required to obtain the sanction of the State Bank of Pakistan before they can open new branches or change the location of an existing branch, banking companies with their head offices outside Pakistan are exempted from these restrictions. The result is that any foreign bank, whether sound or unsound, can open any number of branches in Pakistan, wihout obtaining the permission of the State Bank of Pakistan. As this constitutes a positive danger to sound banking in Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan have promulgated the Banking Companies (Restriction of Branches) Act (1946) Amendment Ordinance, 1948. (Ordinance No. XX of 1948) amending the existing Act so as to provide that all foreign banking companies also should obtain the prior permission of the State Bank of Pakistan for opening of new branches or for changing the location of existing offices.

TRADING IN BULLION

In order to facilitate the regulation and control of forward business in bullion in Bombay city under a single association, the Government of Bombay intends, so far as Bombay is concerned, to extend the Bombay Forward Contracts Control Act to bullion, with effect from December 25, 1948. It is proposed to recognise the new Bombay Bullion Association as soon as its bye-laws are approved and it is in a position to function. Till then, the effect of the extension of the Act to bullion will be that no person will be permitted to transact any kind of forward business in bullion in Bombay city. Any person transacting such business will render himself liable to prosecution and punishment.

ACCOMMODATION IN TRAINS

The Railway Board have decided that the new classes of accommodation to be provided in trains from January 1, 1949 should be known as First, Second and Third instead of Upper, Inter and Ordinary, the Public Relation officer of the G. I. P. Railway, Bombay, announced.

Accordingly, the new classes on the G. I. P. Railway would be First, Second and Third on the main line trains, while the classes on suburban trains will consist of first and third only. However, this decision does not affect the basis for charges as originally decided upon in respect of Upper, Inter and Ordinary classes.

PLEA FOR SPECIAL TRIBUNAL

Strong opposition to any strike move in the railways was expressed by the General Council of the Indian National Railway Workers Federation in a resolution on November 30, at Bombay.

The Council warned railwaymen that a strike at the present stage would be not only against the interest of the nation, but against those of the railwaymen themselves.

The Council adopted a number of resolutions in the course of which it declared that the Central pay Commission's recommendations did not fully satisfy the workers' aspirations and that the "inordinate delay" in implementing those recommendations had caused much discontent among the railway employees.

45-MILE RAIL TRACK FOR E. BENGAL

The construction of a 45-mile long rail track in East Bengal, at an estimated cost of Rs. 30 lakhs, to link Jessore District directly with Chuadanga through Kaliganj is being considered by the Pakistan Railway Board, Karachi.

Passengers now proceeding from Jessore to Chuadanga pass through a 20-mile atretch of Indian Union territory and undergo customs formalities. The object of the proposed new link, it was stated, was to avoid passage through Indian territory.

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Art and Drama

EXHIBITION OF WAR PAINTINGS

The Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on December 2, opened the Exhibition of Jammu and Kashmir war paintings by Kanwal Krishna. In a brief speech, Pandit Nehru stressed the importance of an exhibition of this kind, which "helped the people in understanding what has been happening in Kashmir".

The story of Kashmir, he said, was an extraordinary one. The people and Government of Kashmir, the Government of India and above all the Indian Army and Air Force had each its part in this story.

Referring to the paintings, Pandit Nehru said that even though modern photography had achieved much, there still remained certain things which it was unable to depict. The feelings that a painter could put in a picture could not be put in by a photographer.

The exhibition consists of 62 paintings by Kanwal Krishna who has returned from the Kashmir front. There are pictures of various points, which have been in the news because of the Indian Army operations. These include the Old Fort at Naushera, gun positions on Uri-Chakothi front, the first piquet at Zoji La, Guais, the Pathankot-Jammu Road and a bird's-eye-view of Rajaori.

The exhibition has been organised by the Western Command Headquarters and the opening ceremony was attended by the Defence Minister, Sardar Baldev Singh, and Lt.-General Cariappa.

BOMBAY ART SOCIETY

The hope that the University of Bombay would, in due course create, a Faculty of Fine Arts was expressed by Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Governor of Bombay, declaring open the Diamond Jubilee Exhibition of the Bombay Art Society at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, on Friday the 10th December.

A message received from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister of Education and Art, congratulating the Bombay Art Society on its completion of 60 years of useful service to art, was read by Sir Cowasji Jehangir, President of the Society.

Sport

THE SECOND TEST

The Second Test Match between India a West Indies, played at Bombay, ended in draw. West Indies batting first piled a huge score of 629 for 6 wickets a declared. India had disastrous luck in t first innings, all the wickets being skitt for a bare 273, thus having to follow o When Mankad was caught by Fergusson the bowling of Gomez, the position was 2 33, and looked hopeless. It was in fa generally thought that, an innings defeat w in sight for them. But Modi and Haza entered the pitch and batting stolidly ma more than a century each. At 112 Modi g out to an easy catch by Gomez. Amarna stepped in and took the score to 333 for wickets, thus averting an innings defeat a forcing a draw.

Two tests, thus being drawn, the third te to be played at Eden Gardens at Calcut will provide very keen sport and is bound attract a huge crowd.

COL. NAYUDU ON VALUE OF CRICKET

Lieut.-Col. C. K. Nayudu, opening t Inter-Divisional Sports Tournament, arrang in connection with the Maharashtra Physic Education Conference at Nagpur, said th cricket was the only antidote to politic which has given us a world torn by sefis ness and distrust and moral fear."

The tournament which he had opened w a step in the right direction, Lieut.-C Nayudu added, and he had no doubt th in the near future it would be possible revive once more the great tradition of c country in the realm of sport.

INDIAN ATHLETE'S SUCCESS AT OXFORD

E. L. Phillips, Indian Olympic runn scored a sprint double in the Oxfo University athletic club sports finals seniors and freshmen. He won 100 yards in 10 8 seconds and the 220 ya in 24 seconds.

In the heats he covered the 100 ya in 10 7 seconds and the 220 yards 23 9 seconds.

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INDIAN RESEARCH IN COSMIC RAYS

Important developments in scientific investigations conducted by the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, especially in the sphere of cosmic rays, are expected as a result of the efforts of Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Indian Atomic Commission, who has returned to India after a three-month visit to the leading physics laboratories of the United Kingdom and the Continent.

Dr. Bhabha, who is also the Director of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, is understood to have arranged during his visit to Europe for close co-operation in cosmic ray research between his Institute and the Nuclear Research Centre of the University of Brussels.

One notable result of Dr. Bhabha's visit abroad is that Prof. G. P. S. Occhialini, the eminent scientist, who discovered the cosmic ray showers, will soon arrive in India to help Indian scientists in their rasearch work. Prof. Occhialini, who in collaboration with Prof. Powell, of Bristol, recently discovered the decay of the heavy meson—regarded as one of the most fundamental discoveries of recent years—is expected to arrive in Bombay shortly and to stay for several months, working at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research.

DEFENCE SCIENCE RESEARCH

Dr. D. S. Kothari, appointed Scientific Adviser to the Defence Ministry, will be assisted by a Board consisting of Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Dr. Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar and Dr. K. S. Krishnan. The British Scientist, Professor Blackett, has also agreed to visit India for short periods every year to advise and help the Ministry in building-up a sound scientific organisation, and give other assistance in defence science research.

ATOMIC CONTROL

The United Nations General Assembly, overriding Russian objections, gave overwhelming support to the Western Plan for international control of atomic energy. Forty nations lined up in favour of giving an international body, full control over the mining of uranium, the production of nuclear fuel, and the manufacture of atomic weapons.

THE FILM INDUSTRY

The Government of India, contemplate ordering an enquiry into the condition of the film industry in India, its growth and present organisation, the influence of the imports of foreign films into this country on the indigenous industry and other factors connected with the industry in its various aspects. The Committee will also make recommendations indicating the steps necessary to enable the industry to develop into an instrument of national entertainment and education. Among other terms of reference to the Committe will be the laying down of the standards and principles in regard to the import of raw films and also the possibility of encouraging the growth of a cinematograph manufacturing industry in the country itself. The terms of reference have not been published, presumably because they desire to have the views of the Provincial Governments and the trade concerned regarding the scope of the enquiry. The Committee will consist of members of whom two will be representatives one each respectively of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Industry and Supply, one a member of the Constituent Assembly and the fourth a person representing the Indian film industry.

NEW FLIM CODE IN MADRAS

The new Film Code issued by the Madras Government contains certain special provisions for making total Prohibition in the province a success.

A special clause designed to secure this object says: If the scenes (in a film) are meant to make fun of the idea of Prohibition, to induce people to become indifferent to such a programme or to encourage them to break Prohibtion laws or to glorify drink to show it as a fashion, or to describe it is a social custom about which there is nothing wrong, to make it popular, to paint it as healthy, honourable or respectable, or to make it appear as religious, then such scenes are objectionable and should therefore be removed from all films exhibited in this province.

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Automobiles

BUSES IN MADRAS PROVINCE

A statement laid on the table of the Legislative Council showed that (in June and July when a check was made) there were 4,920 buses operating in the Province, distributed as follows:

Vizagapatam 173, East Godavari 138, West Godavari 121, Krishna 217, Guntur 130, Nellore 166, Cuddapah 116, Anantapur 95, Bellary 108, Kurnool 79, Chittoor 165, Chingleput 331, North Arcot 332, South Arcot 101, Tanjore 219, Tiruchirappalli 197, Salem 224, Madura 355, Ramnad 227, Tirunelveli 301, Coimbatore 354. The Nilgiris 57, South Kanara 140, Malabar 268, Madras 256.

The statement also showed that new chassis for buses were allotted between May 1947 and April 1948 to Vizagapatam 14, E. Godavari 18, W. Godavari 9, Krishna 23, Guntur 28, Nellore 11, Cuddapah 13, Anantapur 10, Bellary 13, Chittoor 14, Chingleput 17, N. Arcot 16, S. Arcot 11, Tanjore 3, Tiruchirappalli 11, Kurnool 7, Salem 10, Madura 12 Ramnad 8, Tirunelveli 14, Coimbatore 21, The Nilgiris 4, S. Kanara 9, Malabar 20 and Madras 176 (171 to the Transport Commissioner).

MOTOR FUEL OUT OF AIR AND WATER

The navy is developing a motor fuel which can be made entirely out of air and water. This is hydrozine, at present synthesized on a small scale out of ammonia. Its molecule is almost the simplest possible combination of the two basic elements, hydrogen and nitrogen.

The mere fact that work on hydrozine and a companion fuel, nitromethane, was under way was announced before the American Chemical Society.

Any further details are military secrets, it was stressed at Admiral Solberg's office. It was agreed, however, that hydrozine might at least be an opening step in becoming independent of carbon compounds such as gas and oil in some special fields of motor fuels.

Aviation

CIVIL AVIATION CONFERENCE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India welcoming the delegates to the meeting of the S.-E. Asian Regional Council of the International Civil Aviation organisation at Delhi on Nov. 23 said: India, was not isolated from the rest of the world at any one period of history. But 150 years of British domination had only isolated her from her nearest neighbours in Asia. But these barriers are fast vanishing in sequence of the "conquest of the air" by science, and the gradual expansion of civil aviation, in India and the neighbouring countries.

One hundred and fifty-one delegates representing 17 countries attended the conference. Among the countries participating were Afghanistan, Belgium, Burma, Ceylon, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Portugal, India, Pakistan, the Netherlands, Siam, the U.S A. and the U. K. The Indian delegation, consisting of 40 delegates, alternates and advisers, was led by Mr. N. C. Ghosh, Director of Civil Aviation.

Mr. P. K. Roy, Secretary-General of the Regional Council, presided over the conference.

DEVELOPMENT OF AIR-PORTS

The Government's ten-year programme of development of civil aviation provides for the construction of 21 new aerodromes estimated to cost Rs. 54 crores, including a capital expenditure of over Rs. 5 crores on the development of three international air-ports—Santa Cruz in Bombay, Dum Dum in Calcutta and Palam in Delhi.

The new aerodromes proposed to be constructed are at Ajmer, Mangalore, Aligarh, Berhampur, Calicut, Cuddalore, Dehra Dun, Hubli, Nellore, Ootacamund, Ratnagiri, Salem, Saugor and Surat.

BOMBAY—RANGOON AIR SERVICE

It is understood that the British Overseas Airways Corporation will be operating a Bombay-Rangoon service very shortly. It is also learnt the planes will touch Madras *en route*.

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ADVISORY COUNCIL OF INDUSTRIES

The Central Advisory Council of Industries, whose personnel has been announced, is a body constituted by the Government of India with functions distinct from those of the Central Advisory Council of the Labour Ministry, which met recently at Lucknow. This newly set up council will advise the Government of India generally on industrial policy by periodically reviewing production. It will advise the Government on the allocation of raw materials in scarce supply, on the steps to be taken to secure the best use of existing capacity, on the import of necessary raw materials and capital equipment. The Council will appoint committees to deal with major industries and with specific problems. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee is Chairman of the Council and Mr. S. A. Venkataraman its Secretary.

PROFIT SHARING IN INDUSTRY

The Central Advisory Council on Labour concluded its three-day session on Nov. 27. Repeated emphasis was laid during the discussions by representatives of labour on the need for adjusting wages to the cost of living.

Mr. Kandubhai K. Desai suggested that to meet the situation arising from the rise in prices, cereals which were to be rationed might be subsidised so that all could get their cereals at cheaper prices.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister, stated that he would like to have the reactions of employers' and workers' representatives to this interesting suggestion. Members expressed the view that it would be a good means of overcoming the hardships of inflation.

ASIAN INDUSTRIALISTS TO MEET

A conference of Asian industrialists and businessmen will be held in India in March under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Delegates from India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Siam, Indonesia, Indo-China, the Philippines, China, Japan and Korea, are expected to attend the conference.

ELECTRIC SHOCKS TO PLANTS

A scheme of electro culture applied to agriculture calculated to increase the yield other things remaining the same by at least 30 per cent has been submitted to Government, and the Government have offered the necessary facilities to the officer to conduct his experiment at the Government Agricultural Research Station at Tirukuppam, and the Government House Agricultural Farm.

The scheme, it is stated consists of passing a certain power electric current through the water in the fields where there are standing crops, at particular times, resulting in electric shocks to the plants, which finally result in increased yields.

The Minister for Agriculture, Mr. K. Madhava Menon indicated that the Department was rather sceptical about the success of such a scheme, but they would await the results of the experiments which the officer would be carrying out in these two places.

The Government have sanctioned the necessary staff to the officer, and have given him the powers of a Deputy Director of Agriculture to enable him to get his instructions carried out.

"Everything will depend on the results of the proposed experiment, and the Departmental experts will assess the results" stated the Minister.

The officer has not yet begun his experiment.

AMENDMENT TO DEBT RELIEF ACT

A Bill to amend the Madras Agriculturists Relief Act has been approved by the Cabinet. The legislation provides for scaling down the interest on arrears of rent, to the present rate of 5½ per cent. Civil and Revenue Courts will be vested with powers under this amending Bill for scaling down rents.

TEN PERCENT OF WORLD FOOD LOST BY PESTS

Ten per cent of world production in cereals, pulses, and oilseeds, besides other foodstuffs, is to-day being lost through pests such as rats, mice, insects and mites which attack these goods in transit or storage. Britain alone is thus losing 2,000,000 tons of food per year.

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Labour

TRADE UNION LEADER ON STRIKE THREAT

Mr. Hariharnath Shastri, President of the I.N.T.U.C., in a recent statement said that a general strike at the present time would not only cause great hardship to the community as a whole, but would particularly hit the working class very hard, by accentuating the economic crisis in the country. "If a general strike was likely to end the hardships of workers, the I.N.T.U.C. would unhesitatingly have given a clear lead in the matter," he said.

Mr. Hariharnath Shastri added, "I have no doubt in my mind that the threatened strike is aimed primarily to revive the political prestige of a party that has suffered a serious setback during recent months as a result of its suicidal policy that has completely isolated it from the mass of the people." He appealed to the working class of the country "not to fall a prey to such a machinations and to resist all efforts to make it a pawn in the power politics."

AMENITIES FOR LABOUR IN FACTORIES

"The Government consider that the management of factories should pay greater attention to the provision of amenities and safeguards to workers," says a Press Note issued by the Government of Madras.

Sir Wilfred Garrett, lately Chief Adviser, Factories, has, the Press Note adds, observed in his report on the administration of the Factories Act and the organisation of the Factory Inspection Services in India that though amenities and safeguards are provided in factories, in many cases they had fallen out of use due to lack of supervision. He has quoted instances of interlock guards on machines not being used and exhaust draught system not cleaned for weeks. It is as much the duty of the manager to see that these things have attention as it is for him to produce goods.

ASIAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR

The possibility of the formation of an Asian Federation of Labour was considered by the Working Committee of the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

General

DR. C. R. REDDI'S TRIBUTE TO SRI AUROBINDO

A tribute to Sri Aurobindo as a poet, dramatist, philosopher, critic, interpreter and commentator of Vedas, the Geeta, and all the transcendent lore and legend of India was paid by Dr. C. Ramalinga Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, speaking on the occasion of the presentation of the Sir Cattamanchi Ramalinga Reddi National Prize at the Convocation of the University held on November 11, at Waltair.

PANDIT NEHRU DIAMOND JUBILEE COMMITTEE

Dr. Rajendra Prasad has accepted the invitation to join the Nehru Diamond Jubilee Celebration Committee. The following are the members of the Committee: Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Seth Govind Das, Mr. Nandlal Bose, Mr. Viswanath More, Mr. S. H. Vatsayayan and Dr. Lanka Sundaram.

THE LATE MR EDWARD CADBURY

The death was announced on November 21, of Mr. Edward Cadbury, former Chairman of the Board of Directors of the *News Chronicle* and also Chairman of the British Cocoa and Chocolate Company Ltd., for a considerable period. Mr. Cadbury was actively associated with his father and with the late Mr. Charles Booth in the passing of the first Old Age Pensions Act.

UNESCO COMMISSION

Mr. P. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor Calcutta University, and Indian delegate to the third general meeting of the UNESCO has been elected Vice-Chairman of the UNESCO. The Commission is entrusted with the recruitment of the UNESCO administrative officials and management of the Organisation in general.

SHERIFF OF BOMBAY

The Government of Bombay have appointed Mr. Joachim Alva, Editor of *Forum*, as Sheriff of Bombay for the year. Mr. Alva is the first journalist to hold this post in Bombay.

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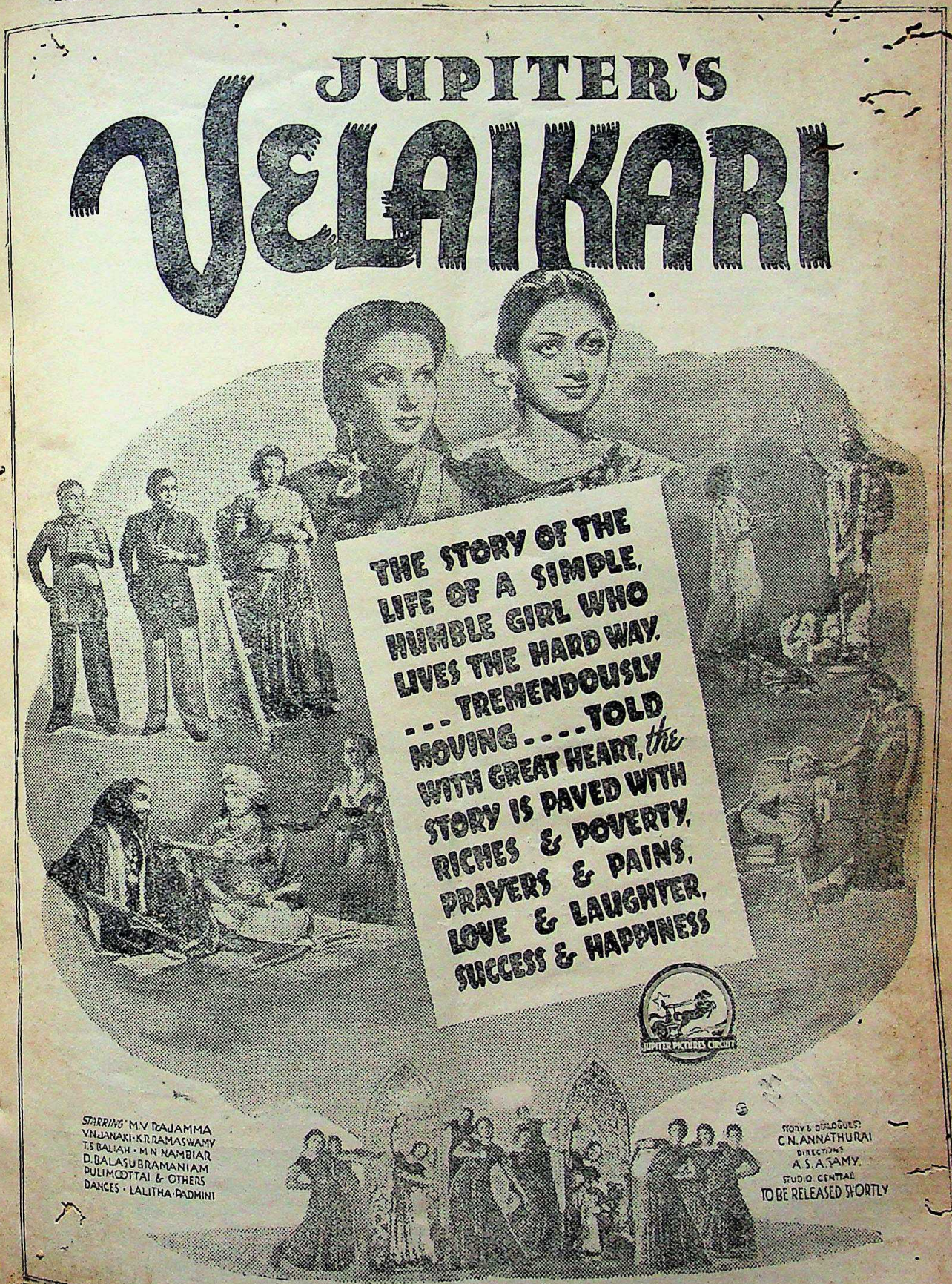

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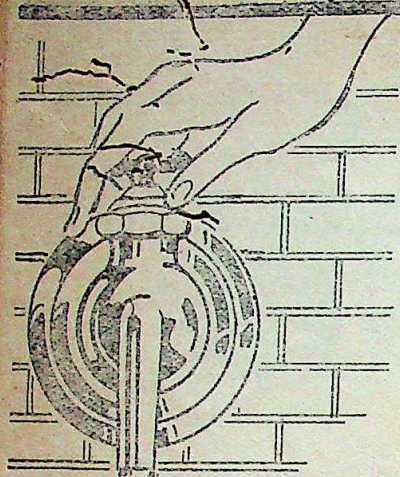

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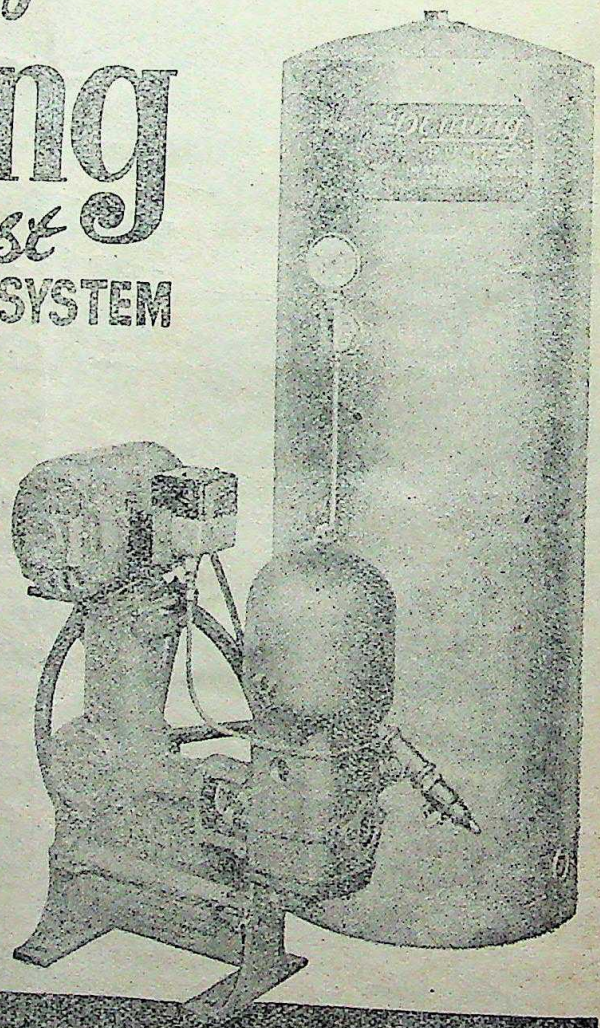

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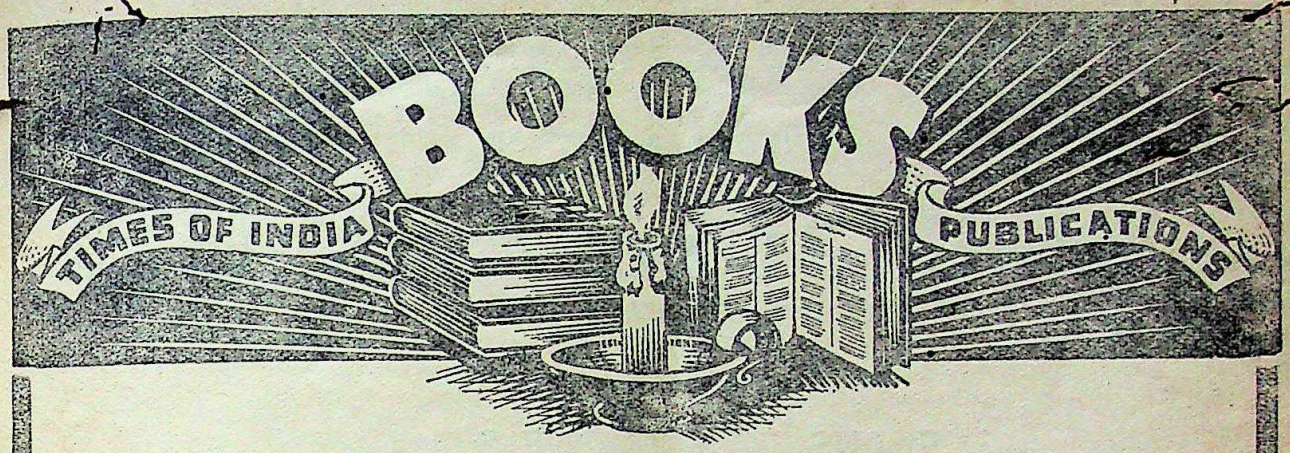

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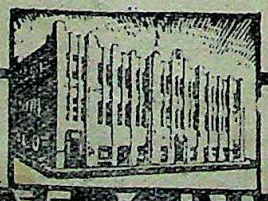

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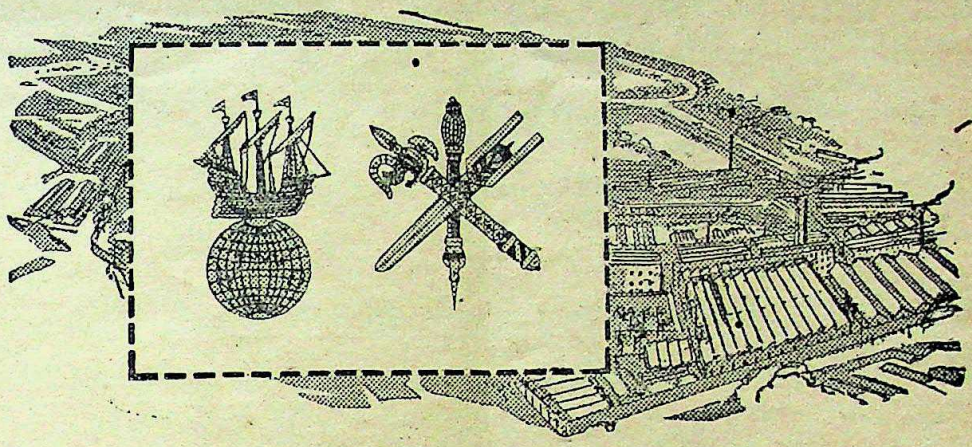

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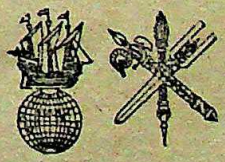

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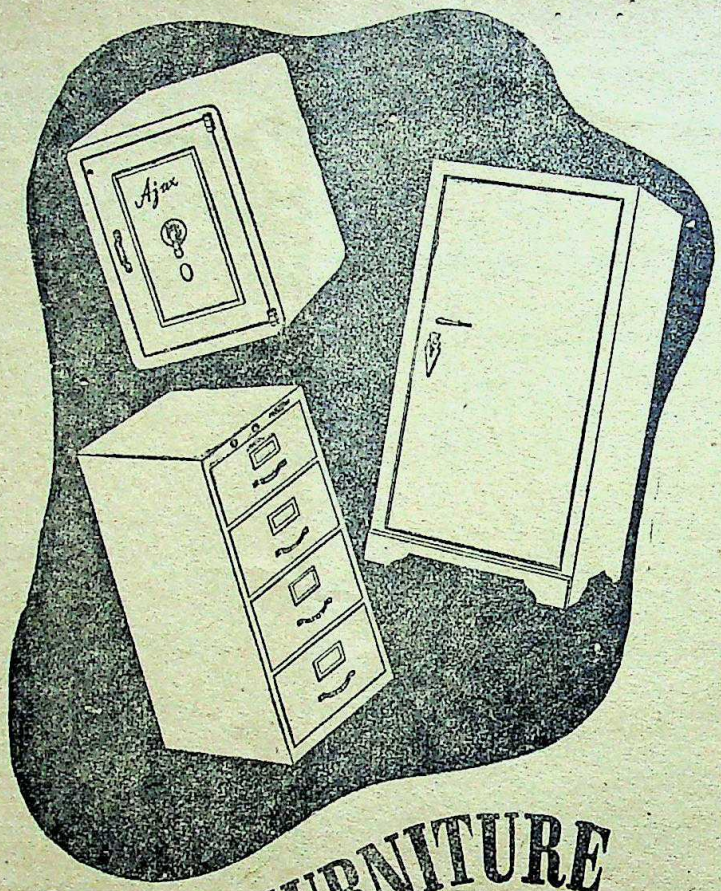

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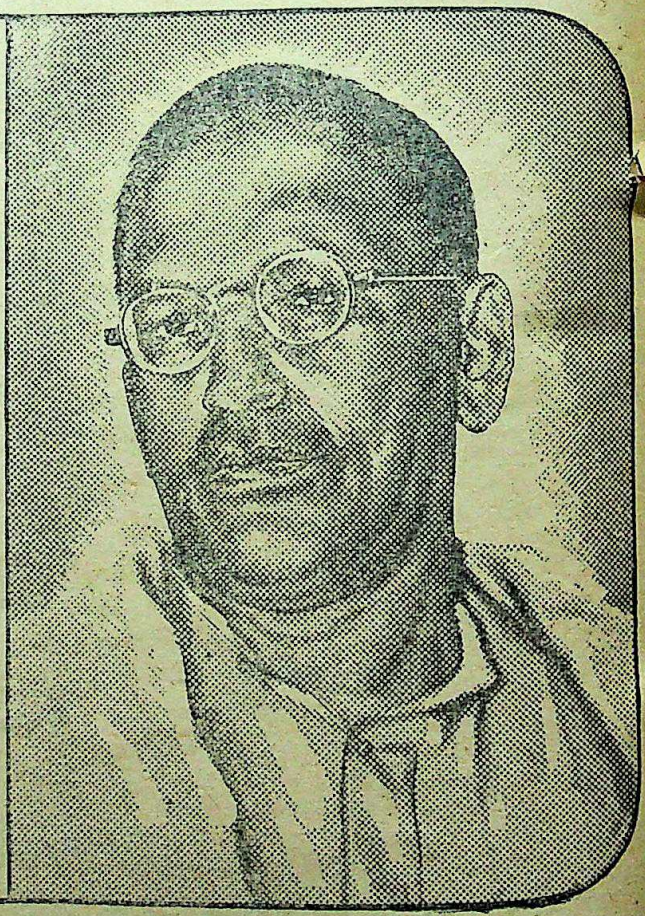

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Managing Editor : MANIAN NATESAN *Editor :* B. NATESAN

Vol. 50.] MARCH 1949 [No. 3.

THE CENTRAL BUDGET

—:z:—

ONE of the greatest of India's British Finance Members, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, once declared, somewhat adapting the better known saying of Clausewitz in regard to war, that public finance was not a mere matter of juggling with figures but an expression of policy. Our Finance Minister, Dr. John Matthai will not, we feel sure, demur to our approaching his budget from this standpoint. He himself says : "Fiscal policy is not an end in itself but has to serve the ends of national policy" and towards the close of his Budget speech again he says : ". . . we have still a formidable task ahead of us, the task of fighting want, sickness and poverty, and raising the living standards of the millions to whom the emancipation of the country will be a mockery unless it is translated in terms of opportunities for a fuller, freer and better life." This surely is no mere conventional profession of ultimate objectives. We know that Dr. Matthai accepted his great office only under a compelling sense of public duty. We are also aware that Dr. Matthai labours under grievous limitations in that the current transitional period through which the country is passing presents internal problems of quite exceptional magnitude and difficulty and external problems making for the most bewildering and even alarming instability.

Even so, one must confess to a sense of profound disappointment that after so frank and forthright a statement of the objective of financial policy, there is, in the actual proposals of the budget, not even the faintest shadow of a concession to the millions to whom mere political freedom has so far been a cruel mockery. On the contrary, there is an almost unconscionable intensification of the burden that oppresses them so heavily already. Harassed as they have been by the manifold and continuing evils of inflation and by the bewildering inadequacies and uncertainties of price and consumption controls, by shortages of essential goods, by ruthless profiteering, through the years of the war and the period that followed its close, they have come to regard current conditions as almost normal and cherish no dreams of sudden improvement in their lot. They are also aware that unlike the great money-barons of Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi, unlike even the railway and postal workers, they can bring no pressure of organized resistance to bear on Government to compel concessions to their needs. But they may well exclaim, "Et tu Brute" when they find Dr. Matthai adding so formidably to the weight of indirect taxation which bears already so oppressively on them. Natural-born philosophers all of them, they will

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put it down to their Karma, and, after a few murmurs of discontent, reconcile themselves to everything that the budget contains. They are however not likely to be impressed by the plea that if the 'haves' get more substantial and spectacular relief, it is designed chiefly in the interests of the 'have-nots.' They have heard that argument all their lives.

Dr. Matthai, we realize, has an almost impossible situation to handle. Further advances in direct taxation, further soaking of the rich, would grievously deter enterprise and investment, in view of the exceptional resolution and firmness with which organized capital has been adhering to its rather unpatriotic line in many matters. A bolder Finance Member would have accepted the challenge and perhaps come forward with drastic schemes of conscription of capital. But caution, almost amounting to timidity, marks Dr. Matthai's approach to the problem of an exceptionally shy and vagarious, and unusually stagnant capital market. We can only hope that Dr. Matthai's concessions will impress those who control the capital market sufficiently to make them come forward and co-operate in the expansion of production which these concessions are designed to stimulate.

Many features of the current economic situation in the country will strike the observer as extremely curious and even contradictory. Side by side with the stagnation in the capital market, we have high prices and an exceptionally large, growing, and insistent demand for consumption goods. We see a steady recession of security and stock prices but no diminution in the dividend—paying capacity of the established companies. What is wrong? Dr. Matthai, echoing the spokesmen of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, says that there is a certain lack of confidence. Confidence is an exceedingly delicate and tender thing but like a woman's reputation, the more it is talked about, the less there is of it!

The main proposals of Dr. Matthai are designed to revive and stimulate confidence in the business world. The utterly unblest and sterile capital gains tax of which Dr. Matthai was a lone friend in the bad old Liaquat Ali Khan days, goes. There is a substantial reduction in the rate of tax on the higher ranges of personal income, which it is hoped will stimulate increased saving and investment by those classes who seem now to stand shyly, almost sullenly, aloof. The increased depreciation allowances now proposed for new plant as well as for plant working triple shifts, on the now favoured principle of replacement cost should stimulate industrial expansion. The spokesmen of big business may, even so, affect to despise these crumbs of comfort and point to the absence of anything like Sir Stafford Cripps' candid confession that "soaking" of the rich had been carried to the point of economic danger. They may well say that the Government speaks with multiple voices on the all-important question of future industrial policy. They may point to the exceptional and almost prohibitive cost of capital goods, even when they happen to be available, to the non-availability of dollar exchange, and to the growing minatoriness and disruptiveness of organized labour as offsetting and sterilizing the well-meant incentives of the Finance Minister. But the

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country, which has borne so heroically so many hardships and sacrifices in the past, in order that national industrial enterprise may have its legitimate opportunity and which has magnanimously forgiven much sharp practice on the part of Indian big business, will, we feel sure, utterly refuse to forgive those who in this hour of the country's mortal economic danger continue to stand unpatriotically aloof. If industry doesn't respond and seize the opportunity now offered to it by a country sorely strained and come forward with bold and well-designed schemes of expansion, the fight against inflation, which depends so much on increased production will fail with incalculably grave consequences to the country's economy and even its internal peace.

The concessions to the lower income groups will certainly be welcome to them. They have always accepted any tiny crumb that came their way as a generous boon. But some of the new taxation proposals designed to operate as much to yield revenue as to check unnecessary expenditure by the public, will practically neutralize these concessions and bear almost oppressively on the lower middle class, especially the increase in the price of the post-card, and the excises on mill cloth and sugar. They will increase the cost of living still further and may be followed by a demand for additional allowances on the part of the salaried classes. But in the current inflationary situation, on the other hand, they may lead to a drastic curtailment of expenditure and that will be altogether salutary though the standard of life may be depressed in the process somewhat.

Dr. Matthai has tried to distribute the burdens as evenly as circumstances permitted. We can only hope that all classes in the country will realize the gravity of the situation and while demanding more austerity in high places and drastic retrenchment in government expenditure, realize the need to pull together and fight the greatest danger now threatening the country, a run-away inflation.

The Government for their part, should postpone for the duration of the current crisis, all non-essential schemes and firmly cut down the weedy administrative overgrowths in the Central Secretariat. The only justifiable expenditure in these difficult days is that which unmistakably and urgently ministers to public necessity. Also new and more vigorous savings drive is called for, one especially designed to encourage and, in a measure, even compel saving by the lower income groups. In their anxiety to encourage the rich industrial goose to go on laying golden eggs, let not Government disdain such contribution as the little squirrels of the village folks can make to arrest the country's disastrous drift towards economic chaos. A more intensive food production campaign all over India will ease the current dependence on imports of food which cost so much and release hard currency for industrial expansion projects. More than all, a comprehensive inquiry into the whole tax structure of the country should be ordered without delay.

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OUR FOREIGN POLICY

BY MR. P. S. NAIR, B.A.

—:o:—

THE recent debates on foreign policy in the Union Parliament mark the advent of a new epoch in India's relation with the outside world. As Pandit Nehru stated, India's foreign relations are rather "vague, inchoate and groping about", as she has not yet stabilised her position in the International world after the advent of Independence. Normally foreign policy constitutes the primary duty of administration in advanced countries like U.S.A. and U. K., where it is a non-controversial item in domestic politics, although parties may differ in details.

Foreign policy is moulded by the prevailing circumstances in the national and international affairs and is not a subject for dialectical controversy. "It is a reasoned line of action taken in relation to conditions as present and as seen and understood with a view to improving them." As H. J. Laski stated "no foreign policy can directly contradict domestic policy." In America there is even a convention that no American statesman when outside the State should criticise the foreign policy of the Government.

George Glasgow in a recent article on Australian foreign policy remarks that Foreign policy is largely determined by the Geographical and Political relations of the State with the rest of the world. As the insular position of Britain made her a great Naval power and the Custodian of a big Empire in which the sun never sets; as the wealth and virginity of the vast Home territories of U. S. A. made her discard any idea of a territorial expansion and to concentrate on economic imperialism; so also India's peculiar strategic position near the gate-way to the Far East is sure to add to her importance in future international affairs. It was this which gave her in the past the role of a cultural missionary; it will be the same which will make her in the future a great unifying and stabilising factor in world politics. In the present context of the competing power politics of U.S.A. and U. S. S. R., her geographical proximity to the latter will make a friendly Soviet indispensable for the safety of India although India's two century relation with Britain will prevent her from falling into the arms of Russia in her diplomatic war against the Anglo-Saxon combination. Hence Nheru's line of independent policy has much to commend itself though it is neither spectacular nor inspiring.

"Defence" said Adam Smith, "is of much more importance than opulence". If defences are neglected the country goes to the wall. The chief work of the Foreign Minister is to devote his time to understand the currents and crosscurrents of the different influences at work in the international field and to shape the State's relations with others that its independence and integrity are secured and recognised by others. When the idea of a world State becomes a reality the allegiance which we owe to the nation will be transferred to it; but for the present the primary duty is to one's own country and not to international organisations like the late lamented League of Nations or to the present imbecile infant U. N. O.

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There are three essential conditions for the successful execution of a sound foreign policy (1) Coalition of friendly powers to resist any possible combination of hostile powers (2) preservation of the independence of all powers within striking distance of the country (3) Maintaining sufficient armed strength and keeping it ready for a fight.

Whether India's potential enemy is the Anglo-Saxon or the Soviet Block it is essential she should have a coalition of friendly powers at her back who can be relied upon in times of emergency to support her. Through sheer necessity the nations of South East Asia, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam and Indonesia will look to India for defence purposes and it is up to India's interest to canalise their energies into concrete action for common benefit. The recent Dutch aggression in Indonesia has brought about this play of geography into prominence and it is hoped Indian Statesmen will rise to the occasion to forge the first bond of unity with that distressed neighbour. *

India's first requirement for a successful foreign policy is a diplomatic Corps which can be relied upon to further her interests in the other capitals. Diplomacy is not duplicity and an ambassador is not always "an honest man who is sent to lie abroad for the good of his country". Diplomacy is the art of representing States and conducing negotiations. Similarly policy is not cowardice but a reasoned line of action taken in relation to conditions as present and as seen and understood with a view to improving them. It is the application of mind and means to conditions for an object immediate or distant or both.

India has already sent representatives to many capitals but they are mostly untrained hands or civilians inexperienced in the art of negotiations. Experience is no doubt the best teacher but the country's interests cannot be sacrificed in the process of teaching them to be good ambassadors or High Commissioners. In the days of Dumreicher, Elder Bulow and Tallayrand, diplomacy depended largely upon personal cleverness and judgment. But with the increasing popularity of open diplomacy through Conferences, it has become more scientific and its routine and rules have attained greater prominence and a knowledge of international law has become indispensable. There are the increasing accumulation of international precedents and conventions brought into being during the last half a century which they should master before they can be called upon to any post of direct diplomatic duty.

* Pandit Nehru and the recent Indonesian Conference at Delhi have since given the right lead in this direction.—[Ed. *I.R.*]

THE INDIAN REVIEW

"THE INDIAN REVIEW," (12 as.), published by G. A. Natesan & Co. in Madras, contains a number of interesting articles. This *Review* is level-headed in its policy and provides a fine example of decorous constructive journalism. Its format is neat and its proof reading is commendably good. Readers who appreciate an unbiassed survey of the political panorama will find it in The Indian Review—*Illustrated Weekly of India.*

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SARDAR PATEL IN MADRAS

—:o:—

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India. who arrived in Madras on a two-day visit, addressed a large gathering of business-men on February 23, at the Rajaji Hall, where a reception was accorded to him by six Chambers of Commerce. In a lengthy speech, in reply to a joint address by the Chambers, Sardar Patel touched on a number of problems referred to in the address, particularly the apprehension felt in regard to nationalisation of industries.—[ED. *I. R.*]

THE TRUCULENCE OF LABOUR

Labour is in a truculent mood, said the Sardar and pointed to the attitude of a Section of the Railwaymen.

A part of the labour organisation, namely, the Railwaymen's Federation, has announced that it is not in favour of a strike. But you can see from their pronouncement that they have not yet sheathed the sword. They keep it handy. The other portion of the railway labour organisation has already given notice of a strike, Now, I can only imagine the disastrous consequences, the effect of which will be felt not only in the area where there is a strike, but the whole country will suffer terribly. It is to this labour that you want us to give a correct lead. All that the Government can do is to lock up a certain number of people—not a pleasant task—so that there will be less trouble. We could not even think of locking them up unless we were informed on good grounds that not only did they mean to go on strike, but they also meant disruption, dislocation and sabotage for which society would have to pay very dearly. So the Provinces which were concerned and also other Provinces took action and rounded up a certain number of young men. Then the Railwaymen's Federation comes out with a statement that this is wrong and the Government should not do it. Assuming that this advice is good and the Government accepts their advice as a result of which things happen and there is dislocation, disruption and sabotage in the railway, who will suffer and who will guarantee that this will not be the consequence?

MISREPRESENTATION BY LABOUR LEADERS

Labour is not in the hands of the people who can guide them properly, and the Government is being persistently and continuously represented by those leaders as a Government of the capitalists.

This kind of dishonest misrepresentation by those who are in charge of labour will some day, if they succeed, lead to serious consequences. You see what is going on in China, Malaya and Burma. These countries are not far away from us. They are on our borders. This is the situation in which the Government has to see that labour while it gets its due, does not create a situation in which nothing is safe—neither the State, nor trade and industry, nor labour itself. It is easy for anybody to say that the Government should give the correct lead. But it is difficult for the Government to do anything single-handed. Therefore on behalf of the Government. I can only appeal to you all to realise your own responsibilities and working in your own spheres co-operate with the Government.

TRADE'S DEMAND FOR REPRESENTATION

Referring to the request in the address for representation in the Legislatures for trade and industry, Sardar Patel asked of what avail would be their small representation in the midst of a huge majority elected on the basis of adult franchise. Their voice would be feeble.

But you have immense potentiality to influence Government from outside. You hold a key position. You can dictate, provided you mix self-interest with patriotism. Unless you do that, however sympathetic the Government may be, you cannot succeed."

CLOTH CONTROL

Turning to the complaint about cloth control and the repeated change of policy Sardar Patel gave vent to some plain speaking. Addressing businessmen he said:

Ask your conscience what you did when we removed the control? (Cheers). Who is to blame? What can Government do however sympathetic they may be? Even now, why do the Government want control? Control means opening the floodgates of corruption. The moment you impose control, you invite corruption. People complain against the Government and all blame falls on Government. When controls were removed, you have not been helpful. All over the country, the temper of the people was roused by black marketing on the removal of cloth control. So, Government had no alternative but to reimpose it. Take food control. It was with great difficulty that Gandhiji succeeded in persuading the Governments to remove control. The Government were advised that they have not enough food in the country and the Provinces were not willing to play the game. Surplus Provinces were not willing to contribute to the common pool. We have reached the very low ebb of our moral standards and, therefore, we are suffering.

The Government, even when they removed control, did so hesitatingly and provisionally. I told Gandhiji

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that we did not feel safe, but shall try the experiment, and keep the machinery going so that if we felt conditions are such that people died of starvation, we can reimpose it. We are importing foodgrains to the tune of Rs. 130 crores or more. That is why our economy has come to a breaking point. Therefore, unless people realise their own responsibilities—not only businessmen, but every Congressman and every public worker—and feel that every grain of foodstuff in this country is gold, that we must not waste it and that it is our duty to share our food with our starving neighbour, there is no way out. If to-day even surplus provinces say, 'we have no food, give us more,' what can you say of the deficit provinces? I believe there is plenty of food in the country. It is the moral degeneration that has ruined us. I am not used to concealing facts. Therefore, I am telling you plainly what our condition is. We have to tighten our belts. You complain that mills are full of stock. It is so. Let us sit together and find out whether we cannot, honestly co-operate. Businessmen, Government, industrialists, all of us must put our heads together, hands together, hearts together and work honestly.

Government have no other interest except to serve the country and the people."

Even businessmen will agree that we have no other interest. For the time being, the country's economy is suffering and the people are suffering. May I appeal to you to set aside profit motive for service motive? If you do, whatever the Government can do is at your service, because, we have no consideration except to serve you and to serve the people through you, and because we know we cannot serve the people except through you. You hold the key position. We can put up other agencies to distribute cloth, but we know we cannot succeed. (Laughter). They will also make profits. Congressmen also want their own price. Because they have gone to jail, they think this is the time for making money. It is all a vicious circle. You have compelled me to open my lips. Business is not my job. My job is to restore peace in the country and keep it, so that business men can prosper and thrive. I also know that if business does not prosper, if there is no wealth in the country, if there is no food or cloth. I cannot maintain law and order. The address you have presented to me is no address, but a long enumeration of the grievances you have against Government. (Laughter.) How will you like it if I on my part were to enumerate the grievances of the Government against you. That will not be proper for a guest who is receiving an address. Therefore, let us understand each other.

GOVERNMENT'S INDUSTRIAL POLICY

Replying to the criticism that Government have not made their industrial policy clear the Sardar observed:

They have often made their policy clear. Labour is suffering from one complex and businessmen are suffering from fear complex. What are you afraid of? Do you say that when we talk of nationalisation, you get perspiration? (Laughter) What risk are you going to take to raise the standard of life? When the Government have not enough men even for running the administration, where is to be nationalisation?

We had 1,500 men to run the administration of the country, which was called the Steel Frame. That Steel Frame was carrying on the Government in this country with an iron will in its own way and for its own purpose. Fifty-five per cent of the Steel Frame at one stroke was broken (at the time of partition.) The European element which constituted the 55 per cent, had gone out. More than half of the other portion went away to Pakistan. With the achievement of freedom, we have to open embassies all over the world and in every embassy we have a member of that Steel Frame without which we cannot work. With one-fourth of that Steel Frame, we are running the administration now. How can there be nationalisation? I say that those who talk of destruction and sabotage and those who do not work, are the enemies of India. Those who talk less and do work day and night and those who put self-interest in the background, are the real patriots. Those who are facing the crisis manfully are the real patriots. Do not take me amiss when I say all this. I am not mincing matters."

"I have come here", Sardar Patel said with feeling, "after many years believing that I may not be able to come again. In the little portion of my life that is left, I want to see India raised high and made strong and put in a place where future generations can say that our elders were wise and gave us a legacy of which we can be proud."

NATIONALISATION NOT POSSIBLE NOW

Appealing again to businessmen to understand the situation and realise their responsibility, Sardar Patel asked them.

Do you know how much evasion of income-tax there has been and is that the way to build the industry and commerce of the country? You should not be afraid of nationalisation. Take it from me as a gospel truth, that this Government have not the capacity to undertake nationalisation of any industry at present. If anyone talks of nationalisation, it is for leadership and not for nationalisation? I do not believe in that kind of leadership.

THE SARDAR'S TRIBUTE TO "C.R."

The Sardar paid a glowing tribute to Rajaji the Governor-General while unveiling His Excellency's portrait at the Rajaji Hall.

Rajaji is an acknowledged leader of our country. He is a great and wise statesman. It is our good fortune to have in a period of crisis the guidance of one on whom we can rely for advice and counsel. It was he who laid the foundations of parliamentary life in Madras, when we took office for the first time in a limited field of parliamentary life. Those were days when doubts were expressed as to the capacity of our people to carry on the work efficiently. There were also those who watched us; and not only watched us but wished to put us down. To-day we are in a different position. We are masters in our own house and in our country. It is for us to make or mar our

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future. The future of the country depends on how we behave to-day and to-morrow and in the near future for a period of two, three or five years. Free India, the child born only a year ago, needs careful nursing, careful handling, careful feeding and strengthening. But people want it to run before it has learnt to walk! In this context, it is our good fortune that a great administrator, a wise statesman and a great patriot is at the helm of our affairs.

. . . "Let there be no mistake therefore." Sardar Patel said, "that a constitutional Governor-General is a cypher."

He is like the integer which gives value to the noughts that follow; for these noughts have value only if there is an integer in front of them. You must, therefore appreciate his position correctly. He knows how a constitutional Governor-General has to behave and he knows how to keep within limits and yet how to break limits. And, therefore, it is a great honour to have as Governor-General,—the first Indian in a free country,—a great man of a very high moral stature and great capacity and ability like him." (Cheers.)

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

BORN : FEB. 13, 1879. DIED : MARCH 2, 1949.

"The captains and kings of my generation depart. Old friends and dear comrades pass away. And now the dearest and brightest of them is gone. I feel desolate of heart and widowed in spirit."—*Pandit Nehru.*

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EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAMME

By Prof. M. SATYANARAYANA, M.A., B.L.,
H. L. College of Commerce, Ahmedabad

AFTER the United Nations Organisation has come into existence, the ideals which prompted the great nations to set up that Organisation have practically been given up by the very same nations by now. All the countries of the world have to choose whether openly or covertly to join one of the two opposing camps whether the Russian or the American. The gulf between the both is widening so fast that each group is preparing on War basis, thus creating conditions for a world war. Hence it may be instructive to know the causes of such a rift, the successive developments that embittered the relations between different countries and the problems that face the vascillating countries.

The reasons are not far to seek. The victors of the war have never been united in the policies they had to adopt with reference to the vanquished countries and those over-ran by the enemies. Russia took the first opportunity of extending its influence in the eastern part of Europe by entering into separate treaties with some of the countries in that part. The new republics that arose in Europe developed close relations with Russia and turned Communistic. All this was an eye-sore to the rest of the war-time allies. In fact for six years America led by the late President Roosevelt believed that Communism would be confined to Russia only and the latter would not spread its tentacles to areas outside it. It was only this belief that influenced President Roosevelt in offering unconditional aid to his Communist ally. By 1947 President Truman realised the futility of remaining silent and unequivocally declared a reversal of American policy with regard to Soviet Russia.

The concrete implementation of change in policy was made when Mr. Marshall, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in America, announced in his speech in the Harvard University on 5th June, 1947, that America would be prepared to assist the European countries provided the latter would agree among themselves and approach the American Government with realistic proposals. Mr. Bevin and Mr. Bidault earnestly responded to the hint and invited Mr. Molotov for a meeting in Paris on 27th June, 1947 to frame a reply to Mr. Marshall. Russia was quite suspicious of all this. Mr. Molotov wanted that America should render unconditional aid. When agreement became impossible he walked out. On 3rd July, 1947 Messrs. Bevin and Bidault issued notices to all European countries except Russia to participate in the conference that would be convened to discuss the aid proposal of Mr. Marshall. Representatives of the governments of the United Kingdom, France, Austria, Belgium, Luxemburg, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey met in Paris on 12th July, 1947. They agreed, in the light of discussions made by them, to appoint committees to study the needs of Europe. The main committee set up submitted a report within a month afterwards.

On the other side the American Government appointed a committee of nineteen non-partisan men under the chairmanship of the then Commerce Secretary, Mr. Harriman in the month of June, 1947 to work out details

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for offering aid to European countries as suggested by Mr. Marshall.

Russia closely watching these developments, rightly concluded that America was attempting to create a bloc to fight Communism. The Communist parties in the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Poland, France, Czechoslavakia and Italy formed 'cominform' a study circle in October, 1947 for exchanging information among the member parties. America was nervous. The capitalist countries were afraid that a new Communist International might develop. America was determined that France and Italy where the Communist parties held substantial strongholds should be brought into its fold. With this end in view interim-aid was rushed into these two countries.

In November, 1947 the Harriman Committee submitted its report according to which an account to the tune of 12 to 17 billion dollars was necessary for European recovery, that the help must be financed out of taxes, that bilateral agreements must be entered into with each aid-receiving country and that an independent agency must be set up to administer the recovery programme. A political condition added was that the recipients of the American loans should preserve democratic principles in their administrations.

There were many important sections in America that wanted the omnibus aid to be reduced. Even for allocating the first year's loans to the extent recommended by President Truman there was opposition in the legislature. But the political developments in Czechoslovakia in February, 1948, set at rest the wavering attitude of many Americans and the Congress passed the Economic Co-operation Act in March, 1948.

Most of the suggestions of the Harriman Committee were incorporated in the Act. Accordingly bilateral agreements were entered into with each of the aid-receiving countries. The original proposals insisted by America were resented by the sixteen European countries since they meant political and economic subordination to that great creditor country. After protests were made the harsh terms were to some extent released. England was fortunate to get slightly liberal terms. It took nearly three months after the passage of the Economic Co-operation Act to complete the bilateral agreements. The Anglo-American Co-operation Agreement which was the British bilateral agreement with America under Marshall aid of the 6th July, 1948 provided among other things the following:—

(i) that E. R. P. dollars would be used in the third countries by England in accordance with the arrangements entered into between such third countries and the U.S.

(ii) that the U. K. must keep a long-term balancing budget.

(iii) that the U. K. would refrain from entering into restrictive trade practices and monopolies that might affect the recovery programme.

(iv) that the U. K. would permit the U.S. the right of stock-piling.

(v) that the U. K. would be acquainting the U. S. from time to time the progress made in the use of E.R.P. dollars and

(vi) the aid would be given for a period of five years. But the aid might be stopped if the conditions were violated.

It was later stated by Paul Hoffman, the administrator of the aid, that the 16 countries should not help Russia and its satellites. It is reported that even Communists should not be taken into their governments.

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The amount sanctioned for the first year's aid was 4875 million dollars of which England alone had to receive 1263 million dollars. America would supply goods to the extent of loans granted. To some extent cash disbursements might be made. The aid is administered by an independent agency under the chairmanship of Mr. Paul Hoffman, the President of Studebaker Corporation.

But the sums actually to be lent fell short of the needs of different countries that participated in the programme. Therefore on the 9th November, 1948, the 16 countries reached decisions as to the division of aid. They would create a pool with the currencies of each of the 16 countries. Those countries which could surrender a part of American dollars from the E. R. P. grants would be given the currencies of the countries receiving such dollars. The intra-payments scheme was worked out, agreed and handed to Mr. Harriman in October, 1948. The scheme is now working accordingly.

This is in short the history of American aid to Europe. The neutral countries are interested in studying how far an application to American Government for similar aid would benefit them or involve them. The administration of the aid during the last six months has made crystal clear the intentions of America. It wants to have a stake in each country requiring help from it, with a view to fight the advance of Communism. It claims rights from such countries for producing strategic war materials. Its capitalists have found a great outlet for dumping their consumer's goods. It wants to make the political and economic policies of such countries to be made subservient to its own policies.

On the other hand what possibilities are there for expecting Russian aid? First the countries must be prepared to compromise with Communism. Stalin is sufficiently astute enough not to render aid for nothing. It is also doubtful that Russia is in a position to spare capital lavishly in view of the fact that it has to help the new republics in Europe, help the Communist parties in Manchuria, Korea and China and first of all it has to still restore the war-damaged country to its previous position. If India has to obtain capital goods from it, by what method could the purchases be financed? Our sterling balances would help us to buy capital goods from the West.

The Prime Minister of India stated in ECAFE Session at Ooty in June, 1948 that if India had to submit to American domination, it would not require any Marshall aid. Mr. Loy Henderson who has recently arrived in India as Ambassador from America stated that special Congressional Aid would be rendered only under exceptional circumstances and in his opinion no such situation existed in this country at present. In regard to the direct investment of American Capital in India Dr. Paul F. Geren, the U. S. Vice-Consul at Bombay clearly stated like Dr. Grady that India must be prepared to make American investment quite attractive to private American businessmen; that is, the latter should be assured of reasonable profits.

Thus Marshall aid involves lining up with American foreign policy which is undesirable. But if American business magnates are prepared to send their capital to India on terms that do not clash with the radical political and economic policies which the Indian Government has to set in motion in its own interest, foreign private capital may be welcomed.

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LETTERS FROM YERAVDA PRISON

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Some of the letters written by Gandhiji, while in Yeravda prison, to the inmates of the Sabarmati Ashram, have been brought to light by Sri P. M. Mahrotra in an article in the *Tribune* under the heading "Sermons from a Temple." Here are extracts from some of the letters which reveal Gandhiji's interest even in the minute details of the Ashram. Wherever he might be the thought of the Ashram and its members was upper most in his mind and he kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with them.—[ED. *I. R.*]

A letter written to a female ashramite who wanted to keep his chappals as a cherished treasure strikes a characteristic note:

"If you want to keep the sandals with you, do so by all means. But what will you do with these sandals? If they add to your height by a couple of inches, preserve them with delight. So far as I am concerned, I shall decry this habit as idol-worship. I used to keep my father's photograph. I had hung up my father's photographs in my office, my Diwan Khana and also in my sleeping room while I was in South Africa; when I kept a watch I had a chain too. In this chain I had a locket containing my father's and brother's photographs. I have, however, now set them apart. But this does not mean that I worship them less than before. I endeavour to follow them in action. This type of devotion can be extended to innumerable gods; but if I start collecting their pictures, I shall have no room left. And if I begin to accumulate their sandals, I shall be compelled to acquire and own a new tract of land. An expert's advice to you is therefore this:

"Follow such footprints of mine as are right. This is one thousand times more precious than the wooden sandals."

In another of his letters Mahatma Gandhi describes "love" in the following words:

"The description of love is perfect speechlessness·····If one is vocal, one has not full affection. Love is a matter of the heart, and as such it is not to be expressed in words."

Here is another letter about a cat that used to visit his ward in the jail:

"I have already written to you about the neatness of this cat. I have since been able to make further observations about her. A few weeks ago, she gave birth to two kittens. Her general conduct and demeanour appear to be extraordinary. Seldom are those three seen separate from one another; when the young ones want to be fed, the mother suckles them. Both the offspring are suckled together. This scene is enchanting. The mother does not feel ashamed at this in the least. This cat is so well-behaved that she does not do everything and anything thoughtlessly or indiscriminately. No sooner were the kittens able to run about, the mother trained them in the rules of answering call of nature. She would go to a lonely place and after selecting a piece of ground, she would dig a small pit, would seat the kittens on the pit and after they had eased themselves, she would cover the pit gently. Now-a-days these kittens answer the call of nature in the manner taught to them by their mother. They are brother and sister.

Four days ago one of these two selected a soft piece of ground and wanted to make a pit there. But the surface proved to be

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a hard one. The mother came up for help and both prepared a pit of the required depth. After easing themselves they covered the pit and ran away.

This cat is an ideal instructress; she teaches by example and they begin to do likewise. These kittens jump, run about, climb trees, get down cautiously, eat, drink, and catch their prey and keep their bodies clean by licking them over. All the habits of the mother have been imbibed by the children. Her love for them resembles that of human beings. She sleeps with her offspring by her side, stretches her legs and suckles them freely, if she catches a prey, she brings it to her children. Vallabhbhai gives them milk daily. All the three drink milk together. Sometimes she gets aside and lets them drink it. She sometimes wrestles with them affectionately."

And here is yet another in which Gandhiji gives a cure for asthma:

"The asthma of an 80-year-old man was cured in the following manner. He was prohibited to take salt. Giving of 'roti' (ordinary chappatti) was discontinued. Only well-cooked rice, milk and jam of orange peels were given to him as his meals. He was advised to take bath in the open in broad-day light. He was asked to walk a little everyday. Thus within a month the old man's asthma disappeared. In other words he was blessed with a new life.

I have carried on my experiments regarding giving up salt with a large number of persons. There is no loss or deterioration of any kind whatsoever if one gives up salt. What will be the result of a person refraining from taking salt for a number of years, can't be said. But here the question does not arise at all."

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN INDIA

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

THE halt which Soviet Russia imposed on Hitler's apparently irresistible march to world dominion furnished indisputable proof of the success of large scale economic planning and reconstruction in raising the potential of a nation to a very high degree in a relatively short period. In war-ravaged countries the necessity for the rehabilitation of industry and economy in general has directed attention to planned reconstruction with a view to ensuring greater speed and efficiency in the task and a better location of industrial plants from the standpoint of security as well as scientific theory. Though India has suffered little from the direct ravages of actual fighting on her soil, her economy has suffered injury in many ways by the faults of omission and commission for which the British Indian Government made themselves responsible. Her industrial development was deliberately retarded and new industries which contries like Australia developed under the stimulus of war were not allowed to come up here owing to fear of their competition with British industry at the return of peace. The proposals formulated by the Grady Mission for increasing the war effort of India did not see the light of day. There was grave distortion and

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misdirection of industry and the most wasteful exploitation of natural resources under the plea of war effort. Normal replacements and improvements in the technical organization of her industry were shamefully neglected, and nothing was done to meet the crisis in her food supply that had arisen out of the Japanese occupation of Burma, millions being allowed to die from sheer starvation. The result is that in spite of her vast resources in men and material, India is still in a state of economic stagnation and arrested industrial development, and the Britisher's parting gift of Pakistan has not only complicated the task of planning the future, but has brought into existence a favoured competitor for the grudging aid in capital goods, technique and personnel that we may be able to get from the countries that are in a position to help.

Economically India has much leeway to make up. Unlike advanced countries like England where the problem is one of rapid expansion of production with a view to regaining and maintaining the high pre-war standard of living for their people, India is up against problems of a very different character, more difficult as they are more urgent. They are problems not so much of reconstruction as of construction *ab initio*, not of repair and readjustment so much as of starting from the scratch, of making up for the planned neglect of several decades. The attraction of planning is all the greater to the Indian mind as it suggests the idea of orderly, rapid, and consciously directed progress to clearly defined objectives. To what better purpose can the new freedom be put than to build a better India to live in the shortest possible time? The regulation by deliberate policy of many things formerly left to the laws of supply and demand, to wait less on the operation of impersonal economic factors and currents, and more and more to organise and direct the flow of economic resources along proper channels, to maximise social well-being, raise the standard of life of the bulk of the nation and abridge the yawning gap between riches and proverty—these are naturally felt to be among the first duties of the State that has just found itself. The comprehensive and many sided intervention of the State in the economic life of society to attain these ends has ceased to be, if it ever was, matter of academic debate from the standpoint of economic or individual liberty. It is seen that a large scale collective effort is needed and it is assumed that such collective effort would need to be backed up by the State. Quantitative programmes have generally been regarded in other countries as an element in planning, and some Indian plans, conspicuously the 'Bombay plan' of which we have ceased to hear much, sought to fix such targets for India though with little exact knowledge of resources and no details of the actual *modus operandi*; government, however, have wisely refrained in their statements of policy from defining their objective as anything more definite than more production.

Indeed while it is plain as a pikestaff that we must produce or perish, there are too many uncertain factors to permit of greater definition in our plans just now. Labour is ignorant and ill-organised,

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Easily misled into the belief that a national government had only come into existence for it to enter a new heaven, it is falling a prey to the machinations of 'Communists' avowed and other, is unable to appreciate the efforts of government to better their condition progressively, and by its intransigence, causes a falling off of production and imperils the successful working even of industries already nationalised. The entrepreneurs, not a very large class in India, who have hardly had time to look round after the end of the war, are staggered by the attitude of labour, the requirements of social legislation, and the uncertainty of government's industrial policy. Our educational system is hardly adapted to maintain a regular supply of the leadership and the technical skills needed all round, and time is required for a comprehensive remodelling of the system to be put through and for it to bear fruit. Till then we must depend to a considerable extent on their supply from abroad, always and necessarily an uncertain factor. Full of good intentions and eager to implement them quickly, government are handicapped by a woeful lack of experienced and skilled administrators, and the difficult tasks that face them have been rendered doubly so by the political and military preoccupations connected with the framing of the new constitution, the protection of Kashmir, and the revision of the relations of the Union with the 'Indian States'; and their resources, financial and administrative, are greatly strained by the necessity of settling the millions of 'refugees' from Pakistan. The admitted failure of controls in the essential commodities of good-grains and cloth is a portent which reveals the moral shortcomings alike of the administrative personnel and of the public. Great skill and greater courage would be needed in the Central Government to overcome all these obstacles and prepare the way for planning a big step forward in economic well-being with a reasonable chance of success.

An economic plan for India considered by itself raises not a few complex issues. Many detailed surveys, economic, geological and others, will have to be put through to build up the body of factual knowledge which must be the foundation of any intelligent plan. Again the plan will have to proceed on the basis of compact economically homogeneous regions though subject to proper control from a Central Planning Commission, and the cutting up of India into two nations with three loci has upset all the cherished ideas on the natural economic regions of India, and necessitates a radical revision of all notions regarding regions, their economic resources, and the best lines of their development. An intelligent and sustained co-operaion betwen the two States might help both to overcome the economic consequences of the partition, but neither the probability nor the measure of such co-operation is apparent now, nor does seem likely to be for sometime.* Then there are large questions of policy which India, still at the threshold of mechanical industrialization, will have to settle before maturing any definite plans of economic betterment. The place of agriculture in the new economy, and the need for self-sufficiency or otherwise in food-supply,

*Indo-Pakistan relations are now said to be improving since the time of the Kashmir truce. [ED. *I. R.*]

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the place of handicrafts and cottage industries in the new order and their relation to large scale industry, the sector of private enterprise and its relation to the state sector and the mode of administration of nationalised industry—whether directly by government departments or through statutory corporations of a business character, are only some of the many issues that need to be thought out clearly in an imaginative way, though it is by no means necessary that all action should wait for the final and definitive settlement of such issues.

The case for the study of planning in India from various points of view is thus strong, and Dr. R. Balakrishna, Professor of Economics in the University of Madras, deserves to be congratulated on his recent monograph on Regional Planning in India.* The book is divided into nine chapters and covers almost every essential aspect of planning, except finance which perhaps does not really fall within the scope of the study. The opening chapter on the theory of Industrial Location is a good account of the attempts of some Western economists to evolve a theory on a subject where the trained instinct of an able businessman counts for much more than any considerations of abstract theory, and the author admits more than once that the concepts of 'location factor' and 'coefficient of localization' evolved by Western theory have little relevance in the Indian context. In fact the method of the author may strike the average reader as somewhat too academic and detached; the argument is often too nicely balanced, generally proceeds at a languid pace and seems at times to come quite to a halt. The note at the end on the economic consequences of the partition of India is an instance of the pedantic manner that pervades the book. A brisker and less pedestrian approach to the many live issues dealt with by the author would have been more appropriate to his theme. The author is a whole-hogger with regard to planning and holds that 'planning implies not state intervention but full state control'. He strikes one as giving too little attention to the difficulties and dangers ahead of which he evinces a dim awareness in casual remarks such as that 'loss due to the adoption of a policy could be borne out of general revenues', that 'bureaucratic methods may be much worse than private monopolies in their effects on the well-being of a nation' or 'that extreme planning may have a tendency to undertake the basis of liberal democracy and create an atmosphere favourable for the development of a dictatorship.' Planning in India according to the author, should, while subserving the national interest as a whole, transcend narrow provincial limits and concern itself with coherent economic regions. Provinces like Bengal and Madras which have often complained with justice that their interests have been sacrificed to those of industrially advanced province like Bombay may find in regional planning a salutary corrective to the state of affairs that has prevailed hitherto. The Damodar Valley Authority modelled on the Tennesse Valley Authority provides an example of the machinery which would work a regional plan. Prof. Balakrishna seems to take too little account of the part which villages can play in industrial development if on the lines followed in Switzerland and elsewhere we linked up handicrafts and cottage industries with the industrial plan. He seems to underrate also the scope for controlled private capitalists' enterprise in the new set up, but in this view government seem to agree with him. Dr. Balakrishna's book is a valuable and well studied contribution to the literature on planning in India and contains a large volume of statistical and historical information of great value to students of the Indian economy and its future.

* REGIONAL PLANNING IN INDIA. By Dr. R. Balakrishna. The Bangalore Press, Bangalore.

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COMMUNISM AND THE POST-WAR WORLD

By Mr. PULLELA VENKATA RAO

WHILE disruption of social, economic and political conditions of belligerent (and, to no trivial extent, of even non-belligerent) countries is now-a-days a natural consequence of all large-scale wars, the one which we have survived, having, as it did, engulfed a major part of the international world and protracted, as it had been, during nearly six years, is followed by even greater disruption and has released, in its wake stupendous forces of varied character, the extent and intensity of which were perhaps little comprehended in the beginning. It may be that British selfishness aiming at perpetuation of imperialist hegemony on the one side and Nazi ambition to supplant it on the other constituted each for itself an obsession and precluded insight into the mediate future,—that, in between them, Communism might make inroads into the social, economic and political life of the internatonal world.

For, consider how, in World War II, tens of thousands of men were killed and hundreds of thousands of men were wounded and how, despite such holocaust of innocent life and the ultimate defeat of the Axis Powers, instead, as was held out and hoped for, of millennium being ushered in, the international world has nevertheless become all the more economically bankrupt, morally depraved, socially restless and politically turbulent.

It may be surmised that both Great Britain and America fought Germany and her Allies to Russian victory,—not only because, as a result of the war, Poland, Austria, Hungary, the Baltic States, Balkan States etc., have either become part and parcel of Soviet Russia or, if separate entities, have become thoroughly Communist, but also because, in China and in South East Asia, the Octopus of Communism is slowly spreading its tentacles. Of course, China becoming 'red' is now a foregone conclusion; and, then, gradually, Burma, Indonesia and Malaya may follow suit.

But, what has made the spread of Communism thus possible? It may be remembered that production, both industrial and agricultural, suffered in the belligerent countries during the whole tenure of the War. As modern economy is indivisible, this 'short-supply' in the warring countries has had its repercussions the world over; and, to-day, there is almost nothing which is not in 'short supply'. Many countries are deficient even in respect of such a prerequisite as Food. Further, many merchant vessels were torpedoed in the war and, therefore, movement for want of adequate shipping space of what few articles are inadequately available has become tardy. This scarcity of most of the essential articles has contributed to a sharp rise in their prices and, thanks to the short-sighted policy of some of the Governments, the fortunate few who are in a position to purchase them and hoard them for future requirements are having a lion's share of what little of such articles is made available, while the poor and the lower middle classes are either obliged to buy them at prohibitive prices or often go without them.

The major post-War problem, therefore, is primarily economic; Pundit Jawharlal Nehru in fact hit the nail on the head, when, in August last, speaking to a

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Correspondent, he said that "economic ills provide a most fertile field for Communism." For, this protracted International War has had serious economic repercussions the world over, that even a trans-continental Marshall Plan takes years to remedy the situation.

This economic malady has engendered social unrest and consequent political turmoil. Even a country like Great Britain has turned a trifle left-ward and has programmed to nationalise key industries. Then, America, herself, in electing Mr. H. Truman in preference to the Republican nominee, has shown a slight inclination to the left. In a country like Burma, land is being hurriedly nationalised. In India, we have accorded greater concession than ever to Industrial Labour, have gone more than half way in the matter of abolition of Zamindaris and are seriously contemplating to bring in Agrarian Reform. Of course, till now, Leftist leaning is confined to Industrial Labour here and there in this country; our Governments, provincial and dominion, therefore, leave no stone unturned to win the sympathies of Agriculturists and Agricultural Labourers who constitute the bulk of the population.

Both Britain and America have, however, realized their 'folly,' namely, that, after all, they fought Germany and her confederates to Russian victory. Therefore it was perhaps that Britain has gracefully walked out of India, Burma and Ceylon and disburdened herself of Palestine, presumably in an all-out attempt to commend herself to their support. And America has come forward with the Marshall Plan and the proposed North Atlantic Pact. All this is a counterblast to aggressive Russian Imperialism. But, this, perhaps, was the mission of Herr Hess. If it was, he vainly tried to enlist British support against the Comintern. But, though he failed in his mission to build up a vast anti-Comintern Front, it must be said that it was he who wrote the Foreword to the North Atlantic Pact.

But, America has already suffered a major defeat in China; America's 'Europe-complex' perhaps is the cause of her defeat in China. Korea may yield to Communism in the next few months.

For, Russian Communism, after Lenin (and more pronouncedly during recent years) has become mobocratic Fascist Imperialism; it has become imperialism in excelsis; it has the thoroughness, the aggressiveness, in fact the whole technique, the dictatorialism, the ruthlessness, etc., of Fascism; it has its own counterpart of Imperialist bureaucracy; only in the place of the few Capitalists, Financiers, Industrialists, etc., you have however stolid mobocracy headed by haughty, irresponsible and irremovable 'key men' whose duty it is to satellite the all-powerful Central Figure,—the Dictator. But, Communism may be good or bad to you and to me; still, it appears inevitable. At least, this much is certain,—that, should another war break out now, and should Russia come out victorious, then, the whole world will have to live in the shadow of Russia. Should Russia, however, be defeated, we may then have International Socialism.

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INDIA'S NATIONAL LANGUAGE

By PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Writing not as Prime Minister but as an author and as a person intensely interested in the question of language, Pandit Nehru, in a press article, draws attention to the wider cultural aspects of this question. As one who is sensitive to "the beauty of a language, the music of its phrases and the magic and power that lies in words" Pandit Nehru pleads for a language which is strong and vigorous—"for so are the people who use it". On the issue of the all-India language he sums up his views thus: It must be flexible, receptive and must retain all the cultural features that it has imbibed through the ages and must be a language essentially of the people and not of a small coterie of learned men. In the following article he explains his preference for Hindustani. [ED. *I.R.*]

A language, which is confined in a strait jacket, with no doors and windows open for progressive change, may be both precise and graceful, but is apt to lose touch with a changing environment and the mass of the people. This inevitably leads to a loss of vigour and a growth of a certain artificiality. At any time, this would not be good, but in the present dynamic age, with almost everything changing round about us, a strait jacket will deaden a language. The courtly languages of previous ages had much to commend them. But they are totally unsuited to a democratic age, where we aim at mass education. A language, therefore, must fulfil two functions; it must base itself on its ancient roots and at the same time, vary and expand with growing needs and be essentially the language of the mass of people and not of a select coterie. This is all the more necessary in this age of science and technology and world communication. In so far as possible, that language should have common or similar words with other languages in regard to scientific or technical terms. It must, therefore, be a receptive language, accepting every word from outside that fits into its general structure. Sometimes that word may be slightly varied to suit the genius of the language. . . .

If I was aked what is the greatest treasure that India possesses, and what is her finest heritage, I would answer unhesitatingly it is the Sanskrit language and literature and all that this contains. This is a magnificent inheritance and so long as this endures and influences the life of our people, so long will the basic genius of India continue. Apart from its being a treasure of the past, it is, to an astonishing degree, for so ancient a language, a living tradition, I should like to promote the study of Sanskrit and to put our scholars to work to explore and bring to light the buried literature in this language that has been almost forgotten. It is surprising that while we talk so much of language to terms of an extreme nationalism, only lip homage is paid to it or it is exploited for political ends. Very little is done to serve it as a language should be served. Whether in Sanskrit or in the modern Indian languages, constructive work is rare. We often follow a dog-in-the-manger policy of disliking any other growth and at the same time not doing anything ourselves. A language will grow ultimately because of its inherent worth and not because of statutes or resolutions. Therefore the true service of a language is to increase its value, practicability and inherent worth.

However great Sanskrit may be, and however much we may like to promote its study, as we should, it cannot be a living

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language. But it must be, as it has been, the base and inner substance of most of our languages. That is inevitable. But an attempt to force this is neither inevitable nor desirable and is likely to lead to evil results.

ROLE OF PERSIAN

Persian has played an important role in the last few centuries in developing some of our provincial languages, more especially Hindustani and has affected our ways of thinking also to some extent. That is an acquisition and it makes us richer to that extent. It must be remembered that no language is nearer to Sanskrit than Persian, and indeed Vedic Sanskrit and Ancient Pathlevi are nearer to one another than Vedic Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit. So, a certain overlapping of the two is easy and does no violence to the genius of our language or our race. In any event, a few hundred years of history and the life of the people have fashioned us for what we are and it seems to me rather absurd and certainly unwise, to try to undo this work of history. From the cultural point of view, such an attempt at undoing and going back would mean depriving us of the cultural heritage which we possessed. It would mean making ourselves poorer. We should rather aim at richness and at accepting whatever adds to that cultural content. Therefore any attempt at excluding what we have already absorbed is wrong from every point of view.

If these considerations are borne in mind, it follows that the all-India language that we should seek to promote must be flexible, receptive and must retain all the cultural features that it has imbibed through the ages. It must also be a language essentially of the people and not of a small coterie of learned men. It must be dignified and full of power and it must rigorously try to put down artificiality, shallowness and ornateness. Inevitably its base and a great deal of its content will be derived from Sanskrit, but it will include any number of words, phrases and ideas from other sources, notably Persian and also English and other foreign languages. In regard to its technical terms we should first of all accept every word that has been accepted in popular use. In coining new words, we should again try to approximate to popular use and understanding, and in regard to technical words, so far as possible we should not detract from the world language that is growing up.

BASIC VOCABULARY

It would be desirable to collect a number of basic words, say 3,000 or so, which might be considered well-known common words, used by the people generally. These may often include alternative words for the same idea, provided both are in common use. This should be the basic vocabulary which everyone, who desires knowledge of the all-India language, should know.

Yet another list of technical words should be prepared on the lines indicated above. I must say that many of the new words being used for technical terms are so extraordinarily artificial and meaningless in the real sense of the word, because they have no background or history behind them, that they horrify me.

If these two lists are prepared, the rest should be left to the natural growth of the language. No limitations should be put on anyone writing on what might be called pure literary Hindi or pure literary Urdu or anything in between. With the growth of education and a vaster reading public, this itself will exercise a powerful influence on the writers and speakers. Gradually, I have no doubt, that a fine and vigorous language will grow and expand without any compulsion from above.

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A NEW LABOUR POLICY

By Mr. KRISHNA SAHAI SRIVASTSAVA, M. Com.

ONE of the achievements of the Indian National Government is its Labour Policy. Till lately, Labour problems in India were given a secondary importance by the British Government.

Labour problems in Asiatic countries never bore any semblance with those in either Great Britain or America. Even the I.L.O. has not always been impartial and there is no denying the fact that its decisions have from time to time, been largely influenced by European and American interests. The holding of the Asiatic Session of the I.L.O. last year at New Delhi was a landmark in its history.

The venue of this conference was most appropriate because of the significance of New Delhi as the capital of a new nation, having vast resources of labour and capital. This conference, therefore, struck a note of warning by emphasising the peculiar aspects of labour problems in the East. The success of this conference was largely due to the untiring efforts of Hon. Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Labour, Government of India. This conference was a bold step.

The Government of India through their delegates declared that Labour problems in India, China, Burma and Indonesia are different from those of European and American countries. Agricultural labour which contributes materially to the general productive activity, lives in villages where the light of civilisation is yet dim and sparse. It is backward, and steeped in superstition and abject misery. It has no organisation worth the name, and its control on the government machinery is insignificant. The government has recognised these hard facts and taken up the challenge.

It has, for the first time, recognised that the existence of a feudal agency has all along been instrumental in keeping the Indian labourer tied down to the position of a serf. The diversity of tenancy laws and practices have worked to prolong the period of his suffering and privation. The provincial governments like those of the U. P. and Bihar have pledged themselves to the abolition of landlordism and their plans of universal education are bound to bring about the natural death of an age-long institution, namely forced labour of 'Begar.'

Our government is conscious of the demoralising influence of unemployment among the workers. Among agricultural labourers, the unemployment is generally of a seasonal nature. When the crops are sown, the agriculturist has very little to do till the harvesting season. During this part of the year he requires some engagement which helps him in supplementing his income without separating him from his fields over which he has to maintain a close watch. The provincial governments have, in collaboration with the Central Government, launched various schemes of the organization of industries on regional and co-operative basis. This work is now being handled by the Development Departments of the various governments.

Their plans aim at giving a centrifugal attention to the 'kisan'. He is a capitalist, a labourer and enterpriser. Above all he is a human being. He must be given all the dignity of a man. This consideration

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has made the outlook of the Indian Government fundamentally more humane.

The Ministry of Labour, Government of India, has organised a net work of 53 Employment Exchanges throughout the country. Previously these served as recruiting centres but now they act as the link between the employers and the employees of almost all types. They aim at organising the labour.

The principle of labour partnership has been recognised and on this basis, labour has been given recognition to its right of self-assertion. The Government of India have accepted the principle of a Minimum Living Wage. This is not easy to achieve. It gives rise to a large number of problems resulting from the relativity of different industries and their location. But its recognition in itself is an event of importance and is likely to instil greater confidence among the workers.

In this direction, the setting up of a Statutory Wage Board with representatives of workers, employers and the government, is the most urgent need of the hour. This board should have a number of sub-committees working under it for studying and prescribing wage standards for different industries. They should also undertake the study of the fluctuations in the cost of living and suggest measures for bringing about the desired adjustment. Indian statistics suffer from inaccuracy and, therefore, organisation of an Economic Intelligence Service is also an obvious necessity.

Social Insurance envisaging a comprehensive scheme of relief from want and sickness is an integral part of the new Labour Policy. The growth and distribution of essential foodstuffs with due regard to standards of dietary and nutrition, decent housing, free education and medical service, and a complete guarantee of maintenance during the period of a physical disability are the important aspects of the new economic order.

The worker has been assured of a fair deal in case of a conflict with Capital and for this purpose, workers' right to make out a case for his demands and its close examination by impartial and expert authorities is now an acknowledged principle.

The government has recognised its responsibility towards maintaining industrial peace by actively working for promoting cordial relationship between the workers and the industrialists. It has recommended to the provincial governments to appoint Labour Conciliation Officers, and Labour Welfare Officers at important industrial centres. The provision of Arbitration has satisfied a long-felt need and adjudication in disputes is bound to prove immensely helpful.

The most important step taken by the Central Government is the inauguration of a number of tripartite conferences for bringing the matters on a common table at which representatives of all the three interests namely state, capital and labour—sit and bring forth acceptable solutions. In addition, the Central Government convenes periodical conferences of the Labour Ministers and Industries Ministers of the different provinces and States for discussing politics of common interest.

Above all the government has warned Labour against taking sides in politics and advised it to evolve a policy of its own, based on negation of narrow sectarianism or partisanship.

In fact there could be no better advice, and in view of the Production Crisis facing our country, it is essential that Indian labour should make a generous response to these friendly gestures of the National Government.

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V. O. C. AND HIS PIONEER WORK

—:o:—

In another page we draw attention to H. E. the Governor-General's inauguration of the new steamship service from Tuticorin to Colombo by launching *S. S. Chidambaram* at the old port reminiscent of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai's pioneer enterprise. The following is a brief account of V. O. C.'s career and his frustrated efforts to revive the ancient maritime glory of India.—[ED. *I. R.*]

V. O. Chidambaram Pillai or "V. O. C." as he is affectionately referred to by the people of Tamilnad, was born in 1872 in a village called Ottappidaram in the Tirunelveli district of South India. After a brilliant scholastic career in the St. Xavier's School, Tuticorin, he took to law and set up practice as a pleader in 1900.

A staunch nationalist by conviction he was constantly obsessed by the feeling that the Tamils, who had been masters of the sea from the days of the Pandyas and Cholas, were deprived of their shipping trade by the British conquerors. The upheaval that followed the partition of Bengal gave him the opportunity to enter the battle for freedom and he started a "second front" in Tamilnad by kindling the spirit of the masses, who readily rallied round his banner.

Chidambarm Pillai's first direct attack was aimed at the merchant community of Britain, which, in his opinion, formed the root of British imperialism. In the year 1906, he organised at Tuticorin the "Swadeshi Shipping Company" to capture the shipping trade between India and Ceylon, which until then was solely in the hands of the British India Steam Navigation Company. Having started the company with the financial help of the local merchants he was able to gain the support of businessmen all over the country. He acquired two ships the *S. S. Las* and the *S. S. Gallia* and by the force of his convincing arguments enlisted the sympathy of both the passengers and the shipping community.

The British Company realised that things were heading towards a crisis and tried to win over the customers by reducing the freight and advertising free passage. It is believed that it even went to the extent of offering Chidambaram Pillai himself a huge sum to corrupt him.

The British authorities in India who feared that the Swadeshi Shipping Company was the first step towards India's economic freedom were anxious to see Chidambaram Pillai behind the bars. His political activities gave them an opportunity to achieve their object. Chidambaram Pillai, who believed in the extremist section of the Congress headed by Lokamanya Tilak adopted him as his political guru and Tilak, in his turn, chose him as his only representative in Tamilnad. By 1908 he had started in Tirunelveli the Desabhimana Sangam to preach the gospel of freedom among the people. This sangam celebrated, in contravention of the District Magistrate's order, the release of Bipin Chandra Pal, one of the then foremost leaders of the Congress, on the 9th of March 1908. The District Collector sent for Chidambaram Pillai and on his refusing to leave the district and furnish security binding him for non-participation in political activities, arrested him on the spot. On trial for treason,

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the Sessions Judge sentenced him to transportation for life. The sentence, which was disapproved even by Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, was ultimately reduced by the Privy Council to six years' rigorous imprisonment.

After six years of prison life Chidambaram Pillai came out only to taste the bitter fruits of adversity. The shipping company, his dream and pride, had crashed almost immediately after his incarceration and the shareholders could no longer look upon him as their hero. With an almost completely ruined health he had once again to resort to his legal practice to make both ends meet. Even in that stage he would not keep aloof from public service. However, he could not see eye to eye with the Congress which by then had changed its policy and was concentrating on non-co-operation. He had, therefore to be satisfied with occasional participation in its activities. But he continued to contribute in his own way to the struggle for India's freedom until his death in 1936.

Even in his death bed, Chidambaram Pillai is said to have been deeply pained to think that he had to die without seeing India independent.

INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

BY PROF. B. BISSOON DOYAL, M.A.

——(O)——

IT will sound queer to the people of India that a far-away island lost in the Indian Ocean should be mourning for the loss of Mr. Natesan. Mauritius, for such is its name, owes much to the veteran journalist who passed away in January.

The Indian Review, *The Modern Review* and *The Hindusthan Review* whose editor, Dr. Sacchidananda Sinha, is—fortunately for us—still living, are the three periodicals from which two generations of Mauritius Indians have had their first lessons in politics.

Only a decade ago Indians here did not exist politically. Thus those who had contributed most to make the country prosperous, could only be hewers of wood and drawers of water. A century passed uneventfully so far as Indians were concerned. Indian politics held more interest for them than local politics. They were suddenly stirred up by the activities of a new movement that has succeeded in getting the old Constitution of the land replaced by a liberal one with the result that the Legislative Council has as many as twelve Indian members to-day. Well-documented articles about Mauritius appeared of late in *The Modern Review* and *Free India*. They all tend to show that the Indian element of the Mauritian population cannot now be criminally neglected.

Two decades ago educated Indians could be seen poring over *The Modern Review* that was publishing Dr. Sunderland's book INDIA IN BONDAGE. *The Indian Review* was not lagging behind. Mahatma Gandhi's STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH, a more important work than Sunderland's, appeared in its pages. The friends that India has in France had both the works translated into their mother tongue. We of Mauritius who are taught to talk French

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from our childhood, had the singular fortune of reading the two books in English and in French.

But Mr. Natesan did something more. He had the happy idea of publishing cheap editions of Indian Classics. Dr. Annie Besant's GITA, the biographies of eminent Indians and Orientalists, the speeches and writings of Indian leaders, saints and reformers acquainted Mauritius Indians with the great culture of India and the political movement that reached its consummation when independence was obtained on the 15th August, 1947. Could a thinker of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's calibre be brought within the reach of the man in the street if Natesan & Co. did not bring out THE HEART OF HINDUSTHAN and FREEDOM AND CULTURE, books that never fail to come as an invigorating tonic? But for Natesan's books most of our lads would have lost the last shred of interest in Indian religion and culture. Part of *The Indian Review* is one long catalogue of the highly interesting publications. It does one great pleasure to turn over the pages of the catalogue and remember the names of old companions. The new additions leave nothing to be desired.

We can hardly restrain a smile when we think of the naivete of our elders who, when they got wind of the coming of policemen in the vicinity, had the whole lot of books from Natesan buried lest they might be found in possession of them and deported! What a long stride we have made since those good old days! To-day the Indo-Mauritian community has imbibed the spirit of Mahatmaji and launches *Satyagraha* to remedy the evils with which the country is infested. And the voice of Indo-Mauritians has not been crying in the wilderness. Non-Indians are following in their footsteps. The Indians of Mauritius love Mr. Natesan for this reason too that he helped Mahatma Gandhi who had once paid them a short visit. The pages of *The Indian Review* containing news about Indians abroad endeared him to all Indians overseas alike.

In the past with the exception of traders and immigrants nobody in Mauritius would think of going out to India. When the sound of the word *India* fell on the tympanum of our ears it meant almost nothing to us. The advent of the Arya Samaj coupled with the arrival of books on that great religious movement, especially the four anna biography of Swami Dayananda Saraswati published by Natesan & Co., changed the outlook of many a youth. Many began to dream of spending a few years in the land of their ancestors. So the cheap publications indirectly created the new taste for travel. And that was not a minor event. I personally know of two or three cases of young men going out to India for higher studies after getting inspired by the perusal of books published by Natesan & Co. I wish Mr. Natesan could have known that he had unconsciously served Indo-Mauritians in many ways.

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INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

—(o)—

THE thirty-sixth session of Indian Science Congress was inaugurated at Allahabad on January 3 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India.

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU'S ADDRESS

Requesting Pandit Nehru to inaugurate the Congress, H. E. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Governor of the United Provinces, welcomed the delegates and specially the foreign delegates, who had come to attend the session. She said that

they were all men of science and who had dedicated themselves to the cause of salvation of humanity from destruction. To-day the world was in such a condition when men lived in fear of one another. Fear brought destruction, fear brought hatred and created nightmarishness and fear was the ultimate destroyer of the world. But if men of science resolved for the good of humanity how marvellous the world would be!

She was confident that the scientists who had gathered were a brilliant galaxy of men and they would serve the right cause. To talk of freedom was mockery and sinister if it was not realised that every human being had a right to salvation, said Mrs. Naidu. Referring to Pandit Nehru, Mrs. Naidu said

that they found in him a man who had sacrificed his all for the national freedom and also for the cause of international co-operation. He had become their inspiration and guide.

PANDIT NEHRU'S WELCOME

Speaking *ex tempore*, the Prime Minister said he had come on behalf of the Government of India to welcome the scientists who had gathered there. He appealed to the scientists all over the world to seriously consider as to how science could help the world in the final analysis of things.

Pandit Nehru paid a handsome tribute to Sir C. V. Raman on his sixtieth birthday, by saying that he had not only done distinguished service to science but for the whole world. Pandit Nehru said:

I think, with the advancement of science the balance of human mind has not advanced. We still live in different grooves and think with a narrow outlook. The result is that the poise of the world is disturbed, putting it in a bad way. I feel it is the duty of the scientists to see that along with advancement of science this balance or poise of mind also advances. I do not ask you to go back, for going back means fading away. There should certainly be an attempt to preserve everything we have got and to add to it, but there should also be a side by side attempt to balance it. This balancing should be done in all spheres, economic, political and even in the spirit of mankind.

The conflict of the spirit which has been generated due to this disturbance of the balance affects all and as scientists it becomes your duty to ponder over it and solve it and bring back the lost balance.

Referring to the present day conflict and tension, both political and economic Pandit Nehru said

that the scientists should try to understand the complicated human phenomenon. They should think about this matter and try to help solve those problems by applying not only proper knowledge but looking at them from a historical and human perspective and also by developing a philosopher's outlook. A scientist *minus* philosophy was just a scientist and nothing more.

Concluding, Pandit Nehru said that the scientists must try to understand the problems of human life and apply science to their solution.

DR. KRISHNAN'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. K. S. Krishnan, President of the Congress, addressing the delegates announced that the Government of India were setting up an Atomic Commission under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He said:

The development of atomic energy had become a great topical interest and it was fitting that in the research on this energy, India would not lay lag behind other countries.

The President also announced that the Government of India were shortly going to establish an Institute of Scientific Research

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and wanted Sir C. V. Raman's services for the Institute. He felt happy at the offer and hoped that under Sir C. V. Raman, the Institute will be of real utility and importance to the country.

The President then introduced the foreign scientists, Prof. Chapman, Prof. Burlingam, Prof. Ziola and Prof. Govind Beharilal who were attending the conference, to the delegates.

A number of messages wishing success to the session were received on the occasion.

STUDY OF HISTORY OF SCIENCES

The need of forming a National Society in India for the promotion of studies in the History of Sciences in this part of the world was exclaimed by Mr. Alexander Woolsky of UNESCO at a meeting of some delegates to the Science Congress.

Mr. Woolsky, who had come to the Science Congress from Paris, explained the role which the UNESCO would play in his scheme of National Committee or Society in India. He said that

> the role of the UNESCO would be an indirect or passive one. As the UNESCO had only a sort of informal connection with the International Union of the History of Science, which came into existence two years back and had its headquarters at Paris.

Mr. Woolsky pointed out that a society formed for the purpose of study of history of sciences in this part of the world would find it easier to ask for financial support from the International Union as he was confident it would be forthcoming.

After a short discussion a Committee with Prof. A. C. Bannerjee as Convener and with powers to co-opt to formulate a scheme in this connection.

MANUFACTURE OF CHEMICALS

Dr. J. C. Ghosh, addressing a scientists' gathering on the subject of "Impact of science on industry" in the Senate Hall of the Allahabad University, disclosed that other industrial programmes of the Government aimed at making the country self-sufficient in the matter of chemicals included the manufacture of synthetic ammonia and penicillin.

Dr. Ghosh, in the course of his address, complained of "cold and callous attitude" of the Government towards pure and applied science, which he said, would lead to calamity. He felt that red-tapism of the permanent services should go.

The Congress, as usual, divided itself into various sections, each section presided over by a Scientist of distinction. Important papers were presented at their gatherings besides discussions on scientific topics.

The following are the various sections with their respective Presidents:

Agriculture Section	Dr. R. S. Vasudeva
Physics ,,	Prof. R. S. Krishnan
Statistics	Dr. U. S. Nair
Chemistry	Dr. P. B. Ganguly
Geology and Geography	Dr. C. Mahadevan
Medical and Veterinary	Dr. M. B. Soparkar
Zoology & Entomology	Dr. M. L. Roonwal
Botany	Mr. M. S. Randhawa
Psychology ,,	Principal T. K. N. Menon
Physiology ,,	Dr. B. B. Sarkar
Anthropology ,,	Nirmal K. Bose
Engineering ,,	Prof. M. Sen Gupta
Mathematics ,,	Dr. S. Chowla

Dr. R. S. Krishnan, Head of the Department of Physics, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, sought to discuss and settle in his Presidential address to the physics section the question of the vibrations in crystals which manifest themselves in the Ram spectrum "waves."

Dealing with the luminescence of crystals in the course of a popular lecture delivered to an audience of scientists, Sir C. V. Raman said that when Mahatma

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Gandhi marched down to Dandi, little did he know that he was making one of the most elementary experiments in physical chemistry.

Common salt, the speaker said, consists of atoms of sodium and chlorine bound together in the crystal by electrical forces. In the crystalline state it offers one of the most important problems of physics.

Proceeding Dr. Raman said that his presence recently at Harvard in America helped him to study the problem from diverse points of view.

The learned speaker observed that during the last thirty years the Indian School of Crystal Physics, whose cornerstone was laid down by Sir K. S. Krishnan, the President of this session of the Science Congress, has continued this study to a most conclusive end. Prof. K. S. Krishnan also did a lot of work at Bangalore towards realising the true state of crystalline state.

THE POETRY OF SAROJINI NAIDU*

BY

DR. AMARANATHA JHA

IT was at the Lucknow Congress of 1916 that I first heard Mrs. Naidu speak. Then she was invited by us to visit the Muir Central College, and on January 20, 1917, she gave readings from her poetry. She said she was but a wandering singer. But, she continued, a poet is not only a dreamer of dreams; his heart is the mirror of the world's emotion; his songs of gladness are echoes of the world's laughter; his songs of sorrow reflect the tears of humanity. The spell that she wove then has continued to gain in potency. In February 1918, I wrote an appreciation of two collections of her poems. Friendship across the span of more than thirty years will not permit a truly objective appraisal of her literary work; but nothing is written here that, I trust, is a conscious departure from critical rectitude.

Mrs. Naidu has published three volumes of poems, 'The Golden threshold' 'Bird of time', and 'The Broken Wing'. These have been collected together in one volume, entitled 'The Sceptred Flute' first published in America by Dodd, Mead and Co. Inc. She was an obscure young girl when her first book of poems came out in 1905; but it was received with enthusiasm in England. Among the comments then published occur these words of praise: 'This little volume should silence for ever the scoffer who declares that women cannot write poetry'; 'Her poetry seems to sing itself as if her swift thoughts and strong emotions sprang into lyrics of themselves'; 'Of undeniable beauty and distinction'; 'The book is one not merely of accomplished, but beautiful verse, it is the expression of a temperament'. 'The Bird of Time' appeared in 1912, with an introduction by Edmund Gosse. Edward Thomas said at the time that 'her poems achieve an uncommon outward gorgeousness and inward glory'. 'She scatters memorable phrases over a page

* The *Leader* of Allahabad published this appreciation of Sarojini in connection with her Seventieth birthday which fell on February 13.

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like stars, and yet knows how to reserve beauty for the close of a poem', said another critic. 'The Broken Wing' came out in 1917—the last of her books so far. I have in my possession a copy of this book which came from the Library of Edmund Gosse. Pasted in it is a letter dated 21st December, 1916, from Wm. Heinemann (the publisher) to Gosse, in course of which he says: 'Herewith another of your God-children. I had hoped to get the book out to Sarojini before Christmas, but it has been quite impossible. She ought to be pleased with it when she sees it'. And then public life, social work and politics lured her away from the pleasures which only poets know. To the sombre and serious atmosphere of politics she brings a breath of sanity, a ray of humour, a ripple of laughter. From the platform she sound soul animating strains—alas! too many. The loss to literature has been great. If only Mrs. Naidu had not exerted all her energy in the Assembly and the Council-hall; if only a public gathering had not attracted her with a sure fascination; if only she had not ruled the universal monarchy of wit and been content only to utter words nimble and full of subtle flame; if, in short, she had remained faithful to poetry, how many poems would have been written, poems inspired by tragic happenings in the country, or by personal loss or grief, bedecked with phrases of gemlike beauty. Alas, for the wide demesne of 'might-have-been'!

Mrs. Naidu wrote, in her early years, some charming poems of nature, and specially of the spring-time. There are at least thirteen lyrics on the Spring, and many in which she describes the sights, and sounds, and smell of nature. There are descriptions of Indian life poems dealing with folk-lore and mythology and history. Some of the lyrics breathe ardent love of country; others deal with children. The most memorable ones are on the eternal but ever-new theme of love.

ABUNDANCE OF FINE PHRASES

One comment may justly be made—that, in several pieces, the rhetorical rather than the lyric quality predominates. This is particularly noticeable in the collection, "The Bird of Time'. There is more abandon, more freshness, more spontaneity in 'The Golden Threshold'; more maturity and warmth of feeling, the depth and not the tumult of the soul, in "The Broken Wing'. But in "The Bird of Time', one feels that the poetic muse is dragging along listlessly and has to whip and lash herself into some sort of tuneful utterance. There seems a temporary diminution of fervour. But in all the three volumes there is abundance of fine phrases, of silken terms, of tune and lively words beyond the reach of ordinary writers. They are strewn with seeming carelessness all over; one can pick them up at random. Here are a few of them: some more memorable than others, but all coming from a busy and well-equipped mind: 'like a star in the dew of our song': 'silver breasted moonbeam of desire'; 'conquer the sorrow of life with the sorrow of song'; 'a voiceless captive to my conquering song', 'brows anointed with perpetual weariness'; 'all my blossoming hopes unharvested'; 'languid and sequestered ease'; "Tomorrow's unborn griefs depose

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the sorrows of our yesterday'; 'the heaven-ward hunger of our soul'; 'the mystic silence that men call death'; 'the abysmal anguish of her tears'; 'the memoried sorrow that sullied a by-gone age'; 'the moon-enchanted estuary of dreams'; 'the glimmering ghost of bygone dream'; 'the radiant promise of renascent morn'; 'sweet comrades of a lyric spring'; 'the radiant silence of my sleepless pain,' 'fallen from its high estate of laughter'—one can cull such gems in ample measure. ''Tis sufficient to say that here is God's plenty.'

HIGH SKILL AS A POET

In spite of the mournful theme of many of Mrs. Naidu's poems, and the sense of tears, and the shadow of grief and tragedy, the total impression is that she has triumphed over life's ills, is always supremely conscious of life's beauty, finds abundant recompense in human companionship, and is ever prepared to challenge fate. Courage and the determination to brave danger and disaster, passionate loyalty to country and faith in its high destiny, wide tolerance—these also one finds. But above all, one is attracted by the grace and beauty of her fancy and the effortless energy at her verse. One has only to look at the following lines to realise her high skill as poet: the flow and the melody should not obscure the undercurrent of serious thought:

'Weavers, weaving at break of day,
Why do you weave a garment so gay?....
Blue as the wing of a halcyon wild,
We weave the robes of a new-born child.

Weavers, weaving at fall of night,
Why do you weave a garment so bright?..
Like the plumes of a peacock, purple and green,
We weave the marriage-veils of a queen,

Weavers, weaving solemn and still,
What do you weave in the moonlight chill,...
White as a feather and white as a cloud.
We weave a dead man's funeral shroud',

And here is a pretty little poem;

'O brilliant blossoms that strew my way,
You are only woodland flowers they say.
But, I sometimes think that perchance you are
Fragments of some new-fallen star:

Or golden lamps for a fairy shrine,
Or golden pitchers for a fairy wine,
Perchance you are, O frail and sweet,
Bright anklet-bells from the wild spring's feat,

Or the gleaming tears that some fair bride shed
Remembering her lost maidenhead,
But now, in the memorial dusk you seem
The glimmering ghost of a bygone dream'.

In several poems we get vivid pictures of Indian life, both of the city and of the country-side,—'Palanquin-bearers'; The Pardah Nashin; 'Street Cries'; 'Bangle-Sellers'; 'The Imam Bara.' In all her work, Mrs. Naidu proves that her work is not imitative or derivative. She has her own style, her own themes, her own melody, gentle and sweet. It is not surprising that Tennyson should have influenced her art, and Shelley, and Swinbourne. But while the technique of her verse owes much to them, the passion, the imagery, the golden cadence are all her own. Above all she has a special niche in Indian history; a poet is needed to sing the dawn, as Meredith said; and it is Sarojini Naidu's appointed privilege to paint the hues of the rich unfolding morn.

CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects and short stories are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for.

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 700 words.

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to the Editor, *The Indian Review*, G. T., Madras.

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THE NEW THERAPY IN LEPROSY

By Dr. R. G COCHRANE, M.D., F.R.C.P., D.T.M. & H.

IN discussing any remedy which claims to be a cure for this disease, three considerations must be uppermost in our minds :—

i. The drug must be within the financial means of *every section* of the community.

ii. The method of administration must be both practical as well as simple.

iii. The remedy must be possible of administration to the masses under relatively simple conditions.

Unless a drug fulfils the above conditions it is of little value except to the rich and dwellers in towns. At present none of the sulphone drugs fulfils these criteria, but we hope by the end of the year to have more light on preparations which we are trying and which promise to fulfil the above conditions.

When the hydnocarpus (chaulmoogra) preparations were re-discovered some twenty-five years ago, in which work, workers in India played a significant part, it was thought that a remedy had been discovered which would eliminate leprosy from the country within a comparatively few decades. This original optimism has unfortunately not been justified. During the last twenty-five years our knowledge with regard to this disease has increased very considerably, and we now realise that the leprosy problem consists of two different aspects: (i) the actual cure of that form of leprosy which is ineffective; (ii) the prevention, amelioration and re-habilitation of patients who have that form of leprosy which mutilates and in which the body has re-acted favourably to the disease but left signs of the battle in the form of deformities, ulcers and scars. The latter is not so much a problem of preventive medicine as one of social assistance rehabilitation.

Curative remedies and control measures in leprosy largely apply to the first group of patients, and up to now lepromatous leprosy has not responded as favourably as anticipated to therapeutic measures. Within the last five years the Sulphone group of drugs has been discovered and these drugs are proving more effective in our attack against the mycobacterium of leprosy than any other drugs so far used.

'We are still at the experimental stage in the treatment of leprosy with the Sulphone drugs, namely Promin, Sulphetrone and Diasone. While these drugs indicate some hope of success in the treatment of the disease, the time is not yet ripe to discard completely the hydnocarpus (chaulmoogra) oil treatment which still remains the drug at present universally in use in India for the treatment of leprosy. There has been the same uncritical optimism over the sulphone treatment as over all previous treatments. In the first place, sulphones, whatever the derivative be, take a comparatively long time to render a case negative. In the second place, it is quite impossible to hope that ordinary patients will take sulphones regularly by mouth for years on end. In the third place, clinical improvement is much more rapid than bacteriologic improvement, and, therefore, is very deceptive. In the fourth place fifty per cent. of cases, particularly under Diasone, are liable to go through very severe reactions. In the fifth place, the remedy is too expensive for general use, and until some of these major difficulties are overcome, I do not recommend using Diasone on a large scale. Also, it must be remembered that Diasone must only be used for definite lepromatous cases. We have no yardstick by which to estimate the improvement in neural leprosy, and, furthermore, too much emphasis on specific treatment in neural leprosy lulls the physician into the drowsy attitude that the patient is doing well, when all his attention should be concentrated on physio-therapy and orthopœdic measures, to prevent or alleviate deformity or threatened deformity.'

There is a growing amount of evidence that up to now these new remedies are not rapid in their action, and, therefore, while in the course of months and perhaps years marked improvement and relief will be seen, patience is necessary in order to evaluate the true worth

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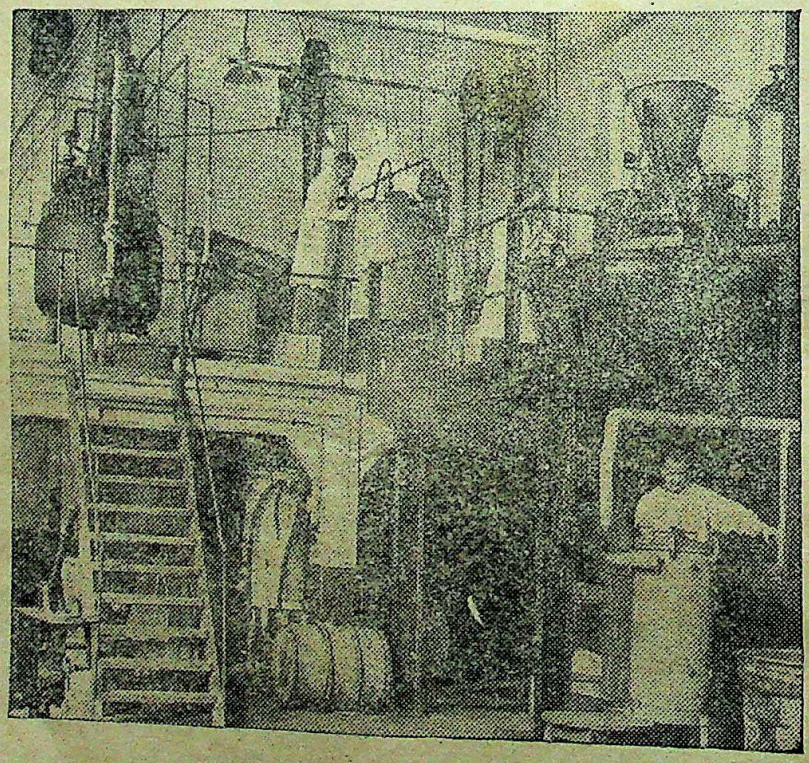
of these remedies. Therefore, if it is calculated that the average period of rendering a case negative by these drugs is three years, it will be seen that the half a million tablets of Diasone given for use in this country, now that the Central Government has agreed to allow them to enter India free of customs duty, will only last one hundred patients getting an average of four tablets a day for about three and a half years. This explains why the Medical Secretary has apparently been so strict in restricting the number of patients to be chosen.

As soon as one is convinced that there are more practical methods of administration of these drugs, then they will not be withheld from any suitable patients, but indiscriminate use and mal-administration owing to failure to understand the therapeutics of these remedies will only lead to waste of funds, disappointment, and possibly disaster.



A CURE FOR LEPROSY

This plant has been specially constructed for the manufacture of Sulphetrone, the new sulpha drug discovered by British medical-men for treating leprosy. A most dreaded disease which was for centuries considered to be incurable, and the victims of which had been subjected to the most rigorous segregation, is now found to respond to this new British drug.

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

"C.R." on Bapu's Faith

THE anniversary of Gandhiji's death provided an occasion for many interpretations of the Mahatma's life and teachings. Close associates and immediate disciples recalled traits of Bapu's character and actions which have endeared him to us for all time. And then savants in many parts of the world made profound observations on the meaning and significance of such a career in the context of world history. "C. R." who moved on closest terms of intimacy for many years with the Mahatma put his finger unerringly on the basic factor in Gandhiji's faith.

"I had admired and loved him throughout the twenty-eight rich years of intimate joint labour, as never man admired and loved another," wrote "C. R." in the *Harijan*, "but it was in the last months of 1947 that my wonderment and adoration of Bapu rose to its highest pitch."

"Do you agree with me? Do you accept the doctrine of unilateral effort in love?" he asked me one day.

"There is no other way," I answered enthusiastically and without hesitation.

"Just so," he replied with evident delight. He always felt acute pleasure when I agreed. This is no compliment to me. "What about the response? The other party does not co-operate, and what good is it?"—all these questions simply disappeared as irrelevant and the road was straight.

Bapu's theory of life and action was always this, and some of us know it, but never before was the full meaning and intensity of a faith so full, poured into the doctrine as now did incessantly and unweariedly.

The rocket burst on January 30, 1948, and what a glorious illumination. It is all dark now and we see the opposite of the colours that dazzled our eyes then.

"Non-violence", "civil disobedience" etc., are all technical specialised phrases, says C. R. "The basic teaching is unilateral effort in love."

New Shipping Service

It must have given H. E. the Governor-General peculiar satisfaction to be associated with the opening of the New Shipping Service from Tuticorin to Colombo. In inaugurating this service he recalled the glories of India's maritime enterprises in the past. Only the other day, Vice-Admiral W. E. Parry, our naval chief reminded us that Indians in the past were trading with Egypt and the Roman Empire, crossing the Arabian Sea many years before Christ. There is ample evidence of this in Indian literature and art and in the works of Greek and Roman historians. "Since the dawn of history" observed His Excellency,

Hindus have crossed the Bay of Bengal and the waters of the Indian Ocean and colonised many Pacific islands. Long before the Christian era, Hindus penetrated to Sumatra, Malaya, Indonesia, and China. The Maurya kings assumed, as one of their regal titles, the name of the "Eastern Seas." Coming to more recent times, Fa Hien describes an ocean voyage in an Indian ship from Orissa to Ceylon, thence to the Nicobar Islands and to China through the Malacca Straits. This was in the fifth century A. D. It was in that same century that we established our rule in Malaya, Sumatra and Java. One dynasty or another of Hindus maintained this sea power in the Indian Ocean until the 14th century, when it passed to the Arabs.

C. R. must have felt a thrill as he named the ship *S. S. Chidambaram*. For, forty years ago when V. O. Chidambaram Pillai was canvassing support to his adventure in coastal shipping, C. R. was one of the earliest to give moral and material support with an enthusiasm that meant so much at the initial stage of that enterprise. The Swadeshi Company, faced with merciless competition from British sponsored and government aided B. I. S. N. Company, was not exactly a success. But it is a mistake to look for greatness only in finished undertakings. Chidambaram Pillai laid the foundations of an idea which is fructifying today.

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The Nizam's Lead

Hyderabad is shaping well and is lining up with the rest of India, thanks to the sense of realism shown by H. E H. the Nizam in his appreciation of the situation arising out of the recent conflict with the Union. When once the Nizam realised that the only course for Hyderabad was to fall in line with the other States of India he lost no time in adjusting himself to the requirements of a truly modern and democratic administration under the new set up.

Apart from co-operating with the new government in advancing the interest of the State in every direction H.E.H. has set an example in his own person which cannot but have a wholesome influence on the feudal barons of his State. The Nizam who is reputed to be "the richest man in the world" has agreed to hand over to the State his *Sarf-i-khas* or personal estate which covers 7000 square miles and includes 2000 villages, the gross revenue of which is Rs. 3 crores. Already the Nizam's action has had a wholesome reaction among the jagirdars who are taking counsel together as to what *they* should do. We are not told the precise amount of compensation in this deal with the Nizam. Perhaps the Government do not desire to disclose the terms of compensation lest it should be criticised as being too generous. Without holding a brief for the Nizam one cannot help feeling that it is a tribute to the government's good sense that he is treated in a manner, which is in refreshing contrast to what obtains in this world of bickering animosities. Neither the policy nor the past actions of the Nizam were such as to deserve special consideration at the hands of the government who were compelled to take military action against his State only the other day. But, as "Ditcher" says in *Capital*,

> to take away the goods and property which legally belong to a man merely because you don't like him may be in keeping with Nazi concepts, but it is not a principle of law upheld by any civilised code. Events in recent years over wide areas of the world have spread the idea that it is a sign of weakness not to grasp that which it is in your power to take, and one does not have to look far round the international scene to find examples of Government action which help to keep the spirit of lawlessness alive. By acting with restraint the Government of India have made a contribution towards strengthening general respect for the rule of law.

Baroda and Kolhapur to merge in Bombay

More than once we have drawn attention to the significant achievements of the State department under Sardar Patel's direction. Probably the integration of the scattered States, big and small, with the adjoining Provinces or more viable units will remain the most outstanding feat of this epoch. And now the merging of a big State like Baroda, and of Kolhapur with its historic traditions with the Province of Bombay, is an event of even greater importance. For they are not like the tiny cluster of little jagirs which could be disposed of easily by the paramount power. Their rulers and people have a tradition and a voice which cannot be lightly ignored. Luckily for the Union and the States themselves, the rulers and people alike have been made to realise the benefits of integration. Thanks to their good sense and spirit of accommodation they have not hesitated to accept Sardar Patel's advice to integrate with Bombay. For the breaking down of State barriers implies greater uniformity in the administrative and economic life of the Union. That there will be difficulties in administering so vast an area is generally recognised. But

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then as Dr. Jivaraj Mehta, the Prime Minister, declared :

If the Government of the United Provinces could administer a territory of over five crores of population there is no reason why Bombay Government could not administer a territory with a population much less than that of U. P. or Madras.

The Chinese Puzzle

In the quaint yet diplomatic phraseology of Chinese politicals, Chiang Kai Shek has "suspended" himself. His retirement was quiet and dignified. Corruption and treachery have let him down. Chiang held that if his presence at the head of affairs in China was in any way hampering the peace move it was best he should "suspend" himself in the interest of his country. His disappearance from the scene, after 22 years of uninterrupted power in the key position in the East, is one of the most dramatic events in contemporary history.

Time was when Chiang was wooed by the biggest powers in the West, and the General and Madame were the recipients of the highest honours in the gift of England and America. When the war was on the democracies in either hemisphere vied with one another in glorifying him. Their names and portraits adorned the front pages of newspapers. But today with the Communists knocking at the gates of Nanking, the General and his wife have pleaded for help in vain. England and America have no further use of them and they have silently ignored Madame's piteous and frantic appeal. Other times other manners!

When Whistler had finished a portrait of a well-known celebrity, he asked him whether he liked it.

"No, I can't say I do, Mr. Whistler, and you must really admit it's a bad work of art."

"Yes," replied the artist, looking at sitter through his monocle. "This is a case where Art has been unable to improve on Nature."

Burma in Travail

The Chinese tragedy of domestic dissensions and civil wars is being enacted in Burma. If the Burmese Government should fail to withstand the onslaught of the insurgents it would mean the end of that freedom for which Burmans have hankered for generations. Burma got her freedom for the asking and Britain made a generous gesture ending her historic role in the East. But it is some task to retain that freedom and preserve it against internal and external aggression. It was a fateful decision she made when she dispensed with the protection of British arms. For now the Communists, helped by hidden hands, have joined with the insurgents and make trouble for isolated Burma. While the Government in power has sought no outside help, nothing could stand in the way of the rebels availing themselves of support from any quarter. Thus it would appear to become an unequal contest.

Eire and Ulster

The results of the General Elections in Northern Ireland show a marked majority in the Unionists—that is to say those who favour union with the United Kingdom. In winning the elections Sir Basil Brooke, the Premier has naturally made skilful use of Eire's determination to break the last link with Britain. On the basis of the results Sir Basil claims that Ulster has reaffirmed its allegiance to the King and its faith in the British Commonwealth. Eire and Ulster are poles apart in their ideological convictions and the more that Eire strives to cut away from England, the more tenacious is Ulster to join hands with Britain.

Manager—"Is this play of yours clean?"
Author—"Clean! I should say so. Why, there's a bathroom scene in the first act."

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

ON READING

I would have my book read as I have read my favourite books, not with explosion and astonishment, a marvel and a rocket, but a friendly and agreeable influence stealing like the scent of a flower, or the sight of a new landscape on a traveller.—*Birrel.*

. . . . .

A PRAYER

From the murmur and the subtlety
of suspicion
with which we vex one another,
Give us rest.
Make a new beginning,
And mingle again the kindred
of the nations in the alchemy of love,
And with some finer essence
of forbearance and forgiveness.
Temper our mind.

—*Aristophanes* (*Prof. Nairne's translation*).

. . . . .

COMPASSION

The nobler a soul is the more objects of compassion it hath. —*Bacon.*

. . . . .

ON GIVING ADVICE

Old men like to give good advice; it consoles them for being no longer able to give a bad example.

—*La Rochefoucauld.*

. . . . .

THE PATRIOT

If we did for ourselves what we are doing for our country we should be great rascals.

—*Cavour.*

. . . . .

HYPOCRISY

Hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays to virtue. —*La Rochefoucauld.*

. . . . .

FORGIVE ALL

To understand all is to forgive all.—*Pascal.*

ADVICE TO YOUTH

Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Sage of Concord," when asked to address the graduating class of Dartmouth College, spoke as follows:

Gentlemen:

You will hear every day the maxims of a low prudence. You will hear that the first duty is to get land and money, place and name. "What is this Truth you seek? What is this beauty?" men will ask, with derision.

If, nevertheless, God has called any of you to explore truth and beauty, be bold, be firm, be true. When you shall say, "As others do, so will I: I renounce I am sorry for it, my early visions; I must eat the good of the land and let learning and romantic expectations go, until a more convenient season";—then dies the man in you; then once more perish the buds of art, and poetry, and science, as they have died already in a thousand thousand men.

The hour of that choice is the crisis of your history, and see that you hold yourself fast by the intellect. It is this domineering temper of the sensual world that creates the extreme need of the priests of science . . . . Be content with a little light, so it be your own.

Explore and explore. Be neither chided nor flattered out of your position of perpetual inquiry. Neither dogmatize, nor accept another's dogmatism. Why should you renounce your right to traverse the starlit deserts of truth, for the premature comforts of an acre, house, and barn? Truth also has its roof, and bed, and board.

Make yourself necessary to the world, and mankind will give you bread, and if not store of it, yet such as shall not take away your property in all men's affections, in art, in nature, and in hope.

. . . . .

WEEPING AND LAUGHTER

Remember the day when you were born,
All were laughing when you were crying,
Lead such a life that when you die
Others should weep while you go laughing.

—*Saadi.*

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AN UNEXPECTED PLEASURE

[The following story is told of Henry Labuchere—"Labby" of *Truth*. The incident is related in "The life of Henry Labuchere" by Heaketh Pearson. Labby was 19 or 20 at the time.]

While at Cambridge where, by the bye, he did nothing but bet and run up a booky-bill of a good many thousands, he was in the habit of visiting more congenial haunts, such as Evans's in Covent Garden. On one of these visits he had the ill-luck to run up against his father.

"What! Henry! Why aren't you at Cambridge?"

"Pray, sir, what business of yours is that I happen to be walking in the Strand?"

"What the devil do you mean? Business? Aren't you my son?"

"You must be mad. My dear old gentleman, you are ridiculous." And "Labby" passed on. Father and son caught the same train to Cambridge; but the son jumped out at the station while the train was still moving and was able to look up from his book when his fuming father entered. "Why, father, this is an unexpected pleasure!"

. . . . . .

SIT STILL AND CONTEMPLATE

To sit still and contemplate—to remember the faces of women without desire, to be pleased with the great deeds of men without envy, to be everything and everywhere in sympathy, and yet content to remain where and what you are—is not this to know both wisdom and virtue, and to dwell in happiness? —*R. L. S.*

. . . . . .

THE CHARM OF ART

Illusion and wisdom combined are the charm of art. —*Joubert.*

. . . . . .

THE SUPREME MISFORTUNE

The supreme misfortune is when theory outstrips performance.

—*Leonardo da Vinci.*

LITERATURE AND LIFE

Is it possible, Gentlemen, that you can have read one, two, three or more of the acknowledged masterpieces of literature without having it borne in on you that they are great because they are alive, and traffic not with cold celestial certainties, but with men's hopes, aspirations, doubts, loves, hates, breakings of the heart; the glory and vanity of human endeavour, the transcience of beauty, the capricious, uncertain lease on which you and I hold life, the dark coast to which we inevitably steer; all that amuses or vexes, all that gladdens, saddens, maddens us men and women on this brief and mutable traject which yet must be home for a while, the anchorage of our hearts? —*Q.*

. . . . . .

THE JEWELS OF LIFE

He who has arrayed his soul in her own proper jewels of moderation and justice and courage and nobleness and truth is ever ready for the journey when the time comes. —*Socrates.*

. . . . . .

ATHENS

We at Athens are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes; we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. —*Pericles.*

. . . . . .

A DISEASE OF CULTURE

The longing to be primitive is a disease of culture; it is archaism in morals. To be so preoccupied with vitality is a symptom of anæmia —*G. Santayana.*

. . . . . .

WISDOM AND GRIEF

For in much wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow. —*Ecclesiastis.*

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF ADULTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, (Vocational Training Monograph, No 1) issued by the International Labour Office. - Price 2 shillings.

This beautifully got up brochure describes in detail the organisation in the United Kingdom to provide vocational training to adults, since the end of the First War in 1918. This organisation has been adapted to varying conditions arising in the country. In recent years provision has been made to train the disabled and to provide skilled labour so as to step up production. We learn that from July 1945 to March 1948, 67,000 men and women had been trained and passed to industry and 8,706 persons were still in training. Both the administrators and the public in this country will do well to study the subject with a view to liquidate unemployment and to step up production.

SCIENCE: OUR NEWEST FRIEND. By Shanti Bhandarkar. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay.

This little book is designed mainly for the use of the young to whom facts about the fascinating and inspiring world of Science are introduced in the way they could easily assimilate. What is more, the author is not more keen to impart knowledge than to inculcate in them the urge to observe and question which is more important. It inculcates what is known as the scientific attitude so that by observation and experiment the world will seem a new and wonderful place, The illustrations are helpful to beginners.

PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS, DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT. By Dr. S. Sen. Published By Bookland Ltd, 1, Sankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta. Rs. 4-8.

As the author has stated in his foreword this little volume is an attempt to make available to general medical practitioners something simple and handy about fundamental facts on Tuberculosis for ready reference and quick application.

The volume in itself is very small, handy and compact; in addition it is to a remarkable degree free from technical jargon.

There are two appendices to the book. The first gives a very interesting account of the development of surgical treatment in cases of Pulmonary Tuberculosis.

The second is an extract from Prof. Calmette's book, showing the place of the Mantoux test in childhood Tuberculosis.

INDIAN AFTER DINNER STORIES. By A. S. P. Ayyar, T. P. H. Adyar.

To tell a story with elegance and ease is a rare accomplishment. The stories regaled by Mr. A. S. P. Ayyar are truly racy of the soil full of practical wisdom and commonsense as in Æsop and ancient Indian Tales. Here is a booklet full of agreeable reading spiced with wit and laughter that must do good to one's health of body or mind. One can't have a better companion as a bedside book to pass a merry time with. We commend it to all busy men as a good sedative.

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INDO-RUSSIAN TRADE. By S. M. Siddiqu. Published under the auspices of the India Council of World Affairs by Oxford University Press.

Mr. Siddiqu's book is a little volume of just over eighty pages. A good part of the volume is covered by statistical tables.

Apart from the tables the book contains only four chapters. The first two deal with the development of Russian Economy from the days of the October revolution to the beginning of the Second World War.

This is a section which will be of considerable interest to the politician and servicemen who have been called upon to give a shape to the country's Industry and trade, and steer them through the conflicting claims of "Private enterprise" and "State Monopoly". The experiments of the U.S.S.R. under similar stresses and circumstances have been briefly traced by the author and a perusal will certainly profit the men in the seats of authority who control our trade and Industry.

The Third Chapter and the fourth one entitled "Prospects" are of interest to the merchants engaged in foreign trade.

The latter appears to have been written by Mr. V. Ramakrishna Rao. Both the chapters, in spite of a number of instances of repetitions contain a careful enumeration of the many different possibilities of trade in several commodities between the U. S. S. R. and India. Apart from direct trade between the countries, the chapters also contain information regarding the markets which the U. S. S. R. have vacated and which India can profitably step into; for instance—Manganese Ore.

The authorities are of opinion that the U. S. S. R. for reasons best known to itself has for sometime past definitely indicated preference to Eastern Countries for purposes of trading, in various ways and that when India is ready to trade with the U. S. S. R the latter would certainly extend similar facilities to her.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. A commentary and an Interpretation by Harold J. Laski. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

OCCIDENTAL CIVILIZATION. By G. S. Ghurje, Ph. D. Indian Institute for Educational and Cultural Co-operation, N. M. Wadia Trust Building 22-D. Parsi Bazar St., Bombay.

THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION OR SANATHANA VAIDIKA DHARMA. By Bhagavan Das. Published by Ananda Publishing House, Benares. Sole Agent, Indian Book Shop, Benares.

IN MAN'S OWN IMAGE. By Ellen Roy and Sibnarayan Roy, Renaissance Publishers, Calcutta.

INDIAN LANDSCAPE. A Book of descriptive Poems, R. N. Currey, Routledge, London E. C. 4.

CONCENTRATION. A Practical course with a supplement on meditation. By Ernest Wood, T.P.H. Adyar.

SOCIAL THOUGHT IN BENGAL 4757–1947. A bibliography of Bengali men and women of letters. By Miss Indira Sarkar, M.A. With a Foreword by Dr. N. Law, M.A. Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. By William A. Robson, Longmans Green & Co., Madras,

MAN'S QUEST FOR SIGNIFICANCE. By Lewis Way, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

YOUNG TEACHER'S GUIDE. By The Rev. R. Conesa S.J. Padma Publications Ltd., Sir P. M. Road Fort Bombay.

THE TEACHING OF SANSKRIT. By Prof. D. G. Apte, M.A., B.T., Padmaja Publications, Baroda.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

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Feb. 1. Budget Session opens in Dominion Parliament.

—Smuts' No-Confidence motion defeated in Union Parliament.

Feb. 2. Stalin invites Truman for peace talks.

—Karen revolt in Burma.

Feb. 3. Mr. B. L. Sharma, Officiating Dy. Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, appointed Principal Information Officer, Press Information Bureau.

Feb. 4. President Truman rejects Stalin's proposal for bilateral conference.

—Hindu Religious Endowment Bill introduced in Madras Assembly.

Feb. 5. Communists join Karen rebels.

—General Cariappa, C.-in-C. in Madras.

Feb. 6. Land reform in Hyderabad : Nizam surrenders personal estate.

Feb. 7. Nanking rejects Communists' demands of unconditional surrender.

—H. E. the Governor-General in Madras.

Feb. 8. Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary jailed for life.

Feb. 9. The Governor-General inaugurates shipping service from Tuticorin to Colombo.

Feb. 10. Judgment delivered on Gandhi murder case : Godse and Apte to hang.

—Endowment Bill referred to Select Committee in Madras Assembly.

Feb. 11. Gen. Eisenhower appointed chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Feb. 12. R. S. S. and Mahasabha men arrested in Bombay.

Feb. 13. Nehru lays foundation of Vallabh-Nagar.

Feb. 14. Postal Union executive decides to postpone direct action.

Feb. 15. Railway Budget presented by Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar.

Feb. 16. Railwaymen's Federation Council decides to stay action on strike ballot.

—Greater Rajasthan Covenant signed by Rulers.

Feb. 17. Siam Govt. proclaims state of emergency.

—Burma Gvt. forces occupy Karen stronghold.

Feb. 18. Indians and Africans boycott Durban Riot Inquiry.

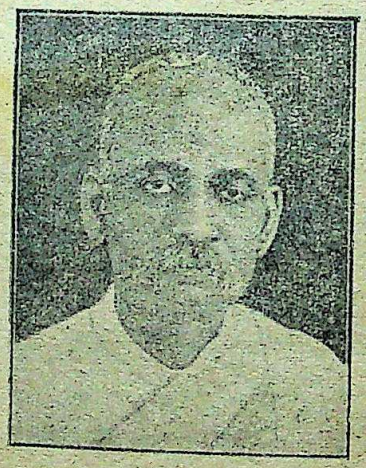
—Railway budget in Parliament.

Feb. 19. Akali leaders arrested : Master Tara Singh in custody.

Feb. 20. Mr. Kiron Shankar Roy, Home Minister, West Bengal, is dead.

—Nizam's private lands taken over by Hyderabad administration.

Feb. 21. Israeli—Egyptian Armstice draft flown to Egypt.



SARDAR PATEL

Feb. 22. Sardar Patel in Madras.

Feb. 23. Bombay Assembly urges linguistic division of Provinces.

Feb. 24. P & T. Workers Council cancels strike notice.

Feb. 25. Dr. Syed Hussain, Indian Ambassador in Egypt, passes away.

—Bill banning strikes introduced in Parliament.

Feb. 26. Madras Budget presented.

—Armed gangs raid Dum Dum ærodrome.

Feb. 27. Sardar Patel meets Nizam.

—Conference on Burma meets at Delhi.

Feb. 28. Finance Member presents Indian Budget in Parliament.

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

COMMONWEALTH AND INDIA

Mr. H. V. Hodson, author of "Twentieth Century Empire" expounds a new formula through which, he suggests, countries like India could become Republics with presidents while still remaining in the Commonwealth under the symbol of the Crown.

Writing in the *National Review*, Mr. Hodson says that "enlightened Indian opinion" wishes India to remain in the Commonwealth and would, he believes, be ready to accept the Crown as the head of the whole Commonwealth if that principle were presented in the right way.

The feeling against 'English King' in Ireland has only a fractional counterpart in India. On the other hand, there is a natural feeling for Monarchy. What is repugnant to Indian political thought is the idea of anyone but an Indian being the titular head of the Indian State and of the Crown appearing in India's internal constitution.

But that is not necessary to the thesis of keeping the Crown as the head of the whole Commonwealth. Without conflict with the principle, each member nation can have its own head of the State—the King himself (represented in the Dominions by a Governor-General) or, if any Dominion pleases, a President.

It is little more than prejudice to insist that the head of the State in every Dominion must be called a Governor-General and be appointed by the Crown when each Dominion has the right to choose whom it will to nominate as the Governor-General and His Majesty is bound by constitutional convention to appoint him".

Listing "practical suggestions", Mr. Hodson declares:

What is essential is that each and every member nation should openly acknowledge respect for the Crown as the head of the Commonwealth. That is all.

He suggests that this respect could be reflected in numerous ways. Commonwealth conferences on the Ministerial level could be summoned in the name of the Crown on the advice of Ministers in the host country. The world-wide British diplomatic and Consular system should remain specifically at the service of any member nation not separately represented, and in rendering that service, should act in the name of the Commonwealth Crown. Ambassadors of Republican member nations should be empowered, by letter addressed from the King to their President similarly to act in the name of the Commonwealth Crown whenever they may be invited to do so.

"The key idea", writes Mr. Hodson,

is that the Crown should act in two capacities: as the national head of the State for those member nations to which it is acceptable as such, and as the head of the whole Commonwealth where one member nation acts on another's behalf or where some action concerning two or more member nations is involved.

The writer stresses that, through the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Crown should remain the source of justice for the whole Commonwealth in all "justifiable" disputes among its members and in appeals allowed to go forward from the domestic courts of the member countries.

Mr. Hodson gives three main reasons why, in his view, it is important that India, if possible, should remain in the Commonwealth.

(1) Because of the mutual interest of her citizens and ours in an economic and social life which has become intertwined in many ways:

(2) Because it is highly desirable to forestall the attachment of India to any other group which might thus upset the world balance of power by breaking into the Indian Ocean zone.

(3) Because, in the long run, the racial and inter-continental conflict seems to be just as dangerous to the twentieth century world as the conflict between free democracy and Communism, and there are chances of mitigating and allaying it, perhaps solving it, within the Commonwealth which would be lost if the latter shed its present multi-racial character.

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GANDHI THE FULL MAN

Writing under the caption 'Gandhi—the full man' in the *Harijan*, the Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya says:

He was essentially a human being but one who has furnished every phase of his character and exposed it to the full blaze of publicity. His conception of truth was not merely to lay bare all facts but to maintain no reservations about them of any kind. That was evident when the District Magistrate of Champaran withdrew in 1927 his insulting letter to Mahatmaji and the latter forbade a copy of it from being preserved in the archives of Satyagraha. A similar situation arose when Mr. Emerson, Home Secretary, withdrew his insulting letter to Gandhiji during the first week of the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations, i.e. about the 22nd February, 1931, in Delhi. Likewise, his standards of *Ahimsa* would not permit him to tolerate ironical or sarcastic references to esteemed leaders of the Congress. The writer was once the recipient of the gentle reprimand when a jocular reference was made to a deceased leader.

'But to say that Gandhiji led a full life is not enough; he demanded that the life led by every Satyagrahi and every Congressman should be a full life too.

It is not enough if you spin, you must spin well. It is not enough for you to be friend of Muslim, you must promote communal harmony. It is not enough if you remove untouchability which is physical; you must admit the Harijan to social equality in respect of tanks, taps and wells, schools and workshops, hostels and hospitals, that was not sufficient either. You must admit them to temples. There still remained something left—and that was the economic position of the Harijan must be raised, for, he is still a serf in reality though not in name, as a farm servant and tiller of the soil."

Gandhiji's cardinal tenets of *aparigraha* or non-possession, says Dr. Pattabhi, were an extreme representation of the basic foundation of reorganized society in which no one shall live on interest or dividends accruing from his own or his patrimonial accumulation of wealth or rents arising from similar acquisitions of property.

What is Socialism or Communism if not the rendering into daily life these principles of non-accumulation? To do so would be theft. Such exalted principles cannot be of universal applicability. These high principles point to a way of life so as to warn those guilty of moral aberrations against their impending doom.

INDIAN WRITERS OF ENGLISH

The outstanding contribution of Indian writers to English literature is referred to in an article on India appearing in the noted New England newspaper, *Christian Science Monitor*.

In a feature article, the *Monitor's* Bombay correspondent, W. Gordon Graham, discusses a problem facing the independent Dominion of India—whether English or Hindi should be adopted as the nation-wide language.

Saying that India now stands at the linguistic crossroad, Graham declares that the dilemma is whether India should "adopt officially the language which will place in its grasp the culture and science of the most advanced countries in the world" or "bow to dictates of patriotism and pride, and develop a national language of its own."

"The Indian," the writer says, "is in fact noted for his facility in learning a foreign language and Indian writers such as Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, not to mention Mohandas K. Gandhi himself, have made permanent and worthy contributions to English literature."

Graham adds: "Until now, English has been, the *lingua franca*. Perhaps 10,000,000 good English speakers, have been enough to run the administrative service of the country, to engage in overseas trading and to lead the country, despite polyglotism, to its present stage of advancement."

"Do you know the only place where Scotchmen are ever seen giving their fiancees rings?"

"In Aberdeen?"

"No, in telephone booths."

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THE DELHI CONFERENCE

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership at the recent Asian Conference was an outstanding diplomatic feat, the *Economist* says. The article goes on to add that Mr. Nehru will have to "think hard" to find a basis for a new and satisfactory Asian grouping which will be not merely anti-European and proclaim that Asia is for the Asians only.

For the moment he has been clever, wise and lucky. To call together 19 nations in a mood of nationalist excitement, to send them away in a mood of sober pride and to use first action against the Dutch as a lever for uniting them under Indian leadership—all this is an outstanding diplomatic feat.

So impressive have been the moderation and good organisation of the Delhi Conference on Indonesia, that some will want to turn on the Dutch and point impatiently to what can be done with Asian nationalism if it is handled right.

That would be unfair, for the Dutch are dealing with a group of Republicans which has no Nehru and whose political authority and strength have collapsed with such remarkable speed.

Two things about the Asian Conference should be noted in London and The Hague, the article adds.

One is that the resolutions agreed on in Delhi and sent to the Security Council, are calmer versions of more emotional proposals for action against the Dutch, which were modified largely by the advice of the Dominions of India, Pakistan, Australia and Ceylon.

The other is that the Conference having demanded that the Dutch make certain concessions by March 15 and by the end of the year, is bound to stand by its demands.

The delegates and observers of the 19 nations who came to Delhi from the Middle East, Southern Asia and the Pacific with regard to their first joint political act as dramatic and important will want to succeed. After all they represent one-third of the United Nations.

Pandit Nehru played skilfully the role of leadership which he is gradually creating for India. His original summons to Delhi sounded an angry note, a warning that the dying colonialism of the Europeans must not be allowed a last kick in Asia.

His farewell speech to the Conference spoke, on the other hand, of the great part Europe and America, had played in world history and of Asia's desire to play a full part of peace and co-operation.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE WESTERN POWERS

A writer in the *Round Table*, discourses the relative strength of the Soviet Union and the western world including America. It must be borne in mind that military power which was once a precise term is no longer so. It has become vague now because the difference between actual or immediate and potential strength has become very wide.

One nation or group may be so strong as to possess a good chance of overwhelming a hostile nation or group within a brief period, while the weaker, if it manages to survive and keep the war going, may have an equally good or even a better chance of winning. Those who say that Soviet Russia is many times stronger than Western Europe or, indeed, than the whole of Europe outside the "iron curtain", are thinking particularly in terms of immediate strength. They consider this to be so great that Russia could overrun the whole continent in a matter of weeks if the United States did not intervene in great strength, and very likely even in face of strong American intervention. As matters stand to-day, for a continental war, leaving atomic weapons out of account, Russia is stronger than Western Europe and the United States combined. But this applies only to the immediate situation. In the long run the United States is vastly stronger. And Russia must take the potential strength of the United States very carefully into account because the difficulties of preventing her from developing it are clearly immense.

Here is the overriding issue in present-day politics of power. Of the two giants of the modern world Russia is the stronger immediately and the United States potentially.

This is as might be expected, since the totalitarian nations will commonly maintain, in proportion to their resources, much more powerful military forces and armaments than the democratic. They are less influenced by public opinion, even though it is a mistake to suppose that any State can be entirely indifferent to it. Again, the potential strength of Western Europe, with its highly developed industry, intelligent and well-educated man-power and traditional military skill, is so considerable that it would have to be taken very seriously even by Russia; but the prospect of developing this potential without speedy American aid on a very large scale is so small as to be negligible in the event of a European war in the near future.

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GEMS AND PRECIOUS STONES

Marg, the illustrated quarterly, has an interesting article which says that social classification among the Hindus is so deep-rooted that even gems and precious stones are classified accordingly.

There are the Brahmin diamonds; the Kshatriya diamonds as also Vaishya and Shudra. And the same classification holds good for all other gems. The descriptions of the four classes are given for correct classification.

Amongst diamonds, for instance, those with a clear milky colour are Brahmins, with a honey-like tint are the Kshatriyas; while Vaishyas are of a cream colour and the diamonds with a smoky greyish hue are Shudras.

With regard to their prices there is a general rule. If the Brahmin stone among the diamonds is worth say Rs. 1,000, a Kshatriya of the same weight would fetch Rs. 750, a Vaishya Rs. 500 and a Shudra Rs. 250.

The same classification holds good even in case of corals. Sanskrit books describe the classes in a rather poetic way.

The Brahmin coral is said to be "red like the eyes of a hare," while the Kshatriya has a "lustre like the flower of a pomegranate." Naturally, the coral is red; but it is certainly clever of the Sanskrit scholars to have used apt colours to denote their classes. The other two classes are described as "like the flower of palash" and "like the red lotus" respectively.

Certain beliefs regarding the use or misuse of the gems are current. They have assumed the strength of traditional lore and many anecdotes to support the popular superstitions are handed down from sire to son for generations together.

Take for instance, diamonds: it is stated with the force of a taboo that "impure diamonds, if used in medicine, lead to leprosy, pleurisy, jaundice and lameness." The scholars go further and describe the process of purification of the impure variety of diamonds.

Generally, it is supposed that diamonds are the hardest substance known and as such cannot easily be reduced to powder; but the Sanskrit scholars knew some methods of pounding diamonds and described many such processes at length.

"Medicines of which diamond is component," asserts a Sanskrit sage, "are like ambrosia. Their use will impart adamantine strength to the limbs."

For protecting the wearer from every evil, pearls are well-known. "Nothing harmful" we are assured, "will ever approach the wearer of pearls of valuable quality."

Not only the wearer, but the house where such pearls are kept "is chosen by the ever fickle goddess of wealth Lakshmi as her permanent abode."

Of the ten defects of the pearls, four are more important. They are:

Shukti-lagna-dosha: This defect brings on leprosy; for a part of the oyster remains fastened to the pearl.

Meenaksha: A pearl showing marks like the eyes of fish: such pearls bring about loss of sons.

Jathar: A pearl without lustre and shade is described as 'Jathar:' this brings poverty in its wake.

Atirikta: When coral-like shade is seen on a pearl, it is bound to be fatal to the wearer.

About the medical uses of pearls, we learn that in powder form, they are great stimulants and they have restorative properties. They also make a sovereign remedy for stomach complaints.

An emerald is the most auspicious gem; For when worn in pure form, which is cool to look at and to wear, is also free from dust, the emerald cleanses the man, so say the Sanskrit texts, from all sins. It also brings wealth, assures success in war. And emeralds are described as sure and infallible remedies for all cases of poisoning.

The various defects in emeralds are likely to bring trouble and unhappiness.

Padmaraga and *Manikya* are the Hindu names for rubies. Many ways of obtaining this gem are described in Sanskrit books. Some of them would sound fantastic even to the traditional believer. For instance, it is said that they grow on the hoods of serpents. They are obtained, therefore, by throwing a lump of cowdung over them. It is also believed that serpents occasionally take them out of their hoods to illuminate their path in search of food. In order to be able to get the gem, one must catch the exact time when the serpent is thus taking off the gem from his hood to use it as light.

It is said that mere possession of perfect ruby—*Padmaraga*—is a meritorious act—as meritorious as the performance of an *Ashvamedha* sacrifice. It leads to wealth, success and long life.

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SAGA OF THE SECRETARIAT FILE

Under the heading "The Saga of the Secretariat File," *Nagpur Times* writes:

"In the C. P. Civil Secretariat, 12 departmental Secretaries and nearly 30 Heads of Departments handle on an average nearly 1,900 files every day. These are mostly shuttle-cocked from one end to the other with the Secretaries: Under Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Additional Under Secretaries, Superintendents, Head Clerks, Sectional in-charges, clerks in charge and others serving as the links in this long chain. Each one of them is expected to scribble or add something to the file with the result that a frail file goes on fattening till it comes to its journey's end.

Each departmental secretary receives anything between 120 to 150 files a day. These files go on increasing in number as the day advances and by the time the Secretaries have finished their lunch quite a heap of the files fill all possible corners of their rooms.

Apart from those who brood over these files there are the peons and chaprasis who are often found engaged in hot discussions as to how many files each one has to carry in different directions. They have not only a knack to assess the capacities of their Sahibs but also a sense of pride about the efficiency and the speed with which their bosses deal with the papers.

Hardest worked man in the Secretariat upper level is said to dispose off finally at least 50 files a day out of the average of 150. Of the rest nearly 30 to 40 go to each Minister. The remaining are circulated and recirculated in the offices.

The period of stay of the different files with individual Ministers vary from anything between 24 hours and a week and a fortnight in special cases.

Almost every file carries a coloured label on it. It is either "Urgent", "Immediately" or "Priority." Quite a large number are marked as P. U. D. meaning Paper Under Disposal. Interesting are the scribblings on the left hand side of the first sheet of a file in multicoloured inks and various styles of handwriting. These ordinarily denote the next man to handle the file with remarks like: "For necessary action pl."; "for reference pl."; "For perusal pl."; "For orders pl."; "Pl. speak personally"; "Put up on Monday pl." and such other notings.

The last but not the least are the bulks of files bundled in a red cloth which daily travel with the Secretaries and Departmental Heads from offices to homes and vice-versa, occupying inevitably the back seats of the cars and the cycle-carriers of the Chaprasis."

INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK

It is highly probable that many of those throughout the world who do work in their homes for industry "are employed at sub-standard wages, under conditions that are harmful and unsafe, in some cases to the final consumer of the product as well as to the worker himself", according to the International Labour Office.

This conclusion is drawn in a survey of industrial home work appearing in the *International Labour Review*, published monthly in English, French and the Spanish editions by the ILO. The inquiry was undertaken at the request of the ILO's Governing Body.

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IN PRAISE OF SANSKRIT

A writer in the *Modern Review*, Pandit Vidhushekara Bhattacharya, expatiates on the glories of Sanskrit and its indispensability in India. Answering critics who decry the study of Sanskrit as barren and worthless he asks: What is the condition of those countries of the world that pinned their faith so long on science and other material subjects, that boasted rather arrogantly of their new acquisitions of learning?

Why they have caused a mighty conflagration in which they themselves are being burnt out in the midst of hunger, thirst and squalid misery and untold sufferings! And yet they were untouched by the tune of Sanskrit! Nothing can be further from truth than the criticism that the study of Sanskrit will bring in her train only misery and poverty to her votaries. Rather on the contrary she will help them all as the divine mother of peace, happiness and prosperity.

In the temple of learning, he goes on to say, India, with the help of Sanskrit can occupy a glorious position in the civilisation of the world. Without that what is her status? What would be her acquisition? What would be her culture without Sanskrit, the soul of everything?

By means of Sanskrit there was a uniform undisputed sway from the cloud-capped Himalayas to Cape Comorin. It was the only language of India in which she expressed her real feelings and sentiments.

On the dawning of precious liberty the pursuit of Sanskrit should be zealously undertaken, with necessary modifications, of course, here and there, in the light of modern requirements. It is a matter of profound grief that when the long-wished for liberty has come to us by the grace of God, the authorities strangely enough think of curbing the growth and expansion of Sanskrit, practically clipping her wings and bedim her glory at a time when India expects them to nourish her and place her on a firm footing. May she grow with more beauty and splendour in every direction. Let it be remembered that with the growth and prosperity of Sanskrit are indissolubly connected the growth and prosperity of India.

Sanskrit, he concludes, must live and grow without any let or hindrance, achieving more and more wonders spreading her sweetest boons to India and the world!

THE EMERGENCE OF A GREAT LEADER

A study of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the role he plays in the Indian nation by Winthrop Sargent is featured in the American *Life* magazine.

Sargent writes: "India has managed through a year of ups and downs to preserve her national unity, to liquidate the powers of a number of dissident Maharajas, to achieve a reasonable degree of law and order, and steer a middle course between the extremes of rightist and leftist autocracy.

"The reasons are numerous, but two are paramount. One is the shade of India's great modern martyr Mahatma Gandhi, who urged on Indians the lesson of tolerance upon which the unity of their enormous, heterogeneous nation depends. The other is the tremendous influence wielded by a single man who guides the politics of present-day India: Jawaharlal Nehru."

"He (Nehru) is not only India's Prime Minister, and first citizen," the editor writes. "He is the most promising political figure in a stirring and awakening Asia, and a statesman of world calibre. His instinctive sense of diplomacy and great knowledge of international affairs have made him a welcome and respected guest in the political saloons of a dozen European capitals.

Starry-eyed advocates of global government of several continents have mentioned him as a candidate for world leadership. Even Winston Churchill, for long an implacable foe of India's independence from British rule, has spoken of Panditji with the utmost respect."

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

Burma

RIGHTS OF INDIANS IN BURMA

Primier Thakin Nu declared that Indians in Burma who preferred to maintain political connection with the mother country would not be entitled to the privileges due to Burmese citizens.

Addressing the second annual session of the All-Burma India Congress, the Premier said, Indians who identified themselves with the Burmese and who understood the Burmese point of view could adopt Burmese citizenship, subject to the provisions of the Constitution.

Thakin Nu added that the Government would do its best to assist other Indian nationals in Burma "in their lawful avocation".

INDIANS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

About 2,500 Indians in Burma are affected by a Burmese Government decision to dismiss forthwith all non-Burma nationals in Government service.

An official announcement on Feb. 6 said this decision was taken "in view of the desperate financial position" of the country.

INDIAN MISSION TO BURMA

The Indian Delegation to Burma headed by the Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, has cancelled its departure to Burma following a message from the Burma Government they would appreciate the Mission's visit being postponed *sine die* in view of the Government's preoccupations otherwise.

South-West Africa

NON-EUROPEANS IN S. W. AFRICA

Non-European races in South-West Africa will be represented by a nominated Senator selected on the ground of his thorough acquaintance with their "reasonable wants" under the South-West Africa Affairs (Amendment) Bill introduced on February 7 by Dr. Daniel Malan, the Prime Minister.

The Bill, given its first reading, gives South-West Africa held by mandate by the Union, six elected representatives in the Union House of Assembly and four in the Senate, two of whom will be elected and two nominated by the Governor-General. One of the latter will be chosen on the ground of acquaintance with non-European wants. The Bill, in addition to giving South-West Africa representation in the Union Parliament, broadens the constitution of the South-West African Legislative Assembly as enacted by the Union Parliament.

South-West Africa will not come under the Union's taxation system under the proposed legislation, and its representatives in the Union Parliament will have no voice or vote in regard to any matters relating to the direct taxation of the people of the Union. In all other matters, the representatives will have all rights and duties of other members of Parliament.

The Bill declares that nothing contained in it shall be construed as in any manner abolishing the full powers of administration and legislation over the territory as an integral part of the Union.

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South Africa

DURBAN RIOT RELIEF AND ENQUIRY

Making a statement on Durban riots in the Indian Parliament, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, disclosed that according to information available to Government 53 Indians were killed and 763 injured. Among the Africans 83 were killed and 1,083 injured. One European was killed and 30 injured. 250 Indian dwellings and 53 shops were burnt down and looted. The loss of property was estimated at about £300,000.

Pandit Nehru also stated that an official Enquiry Committee has been appointed consisting of three members including the Magistrates of Transvaal and Durban and pending the report of the Committee, the Government did not want to comment on the causes of the riots.

The Prime Minister also stated that the Secretary of the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa, Mr. Chari, has been asked to make investigations in this regard.

Pandit Nehru also said that nearly 2,000 families consisting of about 15,000 persons were in refugee camps and they were being looked after. India Government had made available a sum of £14,000 for their welfare.

Ceylon

CEYLON CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

After two days' discussion in the Committee in the House of Representatives, the Indian Residents (Citizenship) Bill passed the formal third reading. The Bill will be known in future under the amended title. "the Indian and Pakistan Residents (Citizenship) Bill."

Malaya

INDIANS IN MALAYA

There was a growing political consciousness among Indians in Malaya, said Prof. Raymond Firth in his report on Social Science Research in Malaya, released recently.

Prof. Firth added that the Malays were group-conscious, and the Chinese largely under the influence of their nationalism.

Of Indians in Malaya, Prof. Firth said there was a growing political consciousness, a body of active Indian criticism of the present regime, and a "very lively, if inexperienced, Indian trade union leadership."

"But it would seem that the bulk of Indians are at presnt somewhat quiescent and plastic in their local political ideas, waiting to see whether it will be worthwhile throwing in their lot with the Malayan community and its future, or whether their allegiance had better remain with their Mother country."

Tanganyika

RACE PREJUDICE IN TANGANYIKA

India called for United Nations vigilance against the discrimination in the British Trusteeship territory of Tanganyika.

Mr. C. S. Jha, India's delegate to the Trusteeship Committee, which supervises the administration of the Trustee territories with 15 million inhabitants, said that Africans and Asians in Tanganyika felt they were the victims of racial discrimination. He asked the United Nations to examine whether such discrimination did exist, adding that he welcomed British assurances given recently that suppression of racial discrimination was a cardinal feature of the policy of the Government of Tanganyika.

"It is not enough to accept a principle" he added. "It is essential that practical effect should be given to the principle."

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MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS ✱ DEPARTMENTAL ✱ NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

INDIA'S PLANS TO ELIMINATE UN-EMPLOYMENT

In reply to a series of United Nations questions asking United Nations members to indicate what they were doing to achieve or maintain full employment. India has informed the United Nations that inflation, the need for more foreign capital and the high cost of importing goods are slowing down efforts to provide full employment and raise the standard of living.

The Indian reply stated that although no special steps were being taken to deal with unemployment, the programme of industrial, agricultural and social development would open new avenues of employment and so help eliminate unemployment.

"The Government is mindful of the necessity of utilising all resources for the development of the country and for raising the standard of living," the reply said.

India hopes to use the following methods to overcome her difficulties:

(1) Welcome investment of private foreign capital free from any political conditions."

(2) Encourage private and Government sponsored investments.

(3) Increase production of foodstuffs in the country to stop, or at least restrict the food imports from abroad.

(4) Control on imports which will be confined to durable capital goods and other essential goods.

(5) Convert an adequate portion of sterling balances into hard currencies to finance purchases in the West, particularly the United States.

(6) Seek food grants from F.A.O. grants of drugs and medicine from the World Health Organisation, monetary loans and grants from the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

SARDAR PATEL ON GOVT.'S POLICY

The States Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, replying to a series of questions on Indian States in Parliament, said that the Government of India had recognised the desirability of approximating the position of States to that of Provinces and to this end had taken appropriate steps which had met with some success.

Sardar Patel said that in all the Unions, the Instrument of Accession contained a new clause in which the States had agreed to bring their administration in line with that of the Provinces. The Constituent Assembly had also appointed a committee to draft a model constitution which would be circulated to the States or Unions and it would be for them to accept it and incorporate the provisions as much as they wanted, the States Minister added.

RECRUITMENT TO INDIAN ARMY

The Government of India have decided to abolish class composition based on fixed percentages in the Indian Army. A Press Note says:

"With a view to eliminating communal and class differences in the Indian Army so as to make it representative of all nationals in this country, the Government of India have decided to abolish class composition based on fixed percentages.

Recruitment to the Army will now be open to all classes and no particular class of Indian nationals will be denied the opportunity of serving in the Army."

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MAULANA AZAD'S CALL TO MUSLIMS

A fervent appeal to the Muslims of India to give their unqualified allegiance and support to the Indian Union and its Government was made by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India's Education Minister, at a mammoth Muslim meeting arranged by the Calcutta branch of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, at the Mahomed Ali Park. Maulana Azad said:

India is a democratic secular State, where every citizen, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, has equal rights and privileges. Do not lose heart, or be perplexed. The Goverment is determined to crush all communal elements and has already put an end to the communal atmosphere that had been vitiating the atmosphere of the country only 18 months back. It is a great achievement for the Government to bring about this change in the atmosphere in such a short time.

Do not always think you are a minority community and the Hindus in a majority in this country. The Congress is pledged to establish a form of Government, in which communal minorities and majorities will have no place.

Think in terms of the Indian Union. Always remember that you are the inhabitants of the Indian Union and hence, you are Indians, irrespective of your religious faiths. Have faith in the Government. It is your Government as much as that of the Hindus. Give unqualified allegiance and support to the Indian Union and you will have no occasion to repent.

Exhorting the Muslims to be loyal to the nation and the Government, Maulana Azad continued that there was no need for having any fear or perplexity. They must have courage and confidence in the Government.

"What is happening in China?" he asked and said:

For the last 30 years after the attainment of political independence, China had been going through a terrific crisis—the worst type of civil war. This civil war served as an invitation to Japan to occupy a large part of that country. But even after the Japanese menace was over the civil war in China continued.

Now that India had attained her freedom, the Maulana remarked, she must take a lesson from history and guard herself against such dangers.

GEN. CARIAPPA ON THE ARMY IN FREE INDIA

Replying to an address of welcome presented to him by the Madras City Council on February 5, General K. M. Cariappa, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, stated that the Army was there to serve the people but they must see that it did not get itself mixed up with party politics.

Men and women, and boys and girls of this part of India have all these years taken a great interest in the Army and I would ask you to continue to take the same interest because it is your Army. The Army is there to serve you. We are your servants. But, at the same time, you must be quite certain that the Army which is there to serve the Government of the day, does not get mixed up with party politics. It is here where I ask your help to see that it is allowed to maintain a certain necessary distinctions and guard it against the danger of mixing up with party politics. As long as the Government represents the people, it must have some measure of authority to exercise to rule and thank God, during the last months of freedom, that measure of authority has been there. We have had your appreciation expressed very liberally and very kindly and we will continue to serve in the same manner as we had done during the last few months so as to maintain and retain that kindness, and affection and respect for the Army. I want your help to see that the Army is allowed to maintain its measure of distinctness by not expecting the soldiers and the officers to get too free with the people; for, human nature being what it is, with more intimate contact, there is the possibility and danger of the officers being carried away by party political views. If that would happen, the Government cannot have the help it requires and that must be remembered by all of us, at all times.

ADMIRAL PARRY ON R.I.N. EXPANSION PLANS

Plans for the expansion of the Royal Indian Navy were explained by Vice-Admiral W. E. Parry, Commander-in-Chief of the R.I.N., at a Press Conference held at Madras on Feb. 6.

Up till now the R.I.N. has been a Local Defence Navy. Its job has been only to defend the coast of India and Indian shipping. It was not a navy capable of taking part in naval operation or naval warfare. That was done by the Royal Navy for us. Now that India is a free nation, the Government of India want to have a navy capable of taking part in naval operations as well. In the first place we have to develop Air Component of the R.I.N. which did not exist before. . . The Navy will not be complete unless it has an air arm, and I am glad to say that the principle of Naval Air Arm has been approved by the Government.

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RAJASTHAN STATES

Greater Rajasthan, which will be the biggest administrative unit in India, will come into being by the first week of April. The Covenant for the Rulers was finalised in Delhi last month and signed by the Rulers of states present in the Capital.

Greater Rajasthan will consist of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmere and States of the present Rajasthan Union including Udaipur, Kotah, Bundi, etc. It will have an area of 120,868 square miles and a population of over 12 millions with a total revenue of over Rs. 11 crores.

REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

The Minister of State for Relief and Rehabilitation, Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, announced in Parliament last month that his Ministry since its inception in September 1947 to Decmber 1948, had spent about Rs. 22 crores and 13 lakhs. Of this Rs. 57,2,100 were spent on staff, Rs. 2,85,85,000 as loan to refugees, Rs. 1,52,44,000 on building quarters for refugees, Rs. 13,64,76,000 on refugee camps, Rs. 28,53,000 on training centres for refugees and Rs. 3,24,21,000 on miscelleneous expenses.

C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIAR

We regret to record the death of C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar M. L. C. a leading South Indian Congressman, at Madras on the 5th February.

Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliar was a staunch Swarajist and became a member of the Madras Legislative Council in 1926.

His death is a great loss to the Congress Party in Tamil Nad.

EUROPEAN OFFICERS IN INDIA GOVT.

Sardar Patel told a questioner in Parliament that there were 975 European officers still in the service of the Government of India. The concession of premature retirement extended to European officers of the non-Secretary of State services included proportionate pension or gratuity or provident fund benefits as would have been admissible to them in the event of their discharge from service on the abolition of their posts. In addition, the officers concerned would receive free repatriation passages for themselves and the members of their families. The extra cost involved in the arrangement would be borne by His Majesty's Government. Seventy-nine officers had availed themselves of the concession.

MR. KIRON SHANKER ROY

Bengal is the poorer for the death of Mr. Kiron Shanker Roy, Home Minister, West Bengal at Calcutta, in his 58th year.

A well-known Congress leader, Mr. Roy was for many years a member of the All-India Congress Committee and leader of the Congress Party in Bengal.

After the partition of the province Mr. Roy became the leader of the Congress Party in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. He later resigned from the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and joined the West Bengal Ministry, formed by Dr. B. C. Roy.

INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

The Governor-General of Pakistan has declared that relations between India and Pakistan have entered a new phase, following the recent agreement on outstanding issues,

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INDIANS AT SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

The number of degree students (270) attending the School of Oriental and African Studies is the highest in the School's history and four times the pre-war figure. The School, which is a branch of London University, has, in addition, some 500 other students using the specialised services available.

Nearly 50 languages are taught and the students come from all over the world. At present there are 34 Indians, 70 Africans, and 17 from Palestine. The students also study law, archæology, history, local customs and culture. One hundred and sixtyseven professors and lecturers are maintained.

The School, which was established in 1916, receives grants from many quarters including the Governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

ADULT EDUCATION

Inaugurating the sixth session of the All-India Adult Education Conference at Mysore, Sir C. V. Raman appealed to teachers to apply themselves to problems of adult education in a scientific way. The problem of education was not political, but human and social, he said.

The task of educating people, Sir C. V. Raman said, was a very serious one and the greatest reward for those who tried to educate others was the liquidation of illiteracy. The argument that mass education should be hurried since they are independent was not logical, he added.

Pointing out that it was worth while to go slowly in educating the masses, he asked why illiterates if they were happy without education should be made literate. If unhappy, we should analyse the poverty, ignorance, and misery of the masses and find the necessary solution to correct them.

Earlier, T. Madiah Nayudu, Chairman, Mysore State Adult Literacy Council, welcomed the gathering.

Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, President Indian Library Association, presided. In his presidential address Mr. Ranganathan said that Education is the perpetual unfoldment of one's responsibility "in its own way at its own speed to its own fulness."

Rao Bahadur Ranganathan stressed the necessity for a department of adult education to co-ordinate with departments of libraries, universities and of secondary and elementary education. In order to remedy the prevalent mistakes in our adult education a proper organistation on national basis was also necessary. The President suggested the creating of the post of a national director of adult education to discharge the responsibilities of the Union Government in the sphere of adult education.

SANSKRIT COMPULSORY IN C. P. SCHOOLS

The C. P. and Berar High School Education Board has decided that Sanskrit should be made a compulsory subject in the High Schools in the Province and English reduced to the position of an optional subject. The Board has also suggested that instruction in the High Schools should be imparted in the Provincial languages—Marathi and Hindi.

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GANDHI MURDER CASE JUDGMENT

Mr. Atma Charan, special Judge, delivering judgment in the Gandhi Murder Case at Red Fort, Delhi, on Feb. 10 sentenced Nathuram Godse and Narayan Dattatreya Apte to death.

Dr. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was found not guilty and acquitted. The remaining five accused, Vishnu Ramachandra Karkare, Madanlal Kashmirilal Pahwa, Shankar Kistayya, Gopal Vinayak Godse, and Dattatraya Sadashiv Parachure, were sentenced to transportation for life. Digamber Ramchandra Badge, the approver, was discharged.

The Judge has recommended that in the case of Shanker Kistayya, the sentence of transportation for life may be commuted to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.

In his judgment, the Judge observed: "I may bring to the notice of the Central Government the slackness of the police in the investigation of the case during the period January 20, 1948 to January 30, 1948. The Delhi police had obtained a detailed statement from Madanlal Pahwa soon after his arrest on 20th January 1948. The Bombay police had also been reported to have had the statement of Dr. J. C. Jain that he had made to Mr. Morarji Desai on 21st January. The Delhi Police and the Bombay Police had contacted each other soon after these two statements had been made. Yet the police miserably failed to derive any advantage from these two statements. Had the slightest keenness been shown in the investigation of the case at that stage the tragedy could have been averted."

Referring to Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the Judge observed: "The prosecution case against him rested just on the evidence of the Approver and the Approver alone." He added that the Approver's evidence against him had not been corroborated, and observed "it would be unsafe to base any conclusion on the Approver's story as against that of Mr. Savarkar."

On the question whether the death sentence was subject to confirmation by the High Court, the Special Judge, citing the provisions of the Bombay Public Security Measures Act as extended to the Delhi Province, observed that Section 31 of the Criminal Procedure Code is consistent with the provisions of the Act, and therefore the sentence of death passed by the Special Judge is not subject to confirmation by the High Court.

As we go to press we learn that all except Shankar Kistayya, filed appeals in the East Punjab High Court against their conviction by the Special Court.

Nathuram Godse's appeal is only against his conviction for conspiracy.

LEGISLATION TO BAN STRIKES

The Government of India may shortly introduce legislation banning strikes in the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs.

It is understood that under the proposed legislation, the Government will seek power to deal with the threatened strike which the Communist dominated unions in the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs Department have given notice of.

Any strike at present is viewed by the authorities with serious concern.

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THE RAILWAY BUDGET

An increase of Rs. 14·5 crores in the gross earnings of railways over the original estimate for the current year, and an expectation of a further increase of Rs. 5.5 crores in 1949-50 was forecast by the Hon'ble Shri N. Gopalaswami. Ayyangar, Minister for Railways and Transport, in presenting the Railway Budget for 1949-50 in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) of India, on February 15.

The surplus for the current year is now estimated at Rs. 15·83 crores, an increase of about Rs. 6 crores on the original estimate. Despite the further increase in earnings anticipated in 1949-50 the surplus for that year is however, expected to decline to Rs. 9·44 crores. This drop is mainly due to the increase in the Wage Bill. The budget also reveals a record expenditure on the renewal of rolling stock, especially of overage locomotives. The charge to the depreciation fund on renewal account in the current year is Rs. 22.91 crores and in the budget year Rs. 33.86 crores.

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

Foreign capital at present invested in India is placed at Rs. 800 to 1,100 crores. The bulk of this is British, and the American share may not be more than one tenth of the total.

Repatriation of foreign capital over the last two years has been between Rs. 60 to 70 crores. It has mainly gone to the United Kingdom, South Africa, and, to a lesser extent, to Australia.

At present, there is a tendency both ways, some foreign concerns in India extending their business.

The consensus of opinion among foreign investors appears to be that there should be no restriction on remittances of profit and interest, and—in extreme cases—of total assets, should a company decide to close its business in India.

It is argued further that in the case of new foreign concerns, the Government of India might impose conditions in regard to Indian share in investment as well as management and what shape the new arrangement will take is not known.

Moreover, the extent of compensation in the event of nationalisation is not known. The industries that are to be started do not consider a ten-year period as reasonable, as it is felt that it is only after 7 or 8 years that industries usually begin to pay.

INDIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL BANK MISSION

The Finance Minister, Dr. John Matthai, in a statement in the Indian Parliament said that Government of India were examining with the help of the International Bank Mission, now in India, all their development plans, with a view to determining which of them might be suitable for being financed by a loan from the bank. He could not, however, at this stage give any indication either of the amounts for which the Government might ultimately apply for a loan or the terms or conditions on which the loan might be ultimately granted.

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WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

In her presidential address to the 21st session of the All India Women's Conference Mrs. Urmila Mehta discussed the role of women in free India. She covered a fairly wide ground. The programme suggested by her for the coming year included the organisation of maternity centres, fight against illiteracy, women's organisations in villages, the checking of communalism and an ambitious programme of constructive work. Also, she could not resist the temptation of advocating birth control by the people to keep down population. But she was against linguistic provinces, and condemned the activities of a number of 'leading personalities' in this country, who in her opinion have started a disastrous controversy among the uneducated masses.

The chairman of the reception committee, the Maharani Scindia of Gwalior, in her speech took up the question of the rehabilitation of Indian women recovered from Kashmir and Pakistan. She also urged the members of the conference not to neglect constructive work.

RESCUE OF ABDUCTED WOMEN

The Governor-General has issued an Ordinance in pursuance of the agreement with Pakistan for the recovery and restoration of abducted persons.

The Ordinance confers on the police certain powers for the search and recovery of abducted persons and authorises Provincial Governments to establish camps for the reception and detention of abducted persons. If any question arises as to whether a person detained in a camp is an abducted person or not, it shall be referred to, and decided by, a tribunal constituted for the purpose by the Central Government.

In accordance with the Ordinance, all proceedings for the production of any abducted person detained in a camp, which are pending before a High Court or before a Magistrate, shall be deemed to have terminated on the commencement of this Ordinance.

An abducted person is defined as a male under the age of sixteen years or a female of whatever age, who is, or immediately before the first day of March 1947 was a Muslim and who, on or after that day, has become separated from his or her family and is found to be living with or under the control of a non-Muslim individual or family".

LADY MOUNTBATTEN IN INDIA

Lady Mountbatten, wife of the former Governor-General of India, arrived in Bombay on Feb. 14.

She is on a month's visit to India at the invitation of the Government and is accompanied by her daughter, Lady Pamela Mountbatten.

"I am thrilled to be back in India and bring with me all the good wishes to the people of this country", she said on arrival at the airport.

"I have been associated with medical aid, nursing and rehabilitation work and shall do my best to be of help to the needy", Lady Mountbatten added.

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GENERAL

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

A meeting of the Board of Directors of the Press Trust of India Limited was held at Bombay on February 3 and 4. Mr. K. Srinivasan, Chairman, presided.

The following Directors attended: Messrs. Devadas Gandhi, C. R. Srinivasan, Ramnath Goenka, W. J. B. Walker, H. R. Moharay, Ivor Jehu, Amritlal D. Sheth, and Dr. N. B. Parulekar.

Mr. K. Srinivasan has made the following announcement on behalf of the Board:

With effect from 1st February 1949, the Press Trust of India have fully and formally taken over the ownership and management of the Reuter and the Associated Press of India organisations in India and have entered into partnership with Reuters' world news organisation in terms of the agreement arrived at with them last year by a delegation of the Indian Press.

The press Trust of India have appointed Mr. C. R. Srinivasan as their trustee on the Reuter Trust, Mr. Devadas Gandhi as their Director on the Reuter Board and Mr. Ramnath Goenka as the Alternative Director on the same board.

NEW AND COLOURFUL STAMPS

A New series of postal stamps with colourful designs containing illustrations of historical monuments of ancient India is proposed to be released for sale to the public from April 1, 1949.

Printed at the Nasik Security Press on watermark paper in appropriate design and colour, the series ranges from 3 pies to Rs. 10, and the denominational value is inscribed both in English and Hindi.

ASOKA PILLAR IN CURRENCY NOTES

India's emblem, the Asoka Pillar will replace the king's effigy on two rupee, five-rupee and hundred-rupee currency notes.

Besides this major change in the design, alterations in the colour and printing of the letters have also been decided upon.

The two-rupee note will have on its reverse side, a large tiger-head enclosed in a circle. Variation in colour and adjustment in the position of letters are among other features of the new design.

The Government of India new one-rupee note, will be put in circulation by August next. It will also contain the Asoka Pillar instead of the king's portrait.

CULTURE AND UNITY

Addressing the Brahmin Conference at Salem, Sir T. V. Acharya observed:

The bond which binds all Hindus together, wherever we live is the Sanskrit language and the Sanskrit culture which comes down to us from a period long anterior to the dawn of recorded history. People talk of India being a sub-continent and of the differences that divide the people inhabiting it. I have travelled throughout India at least thirty times and what struck me was not the diversity but the unity of the Hindu in the most intimate details of his life and thought whether he lived in Madras, Bombay, the Punjab or Assam. This unity is due to the Sanskrit culture and way of life we have inherited. It is this that has preserved our national unity through a thousand years of foreign rule and in spite of many destructive influence. I am glad that in recent times the prejudice against Sanskrit is diminishing in Southern India. The prejudice arose from the mistaken notion that Sanskrit, and the languages in Western and Northern India, derived from it, are the monopoly of the Brahman. Sanskrit and its culture are the heritage of every Hindu. I may go further and say of every Indian. For the mere music of the language alone, in grandeur of sound the only language that can match it is the ancient Greek of Homer. Every Indian should cherish it. It is specially the duty of the South Indian to see the Vedic learning and the proper recitation of our ancient texts are not lost for lack of encouragement. To my mind this should be one of the subjects which should engage the attention of the committee of this conference.

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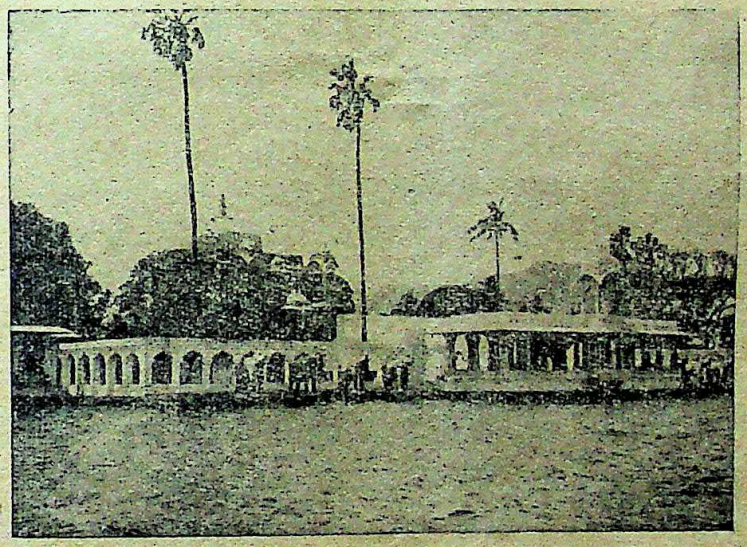

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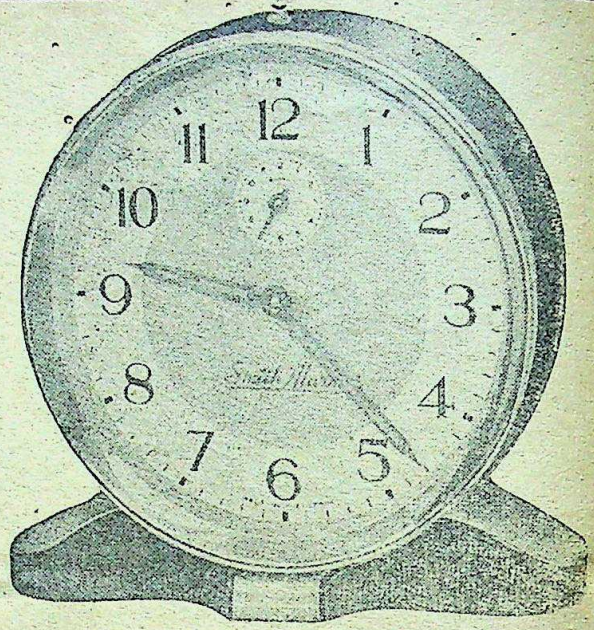

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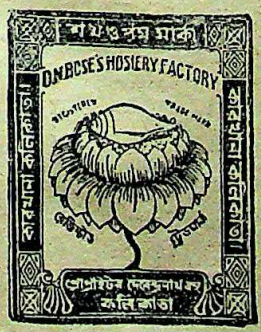

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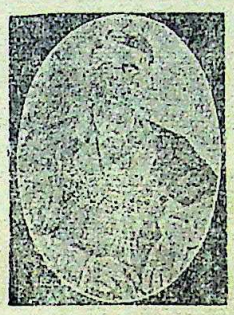

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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SRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU

By His Excellency Raja Sir MAHARAJ SINGH

Governor of Bombay.

I first met Shrimati Sarojini Naidu nearly forty years ago at my parents' house in Simla. My mother, who was born more than ninety years ago, was not a graduate but had received a very good education in her home and was able to speak Hindustani and English with equal fluency. She immediately took a fancy to Sarojini who visited her whenever she came to Simla. They had a common interest in social reform and in the progressive grant of rights to women. I remember Mrs. Naidu many years ago advocating the abolition of purdah, widespread education among girls and the grant of political rights to women. She had profited by education both in this country and in England and wished it to be shared by others.

What always struck one in meeting Sarojini were her vivacity and humour. She was always "bubbling over." In conversation she shone whether among Europeans or Indians. Britishers used to be startled at her unique knowledge of English, both literary and colloquial. Her poetry was far in advance of her times. I have often felt that the one branch of English literature in which we have not yet excelled is English poetry. Sarojini Devi, however, was an exception. I remember her once saying that poetry must have come to her as a natural gift and that she could not help writing when the mood came.

Her humour was all pervading and infectious. She could be pungent at times, but it was well meant, and she would probably have said the same thing *before* persons as she would have said *behind* them.

Her tastes whether in food or furniture or decorations were irreproachable. She could always enjoy a good meal, especially when she came out of jail. She felt hungry, she said, on such occasions. She dressed simply but was always tidy in her person.

The last time that I saw her was six weeks before she passed away when my wife and I were staying with her in Lucknow last January. She had Indianised with great effect the appearance of the main drawing rooms in Government House and was proud of her achievement.

Latterly her health was not good but she paid little heed to warnings whether from friends or relations and felt that she must give pleasure to others so long as there was breath within her. Her hospitality was unbounded and she made no distinction between communities and castes. All were alike to her.

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I suppose that she was one of the few persons who could take some liberties with Mahatma Gandhi. She would occasionally disagree with him and chaff him, for both had the saving grace of humour. She was devoted to her children and felt keenly the recent death of one of her sons. The child who most resembled her in face and voice was Padmaja. She was much with her mother especially in later years.

The last time that I received a communication from her was the day before she died. I had enquired after her health and had received a telegram that she hoped to recover for the Governors' Conference on the 6th March. Alas, it was destined otherwise.

My wife and I retain the happiest memories of our very dear friend, Sarojini, the greatest woman that India has produced for many a long day and one of the greatest of her time in the whole world. May her memory ever remain green and be a source of inspiration to many!

THE BALANCE SHEET

By Prof. H. C. MUKERJI, M.A.,

Midnapur College, Midnapur.

THE Nehru Ministry has been in office for a little over a year and a half and the time has not yet come to hold an inquest over it for it is still very alive and kicking and likely to maintain itself in office for a long time. But it is always good to pause and look back as we proceed on our journey and take stock of the progress made and the journey that still remains unfinished particularly if the road happens to be dangerous and beset with difficulties.

At the very outset it may be said that this Government on taking over was beset with so many and overwhelming difficulties as scarcely fall to the lot of an infant state and it has emerged out of all these difficulties with triumph on account of the patience, tact and wisdom displayed by those who are at the helm of affairs. It has not only emerged triumphant but has got fresh lustre added unto it and has raised the stock of the country immensely. The refugee problem, the invasion of Kashmir, the Junagad and Hyderabad affairs are some of the ills which beset it at its very birth and all these have been effectively tackled though some of them have left scars which are not to disappear for a long time. Immediately after the partition of the country the refugee problem came into prominence taxing the resources of the State to the utmost and throwing upon it the stupendous task of looking after, feeding, clothing and housing and subsequently resettling in life about a crore of people who were uprooted from their native soil and came pell-mell to India in search of shelter and refuge. The problem has been tackled with great courage and promptitude though not as yet quite successfully for much remains yet to accomplish. Moreover the same principle was not always adopted and attempts were sometimes made to differentiate between the refugees coming from Western and Eastern Pakistan which is a sore point with the latter. Closely at the heels of this great

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upheaval came the invasion of Kashmir. The Government of India as in duty bound rushed to the help of the Kashmir Government and promptly saved it and the people from utter ruin and destruction and hurled back the invaders beyond the hills which formed the natural boundary of the Kashmir Valley. It poured its men and money unstintedly and earned the gratitude of the people of the Valley whose desecrated homes and ruined homesteads still bear awful testimony to the havoc which was created by wild hordes of fanatical barbarians from across the border lured on by the prospect of loot. But in an unlucky moment and out of a zeal to stand well with the civilized world the Government of India applied to the Security Council for its intervention and this opportunity, according to some observers has paved the way for the latter to bring about a solution of the problem which will only further the schemes of the Anglo-American bloc and will be highly detrimental to the real interests of the country. But we still cling to the hope that a fair and just solution will be arrived at and an impartial plebiscite will be held which will decide the fate of the State.

While this Kashmir problem was still taxing the brains of our administrators the police action in Hyderabad became necessary and this was so promptly and effectively taken that it belied all the calculations of the political pundits and it was well over before people had ceased to wonder over it and at the least expenditure of men and money. The voice of opposition in the Security Council was also hushed after some time when it refused to listen to tales of slander preached against the Indian Union by the band of mercenary hirelings maintained there. It is to be hoped that within a short time Hyderabad will settle down and take her rightful place as an integral part of the Union instead of continuing in the very heart of India as a hostile State threatening the very existence of the country.

All these measures have enhanced the prestige of the country but none has conferred on it so solid a benefit as the unification of it under the inspiring lead of Sardar Patel. He will be entitled to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen for doing away with these congeries of States, remnants of Feudalism which presented the greatest obstacle to the unification of the country. A time there was when the Britishers ruled, to keep them alive to serve as a bulwark against the advancing tide of Indian Nationalism but after their departure there was scarcely any justification for their continued existence. It was Sardar Patel who realised this and set about to work for it with such wisdom, tact, patience and efficiency that the princely order generally submitted to his dispensation without any great protest and sometimes gladly and voluntarily, for they surely saw the handwriting on the wall and wisely adjusted themselves to the changed order of things. They acted on the principle that half a loaf is surely better than no bread. But there is no doubt about the fact that some of them at least were actuated by the loftiest of motives and wanted to efface themselves for the larger welfare of the nation.

India's prestige was further heightened by the two Asian Conferences which were held and both at the instance of the

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Government of India. Though they cannot claim any solid achievement, they are fraught with great potentialities and they bear unmistakable testimony to the fact that India is determined to take her rightful place as the leader of the Orient and she cannot be neglected with impunity.

But though on all these occasions India has not hesitated to assert herself and take an independent line of her own, some of her critics apprehend that she is identifying herself more and more with the Commonwealth group of nations and with the Anglo-American bloc. It is doubtful if it is possible in these days for a great nation to live in complete isolation cutting itself off from the main currents of world politics and the charge, if true, can only prove, at worst, an error of judgment on the part of those who are entrusted with the destinies of the nation and nothing more.

All this is to the good. But in the economic sphere the Government's achievements are more doubtful. True it is that a balanced budget has been presented but this at the cost of taxing the poor man's bread and depriving him of his few comforts and luxuries (?), a principle against which Mahatma Gandhi waged a lifelong struggle. The spectre of inflation and consequent high prices is still stalking through the land. . . . But the well informed and sober sections of the people cannot but realise the unenviable position of the government. Due to the measures previously adopted to fleece the rich, a legacy of the Liaquat Ali scheme and the irresponsible talks about nationalisation of industries, capital had become extremely shy and no money was forthcoming to finance new industries or subscribe to the loans floated. This freezing of national assets had to be checked. The Government at first gave solemn assurances entirely dissociating itself from any scheme of nationalisation of existing industries within the next ten years and as an earnest of its intention now wants to introduce these measures to give partial relief to capital and to bring back its confidence. Unless new industries are started and production is stepped up there is no prospect of arresting the upward trend of prices and thus giving relief to the hard pressed wage earners, a point which is very often being missed by the latter. Expropriation is not the means of bringing back the prosperity of the country.

The same irresponsibility and lack of sympathy characterise the bitter criticisms of the people about the repressive measures introduced by the Government, particularly the Public Security Act and the manner it is being enforced, jeopardising the civil liberties of the people. . . . But the people very often fail to realise the dilemma in which the Government is placed. If peace is to be maintained and orderly government to function, the government has no other resource left but to act, generally speaking, exactly in the way it has done. There is no doubt about the fact that subversive activities are steadily on the increase and the Communists taking heart from the success of their endeavours in China, Burma and other countries of South East Asia are thinking of effecting a coup in India also. If the country is not to be plunged in chaos and if orderly government is to be maintained we cannot afford to be squeamish about the methods adopted by the government. But there is much room left for the exercise of wisdom and tact which seems to be wanting in some of the recent measures adopted by the Government. It is much to be regretted that it has not always shown itself responsive to public opinion and has not attempted to placate it. . . . It is earnestly to be desired that the government should be wide awake to this glaring defect which cannot but give a handle to its enemies and try to conciliate the public by whose verdict ultimately it will survive or fall.

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Dr. Weizmann, the Israelite President

By Mr. V. KRISHNA RAO

THE Jews lost their homeland two thousand years ago; but the hope and the vision of regaining it have persisted in their minds across the centuries. Though hunted from country to country, they are a hardy race and have always been looking up to Zion.

Whether they are a chosen people as they have been thinking of themselves or have been accused, as Hitler looked upon them, their contribution to European culture and civilization has not been negligible. Having had the best of their wealth and scientific skill, the Germany of Hitler, hounded them out of Europe and the best of their race, for example Einstein, had to seek refuge in far distant America. During the first world war, Balfour, who sought to pacify the rival claims of the Jews and the Arabs to Palestine, promised the former a national home. Since then, the tangled politics of Europe and the oil or petrol interests of Britain, could not afford to offend the Arab sentiment and the Jews had been kept in animated suspense. There was a British offer of a part of Uganda as an alternative to the Homeland of Palestine. It was unacceptable to the Jews. "Would you accept Paris in exchange for London?" Weizmann is reported to have retorted. "But we *have* London" Balfour replied. "And we *had* Jerusalem when London was a marsh" was the smart and cutting rejoinder of the Jew.

During the period of the British mandate of Palestine, the Jews sank their fortune into it. New Jerusalem was built into a modern city and Tel Aviv converted into a popular centre. Valuable and paying industries were started, such as diamond cutting with the help of expert Jews from Amsterdam and the manufacture of pharmaceutical products, speeded up. Sanitary improvements have been effected for driving out Malaria and similar scourges. An hospital at Hadassah is said to contain 250 beds, manned by expert surgeons. A report on Palestine tells us the Jordan River Valley contained 17 per cent. Salt and was barren. By a remarkable patience and persistence, the fresh water of the river was diverted to the area and the salt washed out of the top soil with the result that tomatoes raised therein are double in quality as anywhere else. These amazing efforts were made under the hope of securing a permanent homeland therein. But they realised in the course of time that they were dupes of British and to some extent, of American diplomacy. They dared to achieve by force, where they failed by fairness and patience. Arms and ammunition were smuggled in large quantities and a showdown was prepared. The Arabs, though superior in number were scared. Israel declared itself a State and over night Truman recognised the new status. Britain is now forced into a reluctant approval. Weizmann has been proclaimed the first President of new Israel.

Dr. Weizmann is the father of Israel. Born in the Russian village of Motol, in the Pripet Marshes, he is now 74 years of age. Early in his life, he is said to have cherished and nourished the ambition of gathering together the scattered elements of his race, into the original homeland of Palestine. With that end in view, he has travelled through the different countries of

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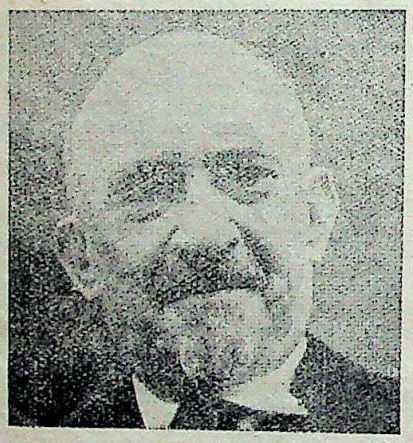
the world and secured their sympathies. Much of his life was spent in England where he was a Professor of Chemistry in Manchester, during the first World War and in that capacity is said to have rendered invaluable services to that country. He sent his son Michael to the theatre of war and he was killed in action with the R. A. F. During the course of the War, an important ingredient of gun-powder, acetone, became



DR. WEIZMANN

scarce in England. The munition industry was threatened. Dr. Weizmann who was then Professor of Chemistry at Manchester, carried on some experiments and turned out acetone from chestnuts which were abundant in England. It was a very timely help and the then Prime-Minister of England, Lloyd George told the House of Commons that Dr. Weizmann saved absolutely the British army at a critical moment. For his services the Prime Minister offered him a peerage and a monetary award. He declined both but prayed for a sympathetic consideration of the Jewish cause. The help that he rendered in the course of the second world war was not less important. He was then in America. America went short of rubber. The Doctor found a synthetic substitute and helped the nation. Truman publicly thanked him for "the help rendered by him in winning both the first and the second world wars."

Dr. Weizmann is a man of peace and has been eschewing violence for which he is considered soft in some Jewish quarters. Twenty-five years ago, he stated this ideal: If Palestine were a real-estate development, instead of a spiritual homeland, there are a dozen New York financiers who could get together and buy it. Then all this talk about Zionism about idealism would be meaningless.... .....But Palestine cannot be bought. It must be won by suffering. It must be paid for by the pangs of birth. Our relation to Palestine can only be a relation of the mother to her child. She bears the child with pain, she delivers it with pain and the first years of its life are years of pain and anxiety." Is there not a Gandhian ring about it?

The words have been prophetic. The Jew has found his Home. The leading European countries have recognised the Independence of Israel. The United Nations are going to bless it.

It is a happy thing that Dr. Weizmann is presiding over its destiny as he had been consolidating the nation for the last fifty years of his life. The future of both the Jew and the Arab lies in the way of conciliation and it is a hopeful sign that Transjordan and Egypt are in the line. It is hoped that under the wise guidance of Dr. Weizmann the 2000 years old problem and feud will find a final and peaceful solution.

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

A SWEET THING IT IS TO BE ALIVE

[This, from LAVENGRO is one of the master passages of English prose—expressing rich joy in open air life, and in life itself. Borrow has met a man sitting on the heath and they fall into talk.]

"What is your opinion of death, Mr. Peter Lengro?" said I, as I sat down beside him.

"My opinion of death, brother, is much the same as that in the old song of Pharaoh, which I have heard my grandma sing:—

'Canna marel O manus chivios ande puv,
Ta rovel pa laste O chavo ta romi.'

When a man dies, he is cast into the earth, and his wife and child sorrow over him. If he has neither wife nor child, then his father and mother, I suppose; and if he is quite alone in the world, why, then, he is cast into the earth, and there is an end of the matter.

"And do you think that is the end of man?"

"There's an end of him, brother, more's the pity."

"Why do you say so?"

"Life is sweet, brother."

"Do you think so?"

"Think so! There's night and day, brother, both sweet things; sun, moon and stars, brother, all sweet things; there's likewise a wind in the heath. Life is very sweet, brother; who would wish to die?"

"I would wish to die—."

"You talk like a gorgio—which is the same as talking like a fool. Were you a Rommany Chal you would talk wiser. Wish to die, indeed! A Rommany Chal would wish to live for ever!"

"In sickness, Jasper?"

"There's the sun and the stars, brother."

"In blindness, Jasper?"

"There's the wind on the heath, brother; if I could only feel that I would gladly live for ever. Dosta, will now go to them tents and put on the gloves; and I'll try to make you feel what a sweet thing it is to be alive, brother."

. . . . .

THE BEST LIFE

Choose the best life; use will make it pleasant. —*Pythagoras.*

SOHRAB AND RUSTUM

[On the banks of the Oxus two great warriors engage in mortal combat. Old Rustum discovers he has killed his son Sohrab. The epic fight and the tragic discovery yield a moment of tremendous passion, charged with dramatic interest. But the poet closes with a picture of the calm serenity of nature amidst the perplexities of human life.]

And Rustum and his son were left alone.
But the majestic river floated on,
Out of the mist and hum of that low land,
Into the frosty starlight, and there moved,
Rejoicing, through the hushed Chorasmian waste,
Under the solitary moon;—he flow'd
Right for the polar star, past Orgunje,
Brimming, and bright, and large; then sands begin
To hem his watery march, and dam his streams,
And splits his currents; that for many a league
The shorn and parcell'd Oxus strains along
Through beds of sand and matted rushy isles—
Oxus, forgetting the bright speed he had
In his high mountain-cradle in Pamere,
A foil'd circuitous wanderer—till at last,
The long'd-for dash of waves is heard, and wide
His luminous home of waters opens, bright
And tranquil, from whose floor the new-bathed stars
Emerge, and shine upon the Aral Sea.

—*M. Arnold.*

. . . . .

TO BE HONEST, TO BE KIND

To be honest, to be kind—to earn a little and to spend a little less—to make upon the whole a family happier for his presence—to renounce when that shall be necessary and not be embittered—to keep a few friends but these without capitulation—above all, on the same grim condition, to keep friends with himself—here is a task for all that a man has of fortitude and delicacy. —*Stevenson.*

LOVE AND MARRIAGE

Love is more pleasing than marriage because romances are more amusing than history. —*Chamfort.*

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THE DUTIFUL WIDOW

In the outskirts of old Chang-an there once dwelt in peaceful retirement the philosopher Chuang-Tzu. Sharing his blissful life was his beautiful wife, the good lady T'ien, as faithful a mate any mortal could ever find.

As was his wonted custom, our philosopher never missed his daily late afternoon stroll in the hills. On one of these occasions he came across a young woman bent over a newly-made grave—fanning it!

"Whatever are you doing, my good lady?" asked Chuang-Tzu politely. The woman caught unawares blushed, then answered between sobs:

"My husband, alas! whom I now (*sob*) mourn,
A short time since (*sob*) to this grave (*sob*) was borne.
And (*sob*) he lies buried in this (*sob-sob*) grave.
. . Ere my (*sob*) husband died, he called me (*sob*) once (*sob-sob*) to his side,
And grasping me (*sob*)—with his dying lips said,
'When I'm gone (*sob-sob*) promise (*sob*) never to wed,
Till the earth is (*sob*) dry on my grave.'
. . So you see me fanning my late lord's grave to hasten the process."

—LIN SIAN-TEK in "*Manila Sunday Tribune*," *Phillippine Islands*.

. . . . . .

LIFE BEYOND DEATH

What shall I do with those things which do not give me the life which is beyond death?

—*Maitreyi.*

. . . . . .

REASON AND ENTHUSIASM

Reason is not sufficient to overcome passion: we must take to us the power of a noble enthusiasm. —*Fabianus.*

THE CROSSING

When I shall be called to make
That inevitable silent crossing
I shall beg to linger—
While I look indelibly on scenes
I have loved long and passionately.
And I would carry them
Like sweet incense
Within my heart—
The glory of dawn and twilight,
The quietude of starry nights,
The clasp of friendly hands,
The tender voice of love .....
Then as my bark forsakes familiar moorings
I will go taking these memories
I have loved
So that Heaven's beauties
Seem not too strange.

—*Lida Davis Jones* in the "*Churchman.*"

. . . . . .

THE PERFECT DUTIES

Gentleness and cheerfulness, these come before all morality; they are the perfect duties. —*R. L. S.*

. . . . . .

SILENCE AND SPEECH

Remember what Simonides said—that he never repented that he had held his tongue, but often that he had spoken.—*Plutarch.*

. . . . . .

CALVARY

And when they were come to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified Him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left.

Then said Jesus, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

—*St. Luke.*

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FOREIGN CAPITAL IN NEW INDIA

PROF. G. P. GUPTA, M.Com.

Commerce College, Wardha

THE position of foreign capital in Indian economy has often been the subject of public examination. The political domination of the Britishers has always had the upper hand. Now that India has emerged as a Free and Independent nation and has to proceed at a rapid pace with the programme of her industrialization, this question must be studied from a different angle. The most outstanding feature of foreign investments in India has been foreign domination—Economic and Political, as the "processes of Capital have been the processes of Conquest." But it cannot be overlooked that the present magnitude of India's industrial development owes, in a large measure, to foreign capital—both physical and financial.

ESTIMATES OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

It is a pity that there are no reliable and accurate statistics of the aggregate foreign capital invested in India. Whatever estimates are available are either based on guess work or have become out of date. With the liquidation of sterling liabilities, which formerly formed a major portion of external indebtedness, most of the public borrowing has vanished. According to Shri N. R. Sarkar, "of the amount engaged in private industries over half is employed in trading and manufacturing industries. Banking and insurance companies together absorb rather more than one-fifth; Steamship and Railways about 13% and tea plantations and mines about 5% each."

Foreign investments in India have taken place in the following forms:

(i) Investment of capital in company shares and similar rights.

(ii) Private investments in medium or long-term private and public loans, advances and credit-grants to private borrower and public authorities.

(iii) Direct investments in property and business concerns owned and managed by foreign investors themselves, either personally or in associations.

(iv) Government to Government grant or loan, *i.e.*, loans and credits granted by Government and other public bodies.

NEED FOR INVESTMENT CENSUS

The need for a census of foreign capital in India is imperative if we want to look at the foreign investment position in its right perspective, and the Government of India should at once undertake the campaign in collaboration with commercial bodies. In assessing the aggregate amount of foreign investments, foreign assets and liabilities of each country should also be considered, because international monetary co-operation, multilateral convertibility and international exchange system through the machinery of International Monetary Fund would only then be possible. The important task of compulsory Census should be entrusted to some National Institution, and the Reserve Bank of India which has recently been nationalised will be the right authority. In order to keep the information up-to-date complete record of further foreign investments should be maintained and this can be facilitated if the registration of the future investments are made compulsory under the law.

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FUTURE ROLE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

The days are gone when foreign capital was virtually the 'master' of Indian economy. In the region of Independent India now foreign capital shall have to act like a 'servant' who should be properly paid provided the "service rules" are not violated. Pandit Nehru, while addressing the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries at New Delhi on 3rd March, 1947, is reported to have remarked that there was no reason why there should not be a place in India for industrialists and businessmen from outside, provided they fitted into the Indian picture of the future. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, while he was the Minister of Industries and Supplies aptly stated in the Assembly, "We could no longer think in terms of narrow nationalism nor repeat the old language of isolationism". If India has to speed up her economic development foreign capital will be inevitable. History bears testimony to the fact that very few countries have been able to industrialise without significant foreign investment. Even the United States has had a very significant portion of its industrial advance financed by British and European capital. But our dependence on foreign capital should be limited to a limited period only so long as India's proverbially shy and conservative capital, as the External Capital Committee puts it, is not coming forward.

"SERVICE RULES" FOR FOREIGN CAPITAL

Whatever *Laissez Faire* policy may have been followed in the case of foreign capital, the time has come when direct and indirect control on foreign investments would be necessary. "Service Rules" must be framed. The activities of outsiders in the economic sphere are restricted in various countries through legislation or administrative decrees. The Government of India should also place certain specific restrictions against the investment of foreign capital. A foreign manufacturer should be required under the rules to secure a licence from some National Authority who will oblige him to fulfil certain conditions before permission is granted to set up his business in the country. Even when no special concessions are granted to him, these rules should in no case be relaxed. "The Irish Control of Manufacturer Bill 1932" was passed to prohibit non-nationals from operating a concern so far as the protected industries are concerned. A similar provision should now be introduced in India. The National Authority conferred with the right of granting licences should make a thorough scrutiny of the case to see that the proposed enterprise is inevitable for the development of the national ecnomy and the licences so granted should be for a limited period of time.

All those enterprises which are foreign in spirit but Indian in name either by putting in the words "India Ltd." or by taking Indians as junior partners in their associations should be carefully checked by the licencing authority. A set of terms and conditions defining the Indian enterprises should be framed so as to include enterprises which are essentially Indian-financed and managed by Indians or predominantly Indian Capital and Management.

N.P.C. ON FOREIGN CAPITAL

The National Planning Committee have passed the following resolutions on the investment of foreign capital in India:

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(*i*) "That investments of foreign capital in our agricultural, mineral and industrial concerns has resulted in foreign control over our economic and political life which has warped and retarded the national development."

(*ii*) "That hereafter investment of foreign capital should not ordinarily be permitted to involve ownership and management in respect of industries and national importance."

(*iii*) "In view of our vast capital requirements in the coming years we may accept foreign capital only in the shape of loans, credit or through the state".

(*iv*) "The special statutory so-called "Commercial Safeguards" should be replaced forthwith.

STEPS AGAINST EXISTING FOREIGN CAPITAL

As India has cast away the political yoke of foreigners it is not difficult to accelerate the pace of Indian enterprises at the cost of foreign interests which had so far blocked the way. But that would not be a sound policy. There should not be any compulsory expropriation of the foreign capitalist. But a well-planned policy only would keep the balance right. Preferential stimulus should be given to Indian enterprise and special facilities, if any, granted to the foreign capitalists should be withdrawn which will give a natural impetus to the Indian capital. In case of highly specialised industries the present concessions may continue, but an agreement should be entered into with their management which would leave the control of the management in the hands of the foreigners only for a limited period, after which control and management should pass to the Indian hands. Arrangements should be made to train the personnel for taking charge of the managements. In case of those enterprises in which foreigners have taken Indians as their juniors effective control should be retained in the hands of the Indians.

It would not be out of place to mention here that India's demand for foreign capital —physical and financial—have increased in the immediate postwar period due to her intense need for reconstruction of war shattered economy and also to develop the underdeveloped and undeveloped areas. India's present demand is for capital goods which can be supplied only by capital exporting countries, the chief among them being U. S. A. But the safest course for India would be to borrow from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development on reasonable terms because it would prevent black marketing in the foreign capital.

Besides, the Government of India must import the capital which they can very efficiently put into the economic development of the country. The immediate needs should be well studied. The International Co-operative Machinery—the International Bank—will go a long way to achieve this objective. Before advancing loans the plans would be well scrutinised and future prospects estimated. This will prevent waste of foreign capital and thus avoid foreign rule resulting from economic domination. Foreign capital may be had from the following sources:

(1) Government to Government grant or loan.

(2) Private investments in the industries, business and fixed assets.

(3) Private borrowings.

(4) International Bank.

NATIONAL INVESTMENT AUTHORITY

There should be some National Investment Authority who would estimate the capital requirements of the country and

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arrange for the import of foreign capital for subsequent allocation to the local industries. The requirements of foreign capital by India can be well judged by an independent authority keeping in view the interest of the nation as a whole. This method would avoid the dangers of private imports of foreign capital which has been a sufficient warning to India in the past. The National Authority would be able to secure more favourable terms than what the private borrowers would do and would avoid the usual complications that have arisen from the use of external capital.

The new role which foreign capital is to play in Free and Independent India may be expressed in the words of the Montagu Chelmsford Report. (Para 344.)

"Clearly it is the duty of the British Commerce in India to identify itself with the interests of India, which are higher than the interests of any community to use its considerable wealth and opportunities to comend itself to India, and, having demonstrated both its value and its good intentions, to be content to rest like other industries on the new foundation of Government in the wishes of the people".

INDIAN COMMUNISTS

BY MR. P. N. SAMPATH

ORIGINALLY, the Communists in India formed part of the Indian National Congress, constituting its Left Wing. In the early struggles against British Imperialism, they had their due share. However, they have been just an obstreperous minority as a political entity, with little influence and following in this country.

During the period immediately preceding Russian participation in the last war, the Indian Communists were derisively declaring that it was an "Imperialists' War." But, when Russia was roped into the conflagration by Nazi aggression, our Communists threw all their energy and enthusiasm on the side of the Allies, because Russia's entry had transformed the Imperialists' War overnight into the "Peoples' War." The Indian National Congress, however, took an entirely different attitude to the War, and the Comrades had come to a permanent parting of the ways. As a necessary consequence thereof, while Congressmen suffered incarceration, the Communists commanded all the goodwill of the British Indian administration. The government's Grow More Food and recruitment campaigns had the enthusiastic support of the Communists. They aided the government in bringing hoarders and blackmarketers to book. It is said that some of the Congressmen who were lying low in hide-outs, were ferreted out by the Comrades for safer custody in government jails. Thus, during this later war period of three or four years, the Communists were in a privileged position.

The emergence of Soviet Russia as a great power out of the members of war gave a special fillip to Indian Communism. But, the same fact excited the envy and suspicion of the Western powers. With the slow estrangement in the relations between Russia and the Western Allies, governmental favour was by degrees withdrawn from the Communist party. Later on, when the Congress got the reins of power, no working arrangement could be arrived at with the Communists.

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The War had deteriorated living conditions for the poor and lower middle classes. Its aftermath or backwash was having a disastrous effect all the world over. War profiteers and blackmarketeers had fattened at the expense of the general public. The economy of our country was greatly upset. The trend towards Inflation had already started. This state of affairs afforded ideal opportunity for the Communists to acquire power and influence with the masses. They deftly played on their embittered emotions. Compared to these efforts, the Congress had not as yet any plan for promoting labour welfare. Having thus no serious rivals, and aided by trained and devoted personnel, the Communists became the pioneers of Indian Labour Movement. This enviable position could easily have been capitalised by them.

But, they chose to abdicate their position of advantage, so well and studiously earned. For no adequate reason they abandoned all constitutional means, (when such means alone could have brought the bacon home), and conjugated themselves into the aggressive and violent mood. They started a class-war against capitalists and landowners. The labourers were galvanized into frantic actions by subtle propaganda and open incitement. The last S. I. R. strike, the troubled conditions created in parts of Malabar and Tanjore districts, the very recent sabotage at the Calcutta Telephone Exchange, are some of their froward acts of fantacism.

It is some sort of intellectual dyspepsia that had made the Indian Communists blind to the fact that conditions in India are quite different from those in Russia when Lenin blew the trumpet for bloody revolution. By resorting to indiscriminate violence, the Communists have alienated public sympathy. As a nation we have a natural revulsion for any act of violence and bloodshed, and this fact the Communists must have taken into serious account, in shaping their policy. Their adhesiveness to an acquired idea must not have shut their eyes to local conditions. There can be no uniform remedy for all countries, since conditions differ so much between country and country. It is not for nothing that veteran labour leaders like N. M. Joshi, Ruiker, Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, and others were compelled to come out of the Communist-controlled Trade Union Congress. These leaders have found the whole atmosphere insufferable. By their present policy the Communists have strengthened the hand of reaction in India, by making it possible and easy for reactionaries to rally people by raising the Communist bogey. The Communists in India have not played their cards well.

While we hear of large-scale uprisings against reigning governments in China, Malaya, Burma and other countries, the reason why there has been comparative quiet in such a vast country as India, is not far to seek. The Indian masses are definitely not prepared to dance to a violent tune, as the Communists would desire them to. They are for achieving practically the same ends through other means, "less painful, accompanied by less friction, and less waste of human substance," to quote Marx himself. *It is the push that is vulgar, not the destination.*

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GANDHIAN ECONOMICS*

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL

I have published books on "Gandhian Economics" or better known as "Gandhian Plan", but it would be worth while now especially when the Father of the Nation is no longer amidst us, to remind ourselves of the picture that he had of India as a free nation.

What he called Ramrajya was a definite socio-economic order. It was not merely a sentiment, nor was it a vague picture of a philosopher. He had his clear-cut ideas. Gandhi visualised a definite social, economic, political structure, an organisation for our country as a free nation.

Now, what is the substance of Gandhian economy. In the world to-day there are two main ideologies in economics. One is the capitalist ideology, the *laissez-faire*, *i.e.*, giving the freest scope for private enterprise, as in Europe, in America and in most of the European countries, although the other order is now creeping in. This order believes that the forces of demand and supply adjust themselves, and this spontaneous, natural adjustment leads to the well-being of society automatically. They think that somehow if you try to control these forces, they go wrong and injure society. Therefore they always plead for the greatest freedom, although after the first World War, these ideas of *laissez-faire* have changed a great deal. No economist even believing in the capitalist order of society, would now plead for freedom. Therefore controls came in. The conception of planning had to be introduced, and within that limited field private enterprise was to be let alone, to adjust the forces of economy.

The other way is what we might be called the Soviet way of thinking, the Soviet economy. I do not want to call it Communist, because it is better to describe it according to the name of the country where it is being tried. This Soviet economy which believes that the individual must subserve the interests of society at the dictation of the central authority; that the individual has no will of his own; that there is no scope for private enterprise as private enterprise; that the individual must follow the pattern, the detailed plan laid down by the Central Planning Authority; and that there is no scope for profit-making.

Both these systems have not proved to be satisfactory, although both the sides claim that their system is the best but we can easily imagine that the first system, the capitalist order is not satisfactory because it has led to wars, and this incentive for profit-making leads to colonisation and exploitation, not of the individual alone, but of the nations; and naturally it leads to economic conflict and war. Even now, after the second world war, already a third war has started, although it may be called the "cold war", but it is a very serious type of war that is going on, and we are to-day surrounded by it. The Soviet system is trying to expand its sphere of influence, while the Anglo-American group representing the capitalist economy, is trying to keep its own sphere of influence. See what is happening in China or Burma; see our other neighbouring countries. There is regular

* From a lecture delivered under T. R. Venkatarama Sastri Endowment, Madras.

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tussle between these two groups representing the economic conflict. People do not fight merely for the fun of it or the love of it, or for philosophical ideologies. They fight because at the root is this economic problem.

Gandhiji fortunately suggested a middle way, a way which gives scope for private enterprise, but limits it to co-operative effort, and eliminates exploitation of man by man. On the other hand, although it eliminates exploitation, it does not lead to regimentation; it does not lead to what I might call the totalitarian control of all our resources, what is that way, the middle way? That way was put by him in very clear terms.

It is a very wrong conception that still unfortunately persists that Gandhiji was against all heavy, big industries. It is not a fact. Gandhiji visualised the existence of heavy, basic, key industries, but they must be state-owned, and state-managed. He said that the few basic industries that you must have, should be in the hands of the State, directly controlled, managed and run by it, because those are key industries and the key industries cannot be left to private hands. We know very well how the armament manufacturers create war. They are interested in war, and during war their own private interests might go against the interests of the country or at any rate against the interests of the world in general, because we are not thinking of India or any other country alone. Gandhiji always desired world peace. There is no scope for private enterprise here, but in the other very big sphere, the sphere of consumer goods industries, the goods that we consume, cloth, sugar, oil, paper and so on. These industries must be decentralised on a co-operative basis. He always pleaded for decentralised co-operative cottage production. Now what is exactly meant by this? The idea is that all these consumer goods industries should be organised not as they did in Japan. There they were decentralised. One part was manufactured in one village, the other part in another village, the third part in a different village, and all the parts were assembled and sent out very cheap, because labour in the villages was very cheap—but there was the capitalist behind it. There were a few big families, three or four big families in Japan, and they controlled all this decentralised production. That was not the Gandhian way. Gandhiji wanted these industries to be decentralised in the villages, in the cottages, and to be organised on a co-operative basis. That is the organisation of industrial co-operatives.

Now let us try to understand the reasons why I plead for this and why Gandhiji pleaded for this decentralised cottage industry. The reasons are very simple.

All the world over all the economists say that the aim of economic planning should be the provision for full employment. Everybody agrees. If we look at the figures we find that even after partition our population is about 35 crores. In the large-scale establishments in India to-day the number of people employed as labourers is not more than 25 lakhs. That was the maximum even before partition, it is now much less than 2.5 millions. The Bombay planners wanted to expand these large-scale industries four, five or six times, but we know it is impossible to get capital goods from outside. The industrialists have realised it, the Government have realised it.

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We cannot utilise our sterling balances because nobody is willing to send machines. Even if they are in a position they will not send, unless they are able to manufacture better ones. Then they will send these third class machines with which you cannot compete with them. These are hard facts. But suppose you get all the machinery and expand these large-scale establishments. Then you will be able to employ a crore or a crore and a half people. What will happen to so many other crores that are left. Now all the land that we have got can employ, say, at the most 50 per cent. of our population. At present it is about 18 percent. If we distribute land on a more economic basis, it can employ perhaps 40 per cent. or at the most 50 per cent, *i e.* about 17 crores of people, but even these people will have to be provided with subsidiary industries because they are partially unemployed. They are fully unemployed, but they are partially unemployed for three, four, and in some parts, six months in the year. To these people you can give only small scale industries. You cannot ask them to emigrate to the towns for a few months and come back to the villages. The factories will also not like this. They want permanent labour on which they can depend. So the only alternative before us is to think of what may be called "fields, factories and workshops" Adjacent to these fields if we have small workshops the labourers and peasants can manufacture cottage products whenever they have time. That is the only possible solution. These people have to be supplied with cottage industries on a very large scale. Then what about the rest? Out of the rest at the highest a crore or a crore and half may be absorbed if you get all the capital equipment. Then our domestic service, trade and commerce can absorb 5 or 10 per cent. at the most. Then we have ten crores more people who have to be absorbed. This is very simple, but the wonder is we try to evade these facts. Gandhiji gave us the final solution, it was not for him to work out the details. He went to the roots of the problem and found the solutions almost intuitively. He was as we know the least read among the literates. He did not read any book on economics except "Unto the Last" which cannot be called economic because Ruskin was a sentimental thinker. But his conclusions are absolutely correct and open to reason. Therefore I say Gandhiji clearly saw that these 17 crores of people had to be employed.

To-day villagers have to be supplied with subsidiary industries on a very wide scale. That can be done only by spreading industrial co-operatives. That is about the problem of employment which is the goal of all economists.

Then take the other question, the question of strikes, this conflict between labour and capital. In the very nature of things, there is a conflict in this capitalist order, an order of what we may call *laissez faire*, between the interests of the capitalists and the interests of labour. There is an inherent conflict. Therefore no amount of arbitrating will find a solution between the two. What is the solution then? The solution suggested by Marx was that labourers should become the owners of industries, but that is not possible because large-scale establishments require a huge capital now.

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Gandhiji said that the workers themselves must become the owners of industries. That can be done only by organising these industrial co-operatives, so that the workers themselves are the owners, co-partners on a co-operative basis. They can organise them in villages. There is not the bottleneck of transport. They produce all they need so that production becomes almost as Gandhiji said, simultaneous with distribution. The problem of distribution also disappears. The co-operative community produces what it requires and produces it cheaply. They have no capitalists among them. All the profit goes to them for their own betterment. Thus labour and capital conflict can be solved. I have no doubt only on this basis that we organise industrial co-operatives of the consumer goods industries on a very large scale, not only in this country, but throughout the world. People say it is a very long term programme. It is so, but fortunately for India the capitalist order has not made much headway like America or other European countries. It is not a serious problem in India. It is not very difficult to begin organising ourselves in the way Gandhiji suggested. China did it, we can do it more easily. If we understand the whole picture, if we have faith that this is the kind of economy that we want to have, then the quickest way is to go to that point in a straight way. If we are not satisfied, if we are still in this whirlpool of ideologies, we will never get to it.

Third, that is the question of defence in war. I feel, and I feel very seriously, that perhaps on account of this the West may be compelled to take to industrial co-operatives or what we may call Gandhian economy earlier than the East or India, because their problem is the immediate problem. They are already in the third war. They do not know how to preserve their large scale establishments, because ordinary bomb has disappeared and now it is the atom bomb. We already hear about the super-atom bomb, and then God knows what else, the cosmic rays of Russia and the latter scientific developments. What will happen to these big industries? In England, as we know, they have already passed the Distribution of Industries Act. They do not talk of industrial co-operatives. They perhaps do not realise what Gandhiji meant by it. Either they call it dispersal of industries or distribution of industries. They feel it as an immediate necessity. Hitler planned very wisely, but he forgot that once the big industries are bombarded he will be nowhere. He is nowhere. This decentralisation of industries on a very wide scale has now become a necessity for the militants from the point of view of strategy of war, the latest war.

These three things, unemployment, capital-labour conflict and national defence, at least should convince us that there is no other way. We have to decentralise, and decentralise on a co-operative basis. In this co-operative basis there will be scope for private enterprise. The State will not dictate from day to day that you must produce this or that. There will be no scope for exploitation either. Whatever profits accrue will go to the community as a whole. Therefore the way suggested by Gandhiji in the form of Cottage or other village industries was not merely a fad, was not

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merely a political weapon, was not merely a sentiment of a thinker who was called mediaeval by our economists.

The ideology that Gandhiji gave is not only suitable to this country, but the whole world, and perhaps, the West may adopt what we call Gandhism much earlier than we, because we are yet in the elementary stage. We cannot call ourselves highly industrialised. We are very backward industrially, but our economists say the whole world is going in a different fashion and so we should.

It is also wrong to think that Gandhiji was against machines. Gandhiji wanted American engineers. When Louis Fisher came and asked for his message to America, he said, "My message is, please send your best engineers to help us not by big machines, but to help the lakhs of villages in India to have small tools and small machines which they could use in villages and which they could organise on a co-operative basis in their cottages." He was also not against power. He wanted power to be owned by the village communities. He wanted it to be decentralised. Science has done many things which we never thought of. If the scientists can give us small power houses, if power can be decentralised so that the villages can have effective use of power, Gandhiji was not against it.

If we believe in Gandhiji, then we should know that he stood for an order of society which can give not only to India, but to the whole world, a new direction which will be neither Communism, nor Capitalism, but a golden mean between, a new social order, a new economic order which might show a better way to the world.

H. E. SRI PRAKASA-GOVERNOR OF ASSAM

By Dr. M. HAFIZ SYED, Ph.D., D Litt.,

University of Allahabad.

EDUCATION AND EARLY CAREER

SHRI Sri Prakasa was born on 3rd August 1890, in Benares. He was educated in the Central Hindu Collegiate School and graduated from the Central Hindu College in 1911. The same year he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took B.A. Tripos with high honours in History and Law and qualified himself as a Barrister-at-Law from Gray's Inn, London. He returned from Europe in 1914 and practised in the Benares Civil Court for a few months. Not finding law a congenial profession, he gave it up and joined the Central Hindu College as a Professor of History where he worked zealously for three years. It was in these days that he came in contact with Mahatma Gandhi whose life and teachings captivated his heart to such an extent that he gave up his service in the Central Hindu College and joined the Congress Movement. He worked as Assistant Editor of the *Leader* (Allahabad), under the guidance of that great journalist Shri C. Y. Chintamani for three years, and then for a year as Assistant Editor of Pandit Motilal Nehru's *Independent*. It was through his good offices that Shri Shiva Prasad Guptaji agreed to endow a big fund for founding an institution on broad cultural and independent lines completely

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free from official domination. Thus the Kashi Vidyapith institution came into being which he served devotedly for a number of years as its first Principal from 1921 upto the time when political circumstances of his country forced him to court imprisonment.

AS A ZAMINDAR AND BUSINESSMAN

He has inherited a small zamindari in Jaunpur district which he had to manage when his venerable father handed it over to him at the time of his retirement from active life. This zamindari of his is still looped upon as a model for other landlords to copy because he endeared himself to his ryots and served them unselfishly in so many ways.

The Directors of the Benares Bank when its affairs were in a shaky condition, unanimously elected him as the Chairman of its Board. This appointment gave him an opportunity of studying and understanding various monetary problems.

He had also the distinction of serving the Indian National Congress as its General Secretary for a year and the President of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee.

EARLY WRITINGS

He is a well-known writer both in English and Hindi. He wrote a volume on "Annie Besant as woman and as leader" which was published in 1941 and won the appreciation of literary critics for his extraordinarily lucid, forcible and chaste style. The book has been declared by British as well as Indian reviewers as the best that has ever been written about that venerable lady who is emphatically one of the foremost makers of New India. He has also a few books in Hindi to his credit. His *Grihastha Gita* has been prescribed as a course-book for Hindi Schools of the U. P.

INFLUENCE OF DR. BHAGAVAN DAS

We all know in these provinces that Shri Sri Prakasa had the inestimable privilege of high parentage and wise upbringing under the paternal care of Dr. Bhagavan Das, an eminent philosopher and a Sanskrit scholar of international reputation who took every possible care to look after the early training under his own care. Dr. Bhagavan Das' life-long friend and colleague Dr. Annie Besant took a good deal of interest in Sri Prakasa's education at every stage of his life at the old Central Hindu College and later on in Cambridge. Among his Headmasters and Principals were distinguished educationists like Dr. Iqbal Narain Gurtu and Dr. George S. Arundale whom he affectionately remembers with respect and gratitude. His was not mere book learning. He distinguished himself amongst his school and college fellows of his days for the active interest he took in the social and political life of his college and country in those days. He was the leader of the Moot Parliament and developed the art of public speaking both in Hindi and English to a great extent, in the Central Hindu College.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR GOVERNORSHIP

As a leading Congress worker and a foremost citizen of Benares, Shri Sri Prakasa is very well-known in different parts of India. The Indian people now know that the choice of the Central Government through the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, fell on the right person when he was appointed High Commissioner in Pakistan, Karachi. His

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distinguished success there has proved that he is the right type of man to govern a Province like Assam which in many ways has complicated problems to solve and needs the guiding hand of political wisdom, ripe experience, and administrative skill to administer its affairs judiciously.

One who is called upon to govern a Province consisting of different types of people, high and low, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, must have had direct contact with them in one capacity or the other. Besides, he must be a man of wide sympathies, broad-outlook, and free from all biases, religious, social and racial, to be able to understand them and direct them to settle their affairs amicably amongst themselves.

Since the advent of freedom and the establishment of our own Government under the leadership of the Congress Movement, our duties and responsibilities have considerably increased and we have been facing numerous weighty problems which we have been trying to solve. Naturally the Governor of a Province should have direct experience of the working of the Congress Movement, must be a gentleman of sterling character, upright, and above all, of wide sympathies. He must have full faith in the welfare of the Common Man.

The newly-appointed Governor of Assam, possesses all these qualities and much more by virtue of his upbringing, sound system of education at home and abroad, and experience of active service in various capacities.

On his return from Cambridge and London where he qualified himself as a Barrister-at-Law he did not practise law for a long time but instead plunged himself in the active service of his own town and Province to such an extent that he made himself useful to his own people in various ways. He also edited the daily *Aj* of Benares and wrote numerous articles on the burning topics of the day. He came in contact with some of the foremost Congress men in working seriously for the freedom of his country. The great thing about him as a Congressman has been complete freedom from any kind of religious or racial bias.

TRUSTED FRIEND OF HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

In the ancient city of Benares his treatment of all the communities has always been so generous and large-hearted that he has enjoyed the complete confidence of the two chief communities, Hindus and Muslims alike. He gave equal time and attention to the members of both the communities, sympathised with their sufferings and did his best to extend his helping hand to them; and was unanimously chosen as Chairman of the Municipal Board.

Shri Sri Prakasa is one of those very few leaders in our country who not only preaches but lives a truly democratic life. To him rich and poor are alike. He makes no distinction between high and low and receives all with open arms, treats them with utmost courtesy and consideration and attends to their grievances most sympathetically. In these days of suspicion and mutual communal distrust, he holds a unique position and enjoys the confidence of the members of various communities in his own province and elsewhere.

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STATE AID TO SMALL BUSINESS

By Mr. CHARLES SAWYER,
Secretary of Commerce U. S. A.

The way that small business in the United States is helped by Government to stand on its own legs is not without interest to Indian businessmen. At the initial stage small business, which generally lacks sufficient capital and expert guidance, needs help from Government for its sustenance and stability. Helped by Government in various ways it becomes self supporting and capable of improvement. How the Government helps to improve small business in the United States is told in this article released by the U. S. Information Service.—[*Ed. I. R.*]

A Short time ago, two young Americans who had been combat pilots during World War II wrote to the United States Department of Commerce. They wanted to start a business of their own, building plywood boats. They were given information and management advice by the Commerce Department's Office of Technical Services. To-day the two former combat pilots employ 150 workers and have orders for 500 boats.

A small saw-mill operator wanted information as to how he might use the waste products of his mill. The Office of Technical Services suggested several methods with which he now is experimenting. Another small firm wanted to convert its wartime ordinance plant to wool processing. The Office of Technical Services showed the management of the firm how to do it. Today that firm employs 140 workers and is expanding its plant to accommodate 500 workers.

The United States Weather Bureau, also part of the Department of Commerce, was approached recently by a food company that could not decide what cooling and heating equipment it needed for storing potatoes. The Bureau pointed out that, where the air humidity is low, exhaust fans should be sufficient to keep the temperature at a proper level. The company saved the entire cost of cooling and heating equipment.

These are only a few examples of information provided by the United States Department of Commerce to small business enterprises. In most instances such information means savings for the small businessman. The Government's motive for providing the service is the belief that America's prosperity rests mainly in the prosperity of the millions of small concerns that make up the bulk of all business in the United States.

What is "small business?"

It is difficult, if not impossible, to find a definition that is satisfactory and final. Some define small business as a concern employing less than 250 persons; some as one employing less than 500. Its essential characteristics, however, are its lack of connection with other business, its localized activities and markets, and the fact that it is managed by its owners. On these criteria, 98 percent of all business concerns in the United States are properly classified as small business.

At the beginning of 1949, there were 3,900,000 such small business enterprises in the United States. Of these, about 1,400,000 had been started since the end of the war, 99 percent of them having fewer than 50 employees. A large number of

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new businesses were organized very rapidly in the two years immediately after the war. In 1948, with the return to more nearly normal peacetime conditions, the rate of increase dropped, but the net actual addition of new businesses in the United States last year was about 100,000.

Income data show that small businesses have been experiencing good results, not withstanding their many operating problems, such as the difficulty of getting sufficient supplies. In 1948 the aggregate income of incorporated business and professional enterprises in the United States amounted to over $25,000,000,000. This is a gain of 270 per cent over 1939 and may be compared with the rise of about 210 percent in income for the United States as a whole in both instances, of course, price increases account for part of the rise.

Of the many small enterprises started since the war, some have not succeeded. Several surveys conducted on the causes of failure led to the conclusion that the principal reason was management. This stems partly from inexperience and partly from plain lack of managerial ability. Where no business acumen exists, neither the Dapartment of Commerce nor anyone else can help. But where experience only is lacking, the Commerce Department has tried to aid in the past, is trying to aid to-day and intends to aid in the future.

A small businessman in America is faced with a situation quite different from that of the big, financially strong concern. The small businessman must size up his own market. He must solve his own book-keeping problems. He must arrange for his own advertising. He must carry on alone many other tasks for which big concerns have specialized departments.

Sometimes the small businessman gets help from his trade association, from his banker or from a local business school or college. The Department of Commerce provides management aids to these firms that cannot afford to hire market analysis, accounts, production specialists and other expert help that make up the staffs of large corporations. It provides such management aid either directly or through local organizations, such as banks, trade associations and business schools, which in turn make the information available to the local businessman. Where information is given directly, it is being done through 42 so-called field offices of the Commerce Department, distributed over the whole United States and equipped with expert staffs and informational material.

In addition to providing management aid, the Department also supplies economic information and scientific and technical advice through its Office of Technical Services, the Weather Bureau, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Bureau of Standards and other similar offices.

The Bureau of Standards, to cite an example of scientific aid, recently developed an unusual magnetic clutch. It is based on the principle that a liquid, when filled with fine particles of iron or other magnetic metal, can be made to act like a solid mass by introducing a magnetic charge. This clutch has been perfected and made available to business. More than 2,500 businessmen have come to the Bureau of Standards in Washington, D.C., to study the clutch and its possible usefulness to them.

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The Commerce Department endeavours to aid small business in the bidding for Government contracts. Many small firms do not have the contacts that enable them to know when bids are being taken. Through its field offices, the Commerce Department notifies businessmen throughout the United States about Government procurement. The field offices tell the businessman to contact the nearest Government procurement office handling the particular product on which he wants to bid. Where specifications become an unnecessary restraint on bidding, the Department endeavours to work out a change that better suits small business bidders.

By giving such attention to small business—by supplying technical, managerial and other advice, and by attempting to create a favourable economic climate in general—the United States Government sees to it that a fair share of the national income goes to the millions of independent, enterprising businessmen who constitute one of the strongest bulwarks of democracy.

The Andamans : The Once Dreaded Island

BY MR. N. K. HALDAR

FOR years the name *Kala Pani* has struck terror in our hearts. For a convict transported to the Andamans was regarded as dead. Interviews were disallowed, communication with relatives cut off. No out-sider was allowed to embark on a steamer bound for the dreaded islands without a landing permit signed and issued by the Chief Commissioner. The number of free people (excluding Government servants, British and Indian troops, military police, etc.) did not exceed a score. Leakage of news from the settlement was dealt with severely. So people abroad heard little or nothing about this abode of convicts and horrible tales were current. Mere mention of it made people shudder. Such was the *Kala Pani* of former days.

The Andamans before 1921 will not stand comparison with the Andamans of to-day. Conditions have vastly improved. Convicts have for some time now been permitted a fuller life—to run their own farms, to live in separate homes with their families. The islands to-day have hundreds of free farmers who first disembarked there from prison ships. Their sentences served, they preferred to stay on, rather than return to India, for agriculture they found to be profitable, and the life there peaceful in beautiful tropical surroundings. Startling proof of this preference was given when, years ago, some officious politicians succeeded in inducing the Government of India to direct that four exiles from this "Devil's Island," where they were "rotting" should be repatriated. That is the stock term. The ordinary criminal serves his sentence; the so-called "political prisoner" invariably "rots in jail." When this surprising order was communicated to their leader, he replied at once: "Tell the Government that if we are repatriated we will sue the Secretary of State for Rs. 30,000." Small wonder that he should have thus spurned a seemingly attractive offer. The truth was that he had become a prosperous husbandman, ran a lucrative plantation and owned a large herd of cattle.

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The Andamans was known to traders from the earliest times. It first appears in the Arab notices of the century. The name, Andamans, is of hoary descent, probably deriving from Handuman, the Malaya variant for Hanuman. The islands were thus presumably the abode of the monkey tribes of Hindu mythology or of the savage aboriginal antagonists of the Aryan immigrants into India.

From a remarkable collection of early Arab records on India and China in the middle of the 8th century, which represents the impressions of mariners of those days, we find that "the inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black, with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful·····They go naked and have no boots If they had, they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are windbound and have exhausted their provision of water, touch here and apply to the natives for it; in some cases the crews fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

The age-old charge of cannibalism against the islanders has been very persistent but is denied by the islanders themselves and is now, and probably has always been, untrue. In any case, for the past forty years at least they have shown a greater degree of friendliness towards ship-wrecked crews except perhaps in the south and west of Little Andamans and North Sentinel Island.

The Andamans compromise a group of 204 islands lying in the Bay of Bengal about 590 miles from the western coast of Burma. The farther and south-eastern end of the Great Nicobar is about 150 miles from the Sumatra Island facing the Straits Settlement. Thus the Andamans are a natural gateway to India from the East.

The archipelago was India's penal settlement from 1358 to 1945 when the Government of India decided to close the present colony and planned the development of the islands' resources. In the years immediately before the war the settlement was being gradually discontinued, the islands being left to develop unfettered. The Government of India's recent announcement of its decision to encourage large-scale colonization not only of agriculturists but also of the educated middle-class from the maintained will be popular.

Quite apart from strategic considerations, the archipelago is important economically also. It has immense undeveloped potential resources. The Andaman forests present a luxuriantly green vista of trees and foliage. The banian and the almond, the ebony, the *sundri* and the populat, the redwood and the iron-tree which turns the edge of the axe, are all found in abundant profusion and in beautiful confusion with cotton trees, screw pines and arborescent euphorbias. Further, in addition to lovely bamboos, the mangrove is of prolific growth, inhabiting the low-lying pestilential swamps between the hills and giving shelter to the loveliest orchids imaginable. On the flats in certain islands, paddy, sugar-cane, turmeric and tobacco flourish if expertly cultivated. The "Andaman teak", delicately red as rosewood, is familiar to us as a fine specimen of timber in popular demand for furniture, doors and windows, reapers for rafters and so forth.

After the Malabar Moplah rebellion of the 'twenties the question of colonizing the islands was considered and a deputation

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was sent there from Madras, but problems then present in regard to health, living conditions, transport and supply led the deputation to advice against the project. But the metamorphosis which has subsequently taken place provides strikingly encouraging contrast to the conditions which obtained in the settlement at the time of the Jail Committee's visit in 1919-1920.

Since 1921, hundreds of families have emigrated from India and Burma and have contributed much towards the great reformation and prosperity. Elaborate measures are afoot to eradicate malaria; jungles have been cut, swamps and creeks reclaimed by dredgers; malaria has vanished as an epidemic and the death-roll shows a steady decrease. Those who have hitherto conjured up visions of extreme torridity in these regions will learn with pleased surprise that in the Ross Islands, on which are Government House, the barracks, a hospital, a club and other amenities, the temperature seldom rises above 94 degrees in the summer, without a refreshing shower. The sea breeze at night is equally refreshing. Humidity is not worse than in Bombay or Calcutta at its worst. The annual rainfall averages about 120 inches but the downpours are not always torrential. Perennial water streams maintain a continuous supply of water for irrigation in the dry season.

Living conditions on the mainland vary little except in some villages verging on the sea. There are dispensaries and hospitals at almost every important point. Sea-bathing and fishing are a principal attraction today. The scenery is everywhere beautiful and varied. The coral beds of the more secluded islets are conspicuous for their exquisite assortment of colours. The harbours have been compared to Killarney, and no doubt they recall the British Lakes. One view of Port Blair Harbour is strongly reminiscent of Derwentwater as seen from the Keswick end.

If, within living memory, barren, desolate countries like Abyssinia could be made habitable, if Sumatra, Java, Borneo and many other islands scattered between the Equator and Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn could be made similarly habitable, so, emphatically, can the Andamans. With the progress of civil aviation communications have been vastly speeded up and settlers need no longer feel exiled.

The Government's new settlement scheme merits close study and sturdy co-operation for, under this new dispensation, the "Devil's Island" of the past may well blossom into a miniature "Hawaii" in the Bay of Bengal.

TO DEATH

Tarry a while, O Death, I cannot die
While yet my sweet life burgeons with its spring;
Fair is my youth, and rich the echoing boughs
Where dhadikulas sing.

Tarry a while, O Death, I cannot die
With all my blossoming hopes unharvested,
My joys ungarnered, all my songs unsung,
And all my tears unshed.

Tarry a while, till I am satisfied
Of love and grief, of earth and altering sky;
Till all my human hungers are fulfilled,
O Death, I cannot die!

—*Sarojini Devi*

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PROTECTION AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS

B. C. G. VACCINATION

Doubts have been expressed in the press as to the efficacy of the B. C. G. Vaccination and demands made for further research and experiments by competent bodies before Government embarked on Mass Vaccination. The United Nations International Tuberculosis Campaign in India has issued a pamphlet on B. C. G. Vaccination wherein it claims that the Tuberculin tests and the vaccination are perfectly harmless. The pamphlet observes:

TUBERCULOSIS is a contagious disease which is very serious in its consequences. The infection is almost universal in any civilized country, practically everyone living in cities like Madras being infected before the age of twenty. Such natural infection generally increases our resistance against tuberculosis, though not equally in all cases. So the majority of the infected will overcome the infection, but in a considerable number of cases, the infected person will develop real tuberculosis disease. Any person infected by T. B. will become a positive reacher to tuberculin. Therefore, the tuberculin tests can make out whether a person has had such a previous infection or not. It could not beforehand be told whether a person by the natural infection will get a real disease or only an immunity against tuberculosis. But we know that the infection will have a fatal effect in great many cases.

By the B. C. G. Vaccination we are able to create the same kind of immunity, but in a perfectly harmless way and without the risk that some might get tuberculous disease by it. For B. C. G. vaccination it will be necessary to exclude all who already have been infected and in that way have got an immunity. This can be done by the tuberculin tests. Tuberculin is a protein extracted from killed tubercle-bacilli. This extract is called P.P.D. (Purified Protein Derivative).

Three days after the injection of tuberculin, the reaction will be read. A little swelling like a mosquito bite where the inoculation has been given indicates a positive reaction. If there is nothing to be seen it is a negative reaction.

If a person reacts negatively to one tuberculin unit then he will be tested with the second test which contains 10 units in one tenth of a c.c. If after three days, the person reacts negatively to 10 t. u. then he will be tested with the third test which contains 100 t. u. in one-tenth of a c.c. If the person still reacts negatively even to the 100 tuberculin unit it shows that he has no immunity against tuberculosis and he therefore needs the protection the vaccination can give him. People reacting possitively do not require B. C. G.

The vaccination will be done with B.C.G. vaccine of which one-tenth of a c.c. will be injected into the skin of the left upper arm. Three weeks later there will appear, where the inoculation has been given, a painless nodule of the size of a pin-head. After six weeks it will have grown to the size of a pea and very rarely ulcerate (open up). After ten weeks the nodule or the little ulcer will have healed up spontaneously. There will only remain a scar 2-3 m. m. in diameter. The vaccinated person now has the protection without having run the risk of getting tuberculous disease. During these weeks he will not be more susceptible to tuberculosis than previously.

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The tuberculin tests and the vaccinations are perfectly harmless. There are no reactions whatever following the injections, no fever or the like, and you can attend the school, partake in sports, bathe, etc.

The vaccine is produced by an expert in the special B.C.G. vaccine laboratory at the King Institute, Madras, under the control of the World Health Organisation. It consists of non-virulent bovine tubercle-bacilli, the strain which was discovered by Professors Calmette and Guerin, in Paris in 1908. Therefore it is called Bacilli Calmette Guerin—B.C.G.

By 1947, 10,000,000 persons have been vaccinated with B. C. G. throughout the whole world. In the past 15 years, in Scandinavia alone 1,000,000 children have been vaccinated.

From all parts of the world, Tuberculosis Specialists and Bacteriologists, who have been worknig in this vaccination agree that it is completely harmless. Until now, not a single case has been reported where a person has got tuberculosis as a result of B.C.G. vaccination. The last 15 years' scientific work with B.C.G. has proved that the mortality rate in tuberculosis in all communities can be reduced by at least 4/5 by B.C.G. Vaccination.

In India 500,000 persons die every year of tuberculosis. This big toll could be reduced to at least 100,000 per year by B.C.G. Vaccination.

An example of the effectiveness of B.C.G. vaccination is provided by Copenhagen where in 1943, there was a tuberculosis epidemic in a College caused by an unsuspected open case of tuberculosis in a teacher. Of 130 naturally positive students four got tuberculosis, of 133 B.C.G. vaccinated students two got tuberculosis, but of 105 not vaccinated, negative reactors 37 got tuberculosis.

THE ECLIPSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

BY NISSIM EZEKIEL

TO those who think and attempt to be honest in their thought, there is no solace in the efforts of humanity's representatives to maintain peace. Frankly, humanity no longer trusts its representatives, and the periodic change in their personnel which is provided for, in some countries, by the machinery of political democracy, does not undermine this scepticism. Our anxiety is fundamental and deep-rooted. The failures of our time, in politics and in other spheres are complete and decisive. Even those who would reassure us do not commit themselves beyond the unconsciously ironic statement that there will be no war *for the present.* Even a modicum of faith is made impossible for the individual by the organised and apparently invincible indifference of institutions and authority to his fate or his inclinations. In the tragedies of the past, the individual was involved: he felt his responsibility: he studied his choices: he could act easily and with hope. In the tragedy of the twentieth century, the individual is eclipsed.

This has been attributed to a variety of causes. The clear shapes of innumerable prevalent ideologies provide persuasive,

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if partial, analysis. More independent thought has probed into the essential character of industrial society. The unavoidable drawbacks of civilisation have been condemned or championed. Considerable polemic has been expended upon the consequences of religious retreats and a bewildering variety of panaceas are ceaselessly offered to the unhappy individual, a product and victim of his time.

Products of our time we cannot help being, but must we invariably be its victims also? Is there no starting point for individual effort that will not be engulfed finally in the meshes of international organisation? Is it necessary to wait till a sufficient number of people (and how many will be sufficient?) have absorbed the difficult fruit of modern knowledge? Is there no sphere in which heroism can be practised by the common man without impossible demands being made upon his unequipped intellect?

There is such a starting point, there is such a potential sphere of human effort where the individual can act immediately and fruitfully. It is not necessary to sign a petition or join a procession, organise a new group of merge into a mass movement, though all these may be done according to one's lights. The starting point is moral. The effort is towards wholeness.

Anticipating the reader's predilictions and commitments, it may be confessed that this may seem too abstract or too simple. It may be found unoriginal. At best it may be denied awareness of the social sciences and the complexity of modern society. its evolution and its present condition. Let the reader give me another chance.

It is not necessary to polarise approaches to the individual between Anarchism and Marxism. The common man does not understand either. He cannot. To simplify beyond a certain point—which is soon reached—in order to popularise ideas, is to vulgarise. No system of thought which claims the allegiance of man can ever hope to be grasped in its many ramifications by all and sundry. This is the source of the ideologists' weakness. To give up that hope, on the other hand, is to degenerate into cynicism and opportunism where the masses are concerned. These are the blatant features of both communism and fascism. The dilemma is complete when we realise that movements with sounder values and more upright political practice cannot be heard above the din of party strife. What can the individual do?

It is because the revelation of the obscured obvious tends to startle, that some readers may be surprised at my thesis: that the individual can escape most dangers of the modern world simply by being an individual. This is actually not as simple as it sounds. For it would require the assertion of qualities that constitute the central values of culture. They will prove in practice, as they have in the past, a thousand times less vulnerable to the assaults of insidious forces than the most thorough-going education, which is overwhelmingly cerebral.

This is so, because, in the final analysis, it is character that can defeat evil and not merely the wider dissemination of modern knowledge. That is not to discount the latter but to put it in its proper place *vis-a-vis* the common man. Tolerance,

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gentleness, co-operation and honesty are not after all a necessary outcome of intellectualism. They are solid virtues which are desperately needed even in the smallest affairs of life. The individual can act on big principles, even if he cannot act in a big way. He can be persuaded to do so by example and precept; but he will be repelled if he is told that nothing less than a strenuous programme of higher studies can fit him for the demands and responsibilities of present-day civic life.

The role of the intellectual is to create, brick by brick, the tradition which will inspire such conduct. Unfortunately, he generally remains anchored to the belief which isolates him from society, that only intellectuals can remake the world. It is a belief which the modern intellectual is peculiarly prone, causing his thought to soar uncontrollably into the envisaged future of his dreams. Cut off from the realities of human nature and social forces, he can only rage against the world which has left him lonely. Heroic are those who preserve their sanity even in this typical condition but it is even more heroic to return to earth and begin again the task of understanding the over-all human situation.

In parenthesis, it may be added, that the first step in this return is to conquer the incapacity to visualise a human being as anything but an intellectual. It is a richer combination of developments than the merely mental, which makes certain people the salt of the earth, wherever they may be, whatsoever, their condition and however circumscribed their intellectual attainments. If they live unto themselves because the individual is ineffective in the crisis of our time, then indeed is all lost. But it need not be so. Though not altogether like a catalytic agent, yet acting in a reasonably comparable way the idividual *can* produce miraculous chemical effects on the lurid mixtures of the modern age.

To emphasise the moral endeavour that is possible in limited spheres of human relationship is not necessarily to by-pass the baffling problems of modern social life. But one must begin somewhere. One must at least do what is immediately possible. To squirm before the overwhelming confusion of our times is not heroism; one cannot help it. On the other hand, integral living on however small a scale lends a moral authority to the individual which is heavily at a discount all over the world. That is why, intellectual analysis, however skilful, makes so little impression on the people. Our salvation, it may safely be predicted, will not come from the Encyclopædia Brittanica but from words as simple and direct as those of the Sermon on the Mount.

"To do the useful thing, to say the courageous thing, to contemplate the beautiful thing; that is enough for one man's life." (T. S. Eliot). This is not a formula for solving political problems. But even political problems are solved by human beings and not the abstractions called "social forces". The quality of the individual life remains, therefore, a matter of crucial importance. The individual is eclipsed, atleast partially because he deserves to be. If he will accept the responsibility instead of throwing all the blame on "forces" and "institutions", he still stands a reasonable chance of asserting himself.

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POVERTY AND CHARITY ORGANIZATION

By URMILA SRIVASTAVA

THE concept of poverty is relative. Numerous definitions have been formulated with a view to connote the essence of this concept but they are too vague. Either they mean too much or too little. Nevertheless, it is a condition of maladjustment as reflected in the individual's mind from the point of view of his standard of living. Hence the difficulty of arriving at a positive definition of poverty. We, however, generally regard people as poor when they lack the common necessities of life such as proper food, adequate clothing and shelter. Any increase in medical or educational expenses will be possible only at the cost of making inroads upon the basic requirements of life. A much better way, then, to define poverty would be to discuss the various types of poverty.

Classical investigations into poverty have been conducted by Booth in London and Rowntree in York. They have respectively estimated that 30% of the people in London and 27.84% of the population of York below the servant-keeping class were in poverty. The causes responsible for the mass of misery, oppression, slavery degradation and exploitation—all associated with poverty—are of a varying nature including both subjective and objective. The objective causes include insufficient natural resources, unhealthful climatic conditions, defective governmental machinery, bad industrial organisation characterised by unemployment, irregularity of employment and seasonal work, immobility of labour and unhealthful and dangerous occupations; fluctuations in industry and a host of other social, economic and physical causes. On the other hand, the subjective causes of poverty are such as the frail and fragile physique of the individual, lack of foresight and wisdom, intemperance and immorality, old age and the breakdown of the family institution. All these furnish the workshop of the devil of poverty.

With these preliminary remarks we discuss the different types of poverty. The dependent class in the modern social organisation is distinguished by four different types of persons. There are the normally dependents including the children and the aged. This is the natural cycle of poverty starting from the young ones and ending with the aged. What provision are we going to make for this class? That is the crux of the problems. Shall we open charitable institutions to accommodate the old people? Perhaps self-respect will not bear it out. Persons who earned their livelihood in their younger days with the sweat of their brow should suffer public humiliation in their older days by attaching themselves to poor-houses, simply because they could not spare a handsome amount of money for the rainy day. The State should pass Old Age Pension Acts to relieve the financial bondage of this class. About the children whose parents are alive steps should be taken to rehabilitate their own home and render them financial assistance. But those children whose parents could not survive the ordeal of life's journey and left them to the care and mercy of the society, should be adopted by responsible families. For them the system of 'placing at home' is

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best. In Russia, of course the children are the first charge upon the State. Further, the State should also look after the prisoners' children. As for the workmen's children, in Russia, they are educated at the expense of the State, but elsewhere, specially in civilised countries, they are being provided with education and other facilities by the State institutions.

Then there are the physically dependent due to insanity, epilepsy, feeblemindedness, sickness etc. Sickness Insurance Scheme is the best remedy for them. Then again there are many who meet with accidents. For them the Workmen's Compensation is the best remedy. So far as the deaf, dumb and blind are concerned, now-days, the State responsibility is being aroused.

Apart from these physically dependent there are the moral delinquents. Out of this class, some are unemployable. It is the duty of the State to segregate them and to support them by means of State agencies.

Then a large number of unemployed persons are a class by themselves. They are employable. Various suggestions have been made for them from time to time. To put them briefly, there should be Unemployment Insurance Schemes, supplementary or alternative occupations i.e., a shift from agriculture to industry, Public Works Policy of the Government, Colonisation, State-aid to industries and finally, the establishment of Employment Exchanges. How many remain unemployed because of their ignorance about the scope of employment. Therefore, it is the duty of the Government to maintain an Employment Roll and make it binding on all employing authorities to recruit their labour only through the Government Employment Exchanges. Be it noted, that these measures are not a complete panacea. Nevertheless, they will go a long way in eradicating the horrors of poverty.

In our discussion of these types of poverty, inasmuch as they are hereditary types, eugenics can extend its assistance to a fairly large extent. It can decide whether to segregate people or not. The general tendency, to-day, is to segregate them for the simple reason that if they are not segregated, the birth-rate would shoot up and the quality of population ultimately deteriorate as it must come to consist of an increasing proportion of the feeble-minded.

There is yet another suggestion, *viz.*, sterilisation. There are, however, strong prejudices against it. It is supposed to be inhuman. Then, one cannot be quite sure if its application will bear fruitful results. It is not a very practical proposition. We may, therefore, recommend a policy of segregation as against any other measures.

Such is the complexity of the problem of poverty. It is interwoven with numerous difficulties. Its textures are thorny and, therefore, repulsive. Human ingenuity is deterred, more so, when one comes to realise the limitations of any charity organisation. 'Charity organisation', wrote an American Sociologist, 'is not a panacea or cure-all'. Shall we then sit quiet and court the policy of 'masterly inactivity'? The answer must needs be in the negative. For 'poverty is both a symptom or result

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and also a cause of nearly every other kind of human ill'. So along as the social impulses of individuals are alive, charity organisations must take place; no matter how great is the magnitude or complexity of this social work.

To start with the principles of charity organisation it should be guided by a particular knowledge of cases. Mere almsgiving when it does no positive harm is usually a poor substitute for the higher charity of personal service and care. Co-operation of some experienced people is necessary to assist the distressed to form a practical plan for permanent support and for restoration to economic emancipation. For it should be crystal clear that there is more need of justice than charity.

The Elberfeld system is the ideal form of charity organisation. Under this system a thorough examination of each individual dependent is made. A careful guardianship during the period of dependence is continued and persistent efforts are made to help him regain economic emancipation. These essential requirements are furnished by a corporate body of well-qualified and experienced persons who are men of stern character but sympathetic disposition. Meetings are held to chalk out programmes. The decisions are based on a harmonious blending of various interests. The services of the professional social workers are requisitioned. The workers are saturated with lofty ideals of humanitarianism. The city is divided into sections and districts where unpaid workers, inspired by deep sense of service and care are appointed to supervise hospitals and other charitable institutions. Central records are maintained, facts and figures collected and causes of poverty investigated. In addition to this, the State initiates legislation and adopts other ameliorative measures.

Academically speaking, there are two types of charity organisation: institutional and non-institutional. The former is in-door, the latter is out-door. Institutional relief is the function of governmental agencies. But if there are private agencies they are subject to government control. Non-institutional relief is generally the function of private charity. Much can be said on behalf of either form. The arguments put forward in favour of domiciliary rather than institutional relief are that it does not intervene with family life, makes easy to discriminate between the requirements of different persons, is economical as families who are allowed out-door relief may still earn a certain amount of money and the destitution being a variable quantity, permanent establishment of work-houses is not a sound proposition. The counter arguments include that relief becomes mechanical and unsympathetic as real inspection and supervision are difficult, it is sometimes unpleasant and exercises a depressing effect on the rate of wages and finally people can be better looked in institution.

What are we to conclude then? Silverman will make us believe that 'on the whole, the advantages of out-door relief would seem to outweigh the disadvantages. In most respects out-door relief appears to be more desirable, unless conditions definitely necessitate in-door treatment'. And we may add, each is good in itself. Combine institutional with non-institutional.

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Sarojini

SAROJINI, like her great Master Gandhi, has passed away, trailing with her clouds of glory. She has joined the choir invisible. To the end she kept her pulses going true and fast. She reckoned her life "as a thing to be dashingly used and cheerfully hazarded." That is better than sinking into a slow death having outlived her usefulness and almost her enjoyment, and well nigh forgotten by a generation that thrilled to the music of her voice and the poetry of her life. The fates have been kind to her all through and she died the death she would have loved.

I have no more to give, all that was mine
Is laid, a wrested tribute, at thy shrine.
Let me depart, for my whole soul is wrung,
And all my cheerless omissions are sung;
Let me depart, with faint limbs let me creep
To some dim shade and sing me down to sleep.

She ceased to write poetry now forty years ago but "there was a poetry in her way of life, in her expression, in her attitude to life which charmed even more than the lyrical excellence of her writings." No one who came in contact with her could forget the spell of her personality—a personality that was far above anything she wrote or spoke.

Great as her talents were and undoubted her genius in many ways, one must attribute something to what Lord Haldane called the contingent in life. Two circumstances, one in early life and the other about middle age, have had a decisive influence on her life and career and shaped her destiny. One was the accident of a "bundle of her manuscripts" slipping into the hands of so discerning a critic as Edmund Gosse and the other was her association with Gandhiji soon after his return from South Africa.

Sarojini's early poems were "mere echoes of English bards". Gosse was struck by the rush and energy of her language—a gift that is fully shared by her brother Harin—but was disappointed at the result. There was something exotic in that performance. "They were western in feeling and imagery", wrote Gosse many years later. "They were founded on reminiscences of Tennyson and Shelley." He advised her to express herself in Indian imagery. No longer should she sing of Skylarks and robins and of village church bells in Sussex. The tinkle of temple bells was more in tune with her genius and the familiar scenes of our country life—the ballads of boat-swains and the palanquin bearers and the fishermen of the coromandal their joys and sorrows—were to be the theme of her songs. How gloriously she profited by that advice is now evident in the three volumes of scintillating verse she has bequeathed—The Golden Threshold, The Broken Wing and the Bird of Time—radiant with the colour and atmosphere of the sunny East.

To priests and to prophets
The joy of their creeds,
To kings and their cohorts
The glory of deeds;
And peace to the vanquished
And hope to the strong;
For me, O my master,
The rapture of song.

The other great event which had so profound an influence on her life and thought was her contact with Gandhiji. To my knowledge there are no more moving words in all literature than her eloquent tributes to the

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Mahatma. Beautiful words and thoughts that burn came spontaneously from her lips. She spoke supremely well; but she spoke so long and so continually that she was not always on top form. No speaker could and she knew it. She would have been happier singing; but the call of the country was insistent and she could not rest though the grand manner could not be sustained indefinitely. That was also a measure of her sacrifice to the cause she undertook with such earnestness and fervour.

She followed her master like a shadow wherever he went and she preached his gospel of peace and compassion with a fervour of conviction and eloquence unsurpassed in our time. She shared his prison house no less than the Government house, and apart from her own luminosity reflected something of the greatness of the master who had become a world figure. And then she laid aside her lyre for the sword of Satyagraha, and plunged

Into the strife of the throng and the tumult.

But destiny had carved for her a distinct role:

Where brave hearts carry the sword of battle
It is mine to carry the banner of song.

Sarojini died full of years and honours. She was so bubbling with life and vitality, so charming in her simple and unaffected ways, so full of mirth and laughter, that she continued to the end the same ebullient girl she was half a century ago. She grew in stature as she grew in wisdom and compassion. But the woman in her, all that was homely and loveable, her warmth and affection, her capacity for suffering and sacrifice—never deserted her. Speaking of her last hours Pandit Pant tells us that

when she came to know that a telegram was being sent to her son, she said that she did not like her son being told that she was unwell. She said; "Write to him that I am all right and send him my love."

Her deep feeling as a mother did not allow her son to be caused pain and worry on account of her health. She would rather sacrifice herself than make others suffer.

Her mother-heart and indomitable will triumphed even over her own frailty and suffering in the last hours of her earthly life.

Pandit Nehru on our Foreign Policy

Even when India was a subject country Pandit Nehru had distinguished himself as a politician of international outlook. And now that his fortune and his talents have placed him in the exalted office of India's Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs—he is proving himself quite in his element in dealing with the complex affairs of the world situation. Speaking in the Dominion Parliament the other day the Prime Minister took the opportunity to explain India's position in the context of international rivalries. What exactly is our position in the Commonwealth? Are we bound to fall in line with England in the event of war taking a definite stand in world alignment? Pandit Nehru gave answer unhesitatingly—an answer quite in keeping with our age old traditions of peace and goodwill and the recent teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. "It is only in terms of independent nations co-operating together that we can consider the problem of our association with the Commonwealth," said the Pandit.

Declaring that India's foreign policy was a policy of active neutrality, he rejected suggestions for an alliance "with this or that nation". Alliance usually involved military and other commitments which were more binding.

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Other forms of association, which are not binding, that way, but help to bring other nations together for purposes of consultation and necessary co-operation, are therefore, far more preferable than any form of alliance.

What the outcome may be, I do not know. Our policy in regard to this matter is going to be strictly determined by the Jaipur Congress resolution.

That resolution said free India would welcome free association with independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal, and the promotion of world peace. "Our main stake in world affairs is peace" said the Prime Minister, "and to see that there is racial equality, and that people, who are subjected, become free."

Touching upon India's future relationship with the Commonwealth, he said the Government proposed to adhere strictly to the Congress Party's resolution on the subject at the Jaipur session. Pundit Nehru said:

We have been associated with the Commonwealth, that used to be called the British Commonwealth of Nations, in a way which was entirely unsatisfactory, and we all fought to get out of it. I say we have completely achieved that objective of independence in practice and in theory.

Of course, changing circumstances have to be understood and interpreted in different ways, but the broad lines of policy has been laid down, namely, that India will, naturally and inevitably in a few months, become an independent Republic. (Cheers.)

We quote the precise words that the Pandit used but there should be misunderstanding of the purport of his declaration on this important issue. India is naturally more deeply and intimately interested in the fortunes of the countries adjacent to her borders. Economically as well as ethnically, and also for purposes of defence, the countries of the Far East are bound together by a sort of geographical compulsion. Events in Indonesia or Burma or Malaya are of concern to the whole Eastern bloc. It is natural therefore that these countries with Australia in the Far East, should come closer and closer together. Now, that co-operation, the Pandit declared, would be a co-operation, of independents without the least commitment upon the part of any one to the other.

The Pakistan Constitution

It was clever tactics which ultimately became a habit with the late Mr. Jinnah to wait for the Congress leaders' move in any matter and then take his own time to announce his reactions. Evidently that sensible policy—for all its betrayal of lack of initiative—is being closely followed by the top men in Pakistan to-day. Many months after the formulation of Free India's resolution on the fundamentals of the new constitution, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly has adopted the basic resolution on the form the Dominion's Constitution should take. In the Pakistan Asembly the other day, the Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan who moved the resolution said that the constitution provided that all authority should be exercised in accordance with the laws of Islam. But, he added, in their desire to build up an Islamic State, they would not ignore the right of non-Muslims.

The text of the resolution published in the Press has nothing very objectionable. "The Sovereign independent State", which it claims, has a familiar ring. The reference to the rights of the minorities is welcome. But the insistence on "the laws of Islam" whatever they may be, will still be viewed with suspicion and apprehension by non-Muslims. One would think it is an irrelevant addition to a constitution which promises equal treatment to all who owe allegiance to the State. No doubt it is a concession to the sentiment of the Mullahs who were promised the rule of the Shariat in

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those unregenerate days when the League fought for a separate Muslim State. Pakistan will find that in practice the State should line up with advanced modern democracies, if it should aspire to a proper position in the comity of Nations. It would no doubt have been wiser and better if the red rag of "Islam", smacking of medieval times and the memories of ancient vandalism had not been allowed to make inroads into a Constitution that aspires to be modern. Let us hope that in actual working the administration will be thoroughly impartial, making no distinction in the treatment of Muslims and non-Muslims.

The Socialists and the Congress

It is a welcome sign of the times that the Socialists, while deeply critical of the Congress, are alive to the danger of alligning themselves with the Communists. Whatever their differences with the Congress they are one with the parent body in this—that violence and sabotage should have no place in the Indian democracy. This was made clear by all the speakers at the recent Party Conference in Patna. Both Acharya Deo and Mr. Jaiprakash, in their speeches and actions, realise the wisdom of the Socialists playing the part of constitutional opposition in the Congress dominated government. That is a correct and understandable position.

"The plain and obvious truth," said the Acharya, "is that Congress has become a conservative force and no amount of pious declarations can change its character."

Though they have not so far expressed it, at the back of their mind they would realise as quick-witted men, that it is one thing to proclaim one's principles and ideals and another to practise them in the day to day working of a great and complicated machinery. When one day they get into power—as they fondly hope—they will know the limits of the practicable in spite of high falutin sentiments. By that time we have no doubt they will be criticised as conservatives by their then opponents.

The Future of French India

The referendum to decide the future of the French settlements in South India will take place on December 11. The decision was taken unanimously at the open session of the General Assembly of the Municipal Councils of French Indian Settlements, namely Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam. The Mayor of Pondicherry presided, and 198 out of 200 Councillors attended.

This decision of the French India General Assembly of Municipal Councils has all the appearance of a correct move. But it needs little imagination to realise that talk of referendum in a matter affecting the French or any foreign settlement in India is irrelevant. Suppose for instance that Bristol or York had come under the sway of France or Germany during one of those unfortunate periods of internecine civil wars in England. What will be their position when England came to her own? Will such settlements be tolerated by free England?

That is the point from which a question of this kind should be viewed. It is one of those self evident truths or birthright as Tilak used to call it, that India is one and indivisible and when we come to our own we cannot tolerate foreign pockets within our borders any more than England

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or France could tolerate them. Only, Indian statesman desire to accomplish this peacefully and rationally without creating heat or bitterness. Britain has quit and France and Portugal must take a leaf from Britain and quit gracefully and unconditionally. If this is not agreed to, said the Congress President, it means an invitation for a movement for such absorption. "Let us hope no such complications will arise."

Burma

Burma Government's peace offer to the Karens was in the nature of an ultimatum. But the Karens seem to be strong. *Shankar's Weekly* is not far wrong when it presents both the Burma Government and the Karens displaying their respective placards with the same words: "Offer you Separate State within our State." That means the Karens feel themselves strong enough to defy the Government and offer their own terms to the Government. Uneasy lies the new State. The situation is frankly intriguing.

India's Demand on The Dutch

At the recent session of the Security Council, India's delegate Mr. B. R. Sen, appealed to the Netherlands to reinstate Republican authority in Indonesia and declared: "The spirit of a nation cannot be broken by bayonets and bullets".

Mr. Sen made the following three demands in the Security Council of the United Nations:

1. Implementation of the resolution on Indonesia;

2. Restoration of the Republican Government at its capital, Jogjakarta within fourteen days; and

3. Report on the Jogjakarta atrocities and the situation there.

The spokesman for Pakistan declared that no nation could gain its unlawful objectives by resort to military action.

The Egyptian delegate characterised it as a new concept in international politics that one Government should decide the form and leadership of another independent country.

The Atlantic Charter

The terms of the Atlantic Pact welding North American and European nations into a great defensive bloc to fight aggression in Europe or North America by collective armed action were revealed to the world on March 18, after eight months' negotiations.

The pact will bind each of the signatories to go to the aid of any member attacked, with such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force.

They also agree to consult together in the event of a threat to the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties.

The Chinese Affair

High Government Military sources are increasingly pessimistic over hopes of a negotiated settlement in China's long drawn out war as heavy Communist troop movements are reported from the north bank of the Yangtse river.

Continued Communist preparations for a new offensive and the Communists' North Shensi Radio attack on Kuomintang officials were responsible for this feeling.

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

COLLECTED POEMS. Three series. Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex St., Strand, London, W. C. 2.

The three booklets in the Series form an attractive anthology of poems selected with due care for the use of readers, young and old. The young will appreciate their introduction to the beautiful world of poetry and the old will recollect with pleasure many a poem made familiar to them in their early studies in schools. In the nature of things, an anthology can at best be a matter of personal taste. We have in this series a collection of verses varied enough to suit the taste of all readers. Recent poetry and contemporary verse must appeal to a considerable body of the poetry reading public.

STATISTICS. By Y. D. Kesker M.A, B.Com., F. S. S.—Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Buildings, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Price Rs. 10-8-0.

Very few books have so far been written on statistical methods and their applications to different branches of scientific knowledge. This book of Prof. Keskar lucidly written with numerous illustrations serves admirably as on elementary introduction to those who have no knowledge of higher mathematics and desire to acquire a rudimentary concept of statistical methods and their application to Social Sciences. In the first few chapters the author has given an introductory note to the subject and has explained in detail the principles of conducting statistical investigations, the census and sample surveys. Beginning with the simplest type of diagrams two chapters have been devoted for explaining the preparation of different kinds of charts and graphs. In the subsequent chapters various mathematical formulae for measuring location, dispersion, showness and correlation have been mentioned and the methods of computing them for observed data have been profusely illustrated with a large number of worked examples. Besides a chapter dealing with the precautions that have to be taken in the interpretation of Statistical data, separate chapters have been devoted for treating the topics of interpellation, time-series and index numbers. The original addition to the book is the last chapter where the author bas given a brief historical review of the statistical material in India and a list of the Statistics available in Government publications and defects in them. The author has taken throughout great care in making all the topics included in this volume an easy and clear reading to non-mathematical beginners of the subject. In addition, a large number of exercises, drawn mainly from the University Examination papers, bave been included at the end of each chapter, for the benefit of students using the book.

This book, besides being a useful introduction for all those who wish to make an intelligent study of Statistical Methods and their uses in various spheres of life, will serve as a good text book for those courses having their syllabus limited to the topics included in this volume.

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HE WALKED ALONE. Poem By N. V. Thadani, D Litt. Bharat Publishing House, Kashmere gate, Delhi.

The sequel of India's Independence wrought a crisis in the soul of Gandhi. He gave a reluctant approval to the sundering of the country in the hope that it would be the final act of appeasement of Jinnah and peace would prevail over the land. Jinnah's continued aggression and hatred gave many provocations. One of their effects was the fading of loyalty to Gandhi and Gandhism. The sudden flare up at Calcutta and its continuation in Naokali and Bihar created a situation which the new infant Government at Delhi could not effectively control. The Mahatma could give no advice nor did he seek any. Possibly he was himself awaiting guidance and light. He finally determined upon a final act of supreme sacrifice in what Rajaji calls a unilateral act of love, and staff in hand ventured into the danger spots. The people laughed at him but he wrought a miracle and saved further slaughter of men. An unknown destiny called him to Delhi where he met his tragic end. The book under review is the story in verse of the last sojourn of the Mahatma from stormy Calcutta and ravaged Naokali to New Delhi where the bullet of Godse relieved him from the burden of the further guidance of the country. The account is a gripping one. Besides the narration of events, the messages of the Mahatma and most of the verses of the Bhagavat Gita which he loved are rendered in happy verses. The finale is graphic. But lilt and and rhyme are not adequate for the pathos of the tragedy. A new measure could have been ventured.

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR PEACE 1920-1946. Edited by Ethelwyn Best and Bernard Pike. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8 sh. 6d.

The volume under review is an admirable summary of the activities of International Voluntary Service for peace, which is will known as the I. V. S. P. Organisations. Since 1920, after the first war, constructive work is being carried on in many countries for the benefit of the distressed communities and the reconciliation of the peoples. The book describes the experiments in this direction. Its pioneers began the work in Northern France.

Psychologists have recognised to-day that the war and the combative instincts in man cannot be banished by the magical wand of the politician. The aggressive instinct in man has to be sublimated into constructive channels. Pacifism is not mere refusal to fight. Peace is the product of several factors. It is based not on mere material and political a rrangement. We cannot have an improved society with unimproved men. Even good means turn out to be bad in the hands of evil men. We need to re-orient human conduct and not organise on mass scale. The need of the hour is individual remaking and not wild and exciting social experiments. The most valuabte part of the book is the six appendices at the end of the book, dealing with different aspects of the I. V. S. P.

A famous author touring the jungles of Central India came to a Gond village. "You people in the forests are certainly lost to civilisation," he observed to the headman.

"We don't mind being lost," was the reply: "It's being discovered that worries us."

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

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March 1. Kolhapur merges with Bombay from to-day.

—Dr. Evatt urges need for regional groups.

March 2. Death of Sarojini Naidu, Governor of U. P., in Lucknow.

—Dr. Sita Ram appointed India's Envoy in Pakistan.

March 3. Central Budget debate in Parliament opens.

—China Peace Committee formed.

March 4. Pandit Nehru addresses Federation of Chambers of Commerce at Delhi.

—President Truman invites Nehru to U.S.A.

March 5. Soviet Foreign Minister, Vyshinsky, replaces Molotov.

—Sardar's call to the Sikhs.

March 6. Socialists in Conference at Patna.

—Pandit Nehru explains India's offer to Burma.

March 7. Parliament approves Defence grant.

—Gandhi Fund Trust deed signed at Delhi.

March 8. Reuter Mission arrives in India.

—Dr. Sun, Chinese Prime Minister, resigns.

March 9. Mr. Divakar addresses Standing Committee of A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference in Bombay.

—Tripartrite talks in Delhi on Kashmir truce plan.

March 10. Bill to abolish discrimination in favour of Europeans and Americans in criminal law introduced in Parliament.

March 11. Mr. V. P. Menon in Ernakulam: Talks on Travancore-Cochin integration.

March 12. Karens fighting in Mandalay.

March 13. S. I. R. Labour Union abandons strike.

—Burma welcomes foreign aid.

March 14. Reuter delegation in Madras.

—Mr. V. P. Menon of the States Ministry explains Cochin-Travancore Union at a Press Conference in Madras.

March 15 The Dutch accept Canadian proposal in respect of Indonesian issue.

March 16. Parliament votes finance demands.

—Communists in complete control of Mandalay.

March 17. Parliament votes grant to Home Ministry after hearing Sardar Patel's account of his stewardship.

March 18. Reuter delegation in Delhi.

—Text of North Atlantic agreement published.

March 19. Nehru refutes Frontier Government's baseless charges of helping Red Shirts.

March 20—Committee of Municipal Councillors in French India draft conditions for Referendum.

March 21. Admiral C. W. Nimitz appointed U. N, Administrator of the Kashmir plebiscite.

March 22. Mr. Eden addresses Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi.

March 23. Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit appointed envoy in U. S.

March 26. U. N. Commission invites Dutch and Republicans for talks.

March 27. At Press Conference in Hyderabad, Gen. Chaudhury announces elections by year end.

March 28. National Planning Committee dissolved.

March 29. Forestry and Timber utilisation Conference for Asia and the Pacific meets at Mysore.

March 30. Syrian Commander-in-Chief becomes Dictator following coup.

—Sardar Patel inaugurates greater Rajasthan at Jaipur.

March 31. Congress Party Leadership Election in Madras. Mr. Omandur withdraws.

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

PAN-ASIAN BLOC

Mr. Edward J. Byng, writing in the *New York World Telegram*, says that while the conference of 19 Asian States in New Delhi ostensibly devoted itself to the Indonesian situation, it actually laid the foundation for a gigantic Pan-Asian Bloc, three times as big in territory as the U.S.A. and seven times as populous. "The two rivals, America and Russia," says Dr. Byng,

are likely to discover that the new born Pan-Asia, inhabited by half of the world's population and increasingly conscious of its tremendous power, soon may begin to eclipse in influence both the Cominform and the North Atlantic group of nation.

Nothing could be more illustrative of this prospect than the imposing roster of States represented at the recent meeting in New Delhi, which brought together leaders from India, Burma, Siam, China, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, the Phillippines, a string of Mohammedan countries including Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, and the member States of the Arab League, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Yemen-Syria, the Lebanon and Egypt, part of whose territory lies on the Asian side of the Suez Canal.

Dr. Byng points out that the combined area of three countries is about 9,300 square miles, that their population exceeds a billion and that the guiding principle of the new Pan-Asia is expressed by the originally Japanese coined motto "Asia for the Asians."

To the amazement of the world's most seasoned diplomats, the recent Pan-Asiatic deliberations in New Delhi united in perfect harmony the representatives of well over 320,000,000 Hindus, the 400-odd million Confucianists, Buddists and Taoists of China; over 60,000,000 Buddhists in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Indo-China, some 200,000,000 Mohammedans of Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Philippines and the Arab countries and 30,000,000 native Christians in the Philippines, China, India and other Asian countries.

The master stroke was the recent liquidation of the dispute between India and Mohammedan Pakistan over the destiny of mainly Muslim-inhabited but Hindu governed Kashmir.

This triumph, Dr. Byng attributes directly to the ability of Pandit Nehru, who "may go down in history as the 'founding father' of Pan Asia." He points out, however, that no balanced appraisal can overlook still existing points of weakness, that the war against Communists in China is not yet over, that Indonesia, Malaya and Indo-China are in rebellion and guerilla fighting.

The vital question of Pan-Asian reaction to both Russian and Western politics cannot be understood, he says, without realising the profound influence of religion in almost every thought of Asia's millions. This results in a deep set aversion to what Asians regard as a materialistic interpretation of life. It is, he asserts, mainly for this reason that the major part of Asia is inaccessible to the doctrines of Marxism and especially to the irreligious attitude of Communism. However, for the same reason, he concludes, "the masses of Pan-Asia decidedly object to the industrialised pattern of European and American life."

THE INDIAN READERS' DIGEST

The Gandhi Memorial number of *The Indian Readers' Digest*, (Re. 1-8.), Bombay, is packed with well selected literature on Gandhi which must prove useful to any one interested in the history of these stirring times. The "Quit India" speech and other historic documents of the Gandhian era find their appropriate place in a volume which is replete with articles on the master and his doings by contemporary writers. There are numerous illustrations depicting various phases of the Mahatma's life and activities. It will doubtless prove an admirable book of reference in after times.

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DEVELOPMENT OF INVENTIONS

The patent system has been the backbone of all modern industrial enterprise in industrially advanced countries. It has however not been used in this country to the same extent. There are many reasons for this, says *The Tanner*, the brightly got-up monthly of Bombay devoted exclusively to the tanning industry and other allied trades:

(1) General ignorance among the people, giving rise to fear that their invention will be known to others who will take undue advantage of the information. This is the main reason why many inventions are not patented in this country.

(2) General inadequacy of machinery popularising and policing the patent system.

The present provisions of the act require that a patentable invention should satisfy the following essential requirements:

(*a*) it should be a manner of new manufacture.

(*b*) it should involve an inventive step.

(*c*) it should have utility, and, (*d*) it should not be contrary to law or morality or to the hurt of trade.

Many an invention is to-day completely lost, as details of these were never set down anywhere. The increase in use of the patent office, says *The Tanner*, will minimise to a great extent the loss of scientific and technical information. It would doubtless be a very long process to educate our technicians and make them realise the utter harmlessness in making their processes public. In view of the increasing desire of the Government to make the results of research available to industry, the patent system should be popularised so that technical information is not lost. For

It would encourage the taking of risks by business men in developing new inventions and give a much fairer prospect of success to Indian inventors who have no commercial resources of their own and have hitherto failed to obtain adequate commercial backing. It would moreover, have a particularly significant role in promoting the utilization of technical advances, in the field of cottage and small industries.

OCCIDENTAL CULTURE IN INDIA

"Free India is not the product of an exclusively Oriental culture, observes Srimati Lila Ray in an article in the current issue of the *Aryan Path*. She says that Occidental culture has made a permanent and ineradicable contribution to the achievement of that freedom; it is an integral part of it.

Aryan, Islamic and Western thought have combined like atoms of Hydrogen and Oxygen to form the waters of her liberation. Each has made its just contribution, none dominates, and a new element has emerged, an element which reflects the essential unity of the human mind and gives rise to a broader humanism than the world has ever before sought to practise. It restores us to a sense of the uniting bond of man's estate and compasses within its scope the best of all regional cultures. The existence of this new world tradition is as indisputable a fact as the oneness of human destiny and the indivisibility of our globe despite criss-crossing lines of latitude and longitude.

Modern India, by reason of her geographical and historical circumstances, has been the theatre for a mighty confluence of cultures that has made of her a world in miniature.

All these diverse and often warring influences have played their part in the formation of India's present character and the characters of her great leaders. Only in such a world and in such a country could a man of Gandhiji's stature have been born. In him, integrated into a harmonious personality, we see a perfect and complete synthesis of all the composite factors and in him and through him has come into being this humanism of which we have spoken, as a new and unpredictable element in world affairs.

In bringing out the human quest for values, she continues:

What mattters to the common man all the world over is the presence or absence of honesty and kindness, justice and order and honour in his daily life, not ideological arguments with hair-splitting niceties.

Free India faces a World divided against itself as never before. Her new humanism is threatened with disruption within and without. The new world tradition of humanism, born in India and incarnate in Gandhiji, holds out the hope to us of such a country.

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COMMONWEALTH TIES

The Conservative *Sunday Times* calls for fresh efforts to build up the British Commonwealth so that "India and others will strive to remain in it." It should not be whittled away, it adds, "so that they will have no formal scruples in doing so."

The paper goes on to say that Pandit Nehru's "renewed insistence that India will soon be an independent republic reminds us that the Commonwealth faced a crisis in its affairs which cannot be evaded by blind-eye tactics or ambiguous formulae such as those the British Government employed to wrap up our relations with Ireland,"

True, when Pandit Nehru goes on to say that only in terms of independent nations co-operating could India associate with the Commonwealth, he merely paraphrases the present Commonwealth creed: nor should it be impossible to find forms to enable a republic to stay in the association, provided the adjustment of form does not imply destruction of the substance.

It is, however, in that very proviso that the impending crisis lies. If form is to change, we are told, the substance of the connection must be reasserted.

To discard the Crown as the symbol of the overall, integral, family connection, with nothing comparable to replace it, would be to throw away the substance for the shadow, and to create a Commonwealth to which no one would see much purpose in belonging.

The British Government's handling of the Irish issue justifies grave uneasiness as to how they will tackle the larger and more vital problem which 1949 will cast in their lap.

There are some who believe that, if the Atlantic Pact is followed by others, covering the Pacific, Mediterranean, African and Indian Ocean areas, the Commonwealth can be allowed to fade out.

That is a profound error; an error in psychology, for the Commonwealth has an emotional appeal which these more mechanical and self-interested groups just lack; an error in politics, for the Commonwealth connection is different in kind, less binding in pledges, more intimate and continuous in substance; and an error in geography, for the Commonwealth overlaps these regions and helps indispensably to hold them together."

NOISE AND THE HUMANS

How do programmes like "Music While You Work" speed up industrial production? Dr. Jean Fumiere, 40-year-old French sound engineer, announced the other day that he had found a partial explanation, reports *News Review*.

Cows are easier to milk when listening to music. Ancient Greeks and Oriental peoples realised the importance of sound and perfected their own musical modes. African Natives use wailing, discordant tones to help them in their work.

In modern life, improvements in sound-proofing cannot keep up with the nerve-racking noise of traffic and machinery. But man finds silence almost as intolerable. The silence of the countryside can become oppressive, considers Dr. Fumiere, and even the trickle of a brook is welcome. Hermits who live in silence are often "queer."

Following up these findings, he discovered some two years ago that blood pressure changed when different musical records were played on a gramophone. He has since evolved a picturesque theory that "nuclear filaments" in each living cell oscillate at a very high frequency under the influence of cosmic rays given off by the stars.

Dr. Fumiere tried to discover what happens when a wave of exactly the same length as those put out by a human cell is emitted by an apparatus he has invented. He found that cells of different organs give off different waves. "The wave lengths are so small," he explained, "that I have no real method of measuring them. I have ascertained, however, that waves about a millimetre in length give stomach pains to all in the vicinity of the instrument, while others give headaches."

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MIXED MARRIAGES

'Don't marry out of your Church, or you'll regret it all your life'. So all Roman Catholic priests and many Protestant ministers warn their flocks. But most young people in love believe that love will conquer everything—including church dogma, ritual and customs, writes David Dallin in *The New Leader*.

To find out what actually happens in marriages between people of different faiths, Sociology Professor Murray H. Leiffer of the Methodist Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Ill. conducted a survey in a 'middle-class, densely occupied community in a large American city'. His findings, published in the *Christian Century*, make a more detailed warning to young lovers.

Silent Husbands. With help from 22 churches, Professor Leiffer & associates interviewed one or both partners in 743 'mixed' marriages. More than one-third (271) were marriages of Lutherans and Roman Catholics; marriages of non-Lutheran Protestants to Catholics (209) were almost equaled in number by inter-denominational marriages between Protestants (206).

The commonest adjustment to a mixed marriage, says Leiffer, is for one or both of the partners to stop taking an interest in church.

Of the 444 men who were involved in a Roman Catholic-Protestant marriage, 110 no longer had even a nominal connection with their old church and 124 had not attended church for a year. Of the 449 wives involved in such marriages....60 claimed no church affiliation and 91 had not attended church for a year.'

Usually it is the husband who sacrifices his religion on the altar of marital concord.

INDIAN STATESMANSHIP

Tributes to Indian statesmanship are paid by the leading weekly Review *Economist*. In an article headed "Indian Rampart," the Review says that the last three months have seen striking changes in views taken by the outside world of India and the Government of Pandit Nehru.

1. Moscow seemed to have decided quite recently that a sinister "third Power" is arising in Asia, the strength and stability of which might offset what has been achieved by the Communists in China and Burma.

2. London has watched with growing admiration and relief the moderation and skill with which Indian Statesmen have steered through the cross currents of Asian nationalism rising from Indonesia to the Middle East.

3. Other Commonwealth capitals have become increasingly aware of Delhi as a centre of power, around which some regional organization for the countries of the Indian Ocean might grow.

On the question of India's ability to confront the Communist challenge the *Economist* says:

Communism cannot be eliminated by police repression alone, but, at any rate, the boldness with which the Congress leaders have grasped the nettle shows their awareness of the danger.

Pandit Nehru's latest statement leaves no doubt that India cannot go back on the decision to become an independent Republic, the *Economist* continued but he also made clear his wish for the continuation of the Commonwealth tie in one form or another.

If as high an order of statesmanship can be applied to the solution of this problem as has been broghut to bear on Indian affairs since 1945, an outcome may be expected which will establish a new framework of peace and stability in the Indian Ocean and Southern Asia.

Patient—"Do you extract teeth painlessly?" Dentist—"Not always; the other day I nearly dislocated my wrist."

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INDUSTRIAL LABOUR IN INDIA

'Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere'—this declaration of Philadelphia on the aims of International Labour Organisation absolutely holds good for India. The problem of raising the standard of living of the Indian world—both industrial and agricultural—is one which Free India has to treat on a level of high priority," writes Mr. J. P. Gupta in the *New Review* for January.

Tremendous efforts he says have been made by the Labour Ministry to improve the lot of the industrial workers. The Five Year programme of labour reforms which the Government have devised is intended to improve the condition of the working classes not only in organised industries but also in others. It includes the provision of fair wage industrial training, improvement of industrial peace and contracts, social security, housing and welfare work. The provinces and States have their own individual code and it will be one of the important objects of the Five Year Programme to co-ordinate them.

Hours of work in factories have been reduced from 54 to 48 per week, the general standard laid down by the I.L.O. Workers in factories have also holidays with pay for ten consecutive days in a year in the case of adults and fourteen consecutive days for children.

Adequate housing has been increasingly engaging the attention of Government. An Industrial Housing Committee set up under the 1942 Tripartite Labour Organisation prepared a scheme providing for every family accommodation of at least a minimum of two rooms. The Ministry of Labour has taken up a scheme involving the construction of 50,000 houses for miners in the coal fields.

Regional and Sub-regional Employment Exchanges were set up in the country to facilitate the procurement of the 'job' and the 'jobbers'.

A number of technical centres, which have been set up during the war to meet the heavy demand for skilled personnel from war industries were pressed into service for the training of ex-servicemen in furtherance of the New Training Schemes.

In addition to the Technical Training Scheme, there is a scheme of Vocational Training, in trades other than engineering such as commercial, clerical, professional and semiprofessional occupations, cottage and small-scale industries etc. The existing centres have a total capacity of 5,000 seats.

Another remarkable approach to the problem of Social Security is the establishment of Employees' State Insurance Co-operation which was inaugurated on the 6th October, 1948.

THE SANMARGA

This is an English-Tamil fortnightly—organ of the Akhila Bharata Dharma Sangha, Madras Branch, Edited by Mr. V. Narayanan, M.A., M.L., and published at the Ashrama, Mylapore. This little journal presents a sober and detached view of enlightened Vedic religion. The writings, particularly in English, bear marks of culture and deep learning, and are happily free from fanaticism that so often mars the usefulness of periodicals with a conservative bias. The journal is bound to provide constructive impetus to those who seek "Sanmarga"—the auspicious path.

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

CAUSE OF DURBAN RIOTS

Mr. P. R. Pather, General Secretary of the Natal Indian Organisation, told the Durban Riot Enquiry Commission on March 11 that growing political antagonism towards the Indian over a long period, culminating in a tirade of hatred during last year, and a deep sense of frustration suffered by the African, were the principal causes of the riots. It is our honest opinion he said, "that none of the causes adduced by African witnesses can be accepted as contributory causes of the disturbances." Mr. Pather declared, that development of the riots could be set down in four phases.

In the first phase, encouraged by inflamatory propaganda directed towards the Indians, the Africans vented their frustration on the weak and deffenceless Indian community. They were also encouraged by the attitude of some Europeans who regarded the affair as a joke. This set the stage for the outbreak of January 13.

In the second phase, hooligans among the Africans and opportunists among Europeans, who disliked the Indians were responsible for a message sent to all African compounds next day for an attack on the Indian community. Indians were attacked and shops damaged but this could have been stopped if the police had taken firm measures.

Thirdly, encouraged by knowledge of police inadequacy, Africans as well as many Europeans had half-castes started to loot the damaged shops.

Fourthly, the damage having been caused and nothing being able to stop its development, Africans resorted to murder and carnage on the night of January 14 and the early morning of January 15.

REPATRIATION OF INDIANS

Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, Joint Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, described as a "political trick" an offer by the South African Minister of Interior to pay a double bonus to Indians who voluntarily return to India.

Mr. Cachalia said the offer was aimed at getting the votes of the less-informed section of the electorate, particulary in Natal.

He added that only a few elderly people born in India who had already decided to return, would avail themselves of the offer.

"The vast majority of Indians here are citizens of South Africa and no coercion nor an unfavourable social, political and economic position will induce them to leave South Africa", he said in a statement.

Burma

EVACUATION OF INDIANS

Due to the stress of war many Indians have left the interior of Burma and already some have returned to Calcutta and Madras. The Indian Embassy in Burma has been instructed to give all help to those desirous of coming back to Madras. Pandit Nehru, speaking in Parliament said the other day:

Indians had been evacuated from danger zones like Insein, but the Government of India did not want nor was it possible to evacuate the Indians in Burma, who numbered about seven lakhs. He was glad that Indians as a whole had not got into trouble there and had not been treated badly by anybody.

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Malaya

DUAL CITIZENSHIP FOR MALAYA INDIANS

Indians in Malaya who take up Malayan federation citizenship may retain their Indian citizenship under a new clause to be introduced at the next session of the Indian Constituent Assembly in New Delhi, declared Mr. Budh Singh, President of the Malayan Indian Congress.

He said that the Government of India was sponsoring the new proposal as the result of representations he made during a recent visit to India.

India was opposed to dual citizenship, but he put forward the view that in the case of Malayan Indians no dual citizenship was involved, because 'federal citizenship is not a complete citizenship, as it does not mean a nationality.'

INDIAN CASUALTIES IN MALAYA

Mr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, said in Parliament on March 4, in answer to Seth Govind Das that 24 Indian policemen, constables and civilians were killed and 47 injured in the disturbances in Malaya upto December 31, 1948. Six members of the Indian regular police were killed and 29 injured. Seven Indian special constables were killed and four injured. Eleven Indian civilians were killed and 14 injured.

Seth Govind Das: Is it a fact that batches of Indians are being externed and repatriated from Malaya to India?

Dr. Keskar: According to the latest information, 58 Indians have so far been repatriated.

DO MORE GOOD

Candidate: "How did you like speech on the agricultural problem?"

Farmer: "It wan't bad but a day's rain would do a heap more good."

Ceylon

CITIZENSHIP ACT

Now that the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act has been passed by the Senate, steps will be taken by the Ceylon Government to enforce the legislation.

One of the first steps in this connection will be the appointment of a Commissioner for the Registration of Indian Residents.

The Commissioner will be assisted by a Deputy Commissioner for the whole Island, or two or more Deputy Commissioners for specified areas of the Island. A certain number of Investigating Officers will also be appointed.

This staff is being appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the applications of Indian residents for registrations as citizens of Ceylon, for the registering of those residents as are found to be qualified under the Act, and also for generally administering the provisions of the Act.

The Commissioner will for the purpose of inquiry under the Act, have all the powers of a District Court to summon witnesses, to compel the production of documents, and to administer any oath or affirmation to witnesses.

The Citizenship Act, is likely to be operated under the Minister of Home Affairs and several duties have been cast on the Minister under the Act.

According to the Act the Minister may make all such regulations as may be necessary for prescribing the form of applications for registration, certificates registration, notices and notifications. the register of citizens required under the Act, and the oaths to be taken for the purpose of the Act. The Minister will further have to prescribe any matter of procedure incidental to the Act.

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Britain

INDIAN STUDENTS IN BRITAIN

The *Manchester Guardian* called on people in British University towns to support a movement aimed at making students from India, Pakistan, China, Egypt, West Africa, the West Indies and other countries more comfortable while they are in Britain.

"People who live in university towns can do a valuable service by supporting the East and West Friendship Council" the paper said.

"This council's object is to make pleasanter the stay in this country, of students from the Colonies and from the East and Middle East, by putting them in touch with hospitable English families.

There are today more than 10,000 students for whom this council caters: 3,000, from the colonies—West Africa and the West Indies send the largest contingents—2,000 from India, and substantial numbers from Egypt, China, Pakistan and other countries standard

REPATRIATION OF INDIANS

The Government of India have sanctioned about Rs. 2,000,000 to the Indian Ambassador in Burma for the purpose of repatriation of Indian nationals in that country.

Since the beginning of the present disturbances in Burma, 2,140 Indians, including women and children, have been brought to India from that country in six ships. Out of this number 314 disembarked at Calcutta, 154 at Madras and 284 at Vizagapatam. The Government of India have placed Rs. 5,000 at the disposal of Protectors of Immigrants at these ports for paying railfare to the destitute repatriates to go to their home towns and for feeding them during their stay at these ports.

Indo-China

HARDSHIPS OF INDIANS IN INDO-CHINA

Mr. V. Nadimuthu Pillai, member of the Advisory Committee to the External Affairs Ministry, Government of India, told a representative of the *Hindu* Madras, that the plight of Indian Nationals in Indo-China was still much the same as before and that they were experiencing great difficulties in respect of home remittances. He said that as a result of the agreement reached between the Governments of India and France six months ago an over-all limit of Rs 50,000 for remittances from Indo-China to India in a month was fixed and allowed. Even this small sum the Indians were finding it difficult to remit to their dependents in India.

Apart from this, Mr. Pillai said that no Indian National coming from Indo-China into India was permitted to take any money with him. This meant hardships for Indians as it would not be possible for them to proceed to their homes as soon as they landed in India. He said that the matter was taken up with the Ministry for External Affairs, by him recently and the Government of India had now made it possible for Indian Nationals to bring with them Rs. 150.

British Guiana

INDIAN CITIZENSHIP IN BRITISH GUIANA

Mr. D. P. Debidin, a leader of the Indian community in British Guiana and a member of the Legislative Council there who is in India on a short visit, met Pundit Nehru early last month and discussed with him problems relating to Indians in British Guiana such as dual citizenship and repatriation:

Mr. Debidin is visiting India for the first time, and will stay in the country for six weeks.

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MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

INTEGRATION OF STATES

Five hundred and thirty-eight out of 562 Indian States have been integrated within a year and a half according to a Report of the State Ministry of the Government of India now published. The integrated States cover twenty-nine per cent of the total area of the country and have a population of 48·8 millions.

Referring to the tasks ahead of Government in relation to States, the Report says that it is the intention of the Government of India to integrate Benares, Khasi States (numbering sixteen), Manipur, Cooch-Behar, Rampur, Tehri-Garhwal and Tripura States approximately with due regard to the geographical and other considerations.

The political future of Bhopal State, which has an area of about seven thousand square miles and a population of about 7,50,000 is under negotiations with the Ruler. There has been a popular demand for its integration in one of the adjoining units and a satisfactory settlement will be made soon, adds the Report.

As regards Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, the Report states that the policy to be adopted is receiving attention.

As regards the political future of Hyderabad, the Government of India stand by their earlier declaration that the future of the State and its relationship with India are matters to be decided by the people of the State. Arrangements are being made for convening a Constituent Assembly to enable the people of the State to decide its political future.

On Kashmir, the Report observes:

While accepting the accession of the State, the Government of India had made it clear that the accession would be regarded provisional until such time as the will of the people of State could be ascertained. The accession of the State to the Dominion of India has now to be confirmed by means of a plebiscite.

In the new Unions of States, the Report says:

Immediate attention will have to be paid to schemes of irrigation, development and exploitation of mineral resources. Measures for agrarian and other reforms have to be thoughtfully planned and carefully executed. Adequate security arrangements have to be made in respect of the areas situated on the border of the Dominion lying in some of the Unions. A strong and competent administration alone will be able to tackle these difficult problems of administrative consolidation democratisation and over-due reforms.'

RESPONSIBILITY OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Report stresses the responsibility of the Central Government in regard to all the integrated States. While the States taken over by the Centre will be directly under the Ministry of States, in respect of the States merged into Provinces the responsibility of the Ministry will not terminate till outstanding matters are settled in the Unions, the transitional period will be one of acute stress.

Apart from their interest in the new Unions playing their legitimate role, the Government of India, observes the Report, have a direct responsibility in respect of the ordered progress of these Unions in that it is mainly through the Central Government's mediation and effort that the new political set-up has been consummated. "It is therefore, essential that the Ministry of States should carefully watch and guide the progress of the Unions beset with many dangers and pitfalls," it declares.

'MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS' ONLY

"The Indian Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations" will henceforth be called the Ministry of External Affairs.

Announcing this, the report of the Ministry submitted to Parliament says, the present designation of the Ministry is a relic of the past dualism, when External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations were dealt with by two separate departments of the Government of India. It is now proposed to call it simply the Ministry of External Affairs,

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

SARDAR PATEL ON INDIA'S DEFENCE

"I make bold to say that so far as internal peace and tranquillity is concerned, the country is not faced with any serious threat now. We shall not, however, relax either vigilance or preparedness," declared Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel moving budget grants under Home Ministry in Indian Parliament on March 17.

Sardar Patel told the House that immediately after independence we were engulfed in a period of turmoil and insecurity. We were wondering whether we would be able to weather the storm. We lived through those troublesome days. Then came the greatest danger which engulfed this country,—namely the loss of the Father of the Nation. We kept our body and mind together and succeeded in meeting that crisis as well.

Then came the challenge of the R.S.S. and the Communists which is also now controlled. We have thus reached a degree of internal stability which no one could dream to predict on August 15, 1947. There is immense task ahead of the Government, especially in the economic field. If the Government is to succeed in tackling them, it is essential that there must be peace and order in the country. It is my desire and my mission to produce those conditions so that the country can settle down to its task of peace with as much enthusiasm as conditions demand.

MR. EDEN ON BRITISH GOODWILL

Mr. Anthony Eden, former British Foreign Secretary addressing the Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi, observed:

There is, I can assure you, in Britain an immense fund of goodwill towards this country. Most cordially and sincerely we wish you well. As regards future developments, it is of course entirely for you to take any decisions which may seem wise to you. I will only say this, that the closer and the more intimate the relationship you may feel able to establish with us and with the sister nations of our Commonwealth, the happier we shall be.

I have been much impressed, in the short time that I have been with you, by the friendly and understanding spirit with which you have greeted us. In a world where there is so much suspicion, so much stress and strain between the nations, it is warming to the heart to see trust and confidence grow. If we can achieve this between us we shall have contributed not only a measure of increased confidence to our own times but will I believe, have built wisely and courageously for the generations that are to come. The one desire of the great mass of humanity everywhere after the shock and suffering of two world wars is to enjoy a period of peace. Tranquillity is the universal prayer. If in a constructive spirit we are able together to help build a larger sense of confidence among the nations, we shall not have worked in vain."

LORD LAYTON ON THE ROLE OF THE PRESS IN INDIA

The "stupendous responsibility" that lay on the shoulders of the Press of India and the world Press generally to promote world peace and international goodwill was stressed by Lord Layton, and the other members of the Reuter Delegation in Madras.

The occasion was a reception given in their honour by Mr. C R. Srinivasan, Editor of *Swadesamitran*, Madras, and a Director of the Press Trust of India, on March 14.

We believe that in the internationalising as it were of Reuters we have struck upon something that may play an enormously important role in maintaining the free movement of news throughout the world. We believe that very few countries by themselves could maintain, except subsidised by Government, an independent international news agency, but that, together, a number of countries can do so. It so happens, by accident as it were, historic accident if I may say so, Britain, Australia and India are at the moment called into partnership in this respect. It is quite obvious that that partnership is to a very large extent an experiment. We are trying something very unusual and we believe we can make a success of it, because there is a certain common ground between the Indian Press and the British Press—the concept that the individual is entitled to know what is happening to think for himself and not to have something imposed upon him by any Government. This is the basic concept of democracy. We believe that is the common ground and it is here we have one of the important jobs in the social sphere in which Asia and Asiatic communities and European communities can combine. If we can demonstrate that in the journalistic sphere, we would have showed an example capable of being copied in the political sphere, if there is to be world peace ultimately.

LADY MOUNTBATTEN ON FREE INDIA'S RECORD

"India stands firmer than ever in her determination to allow nothing to come in the way of real democratic progress, moral integrity and the raising of the standard of life and opportunity for the masses of her people. I have absolute faith in the future of India not only as a great and enlightened nation, but as a supreme force for good and for peace in this troubled and shattered world," said Lady Mountbatten, in a speech broadcast from All India Radio on the night of March 20.

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UNION OF COCHIN AND TRAVANCORE

Addressing a Press conference at the Cochin Premier's residence at Ernakulam on March 10, Mr. V. P. Menon, Adviser to the States Ministry, Government of India, disclosed that the two District Congress Committees of Cochin and Travancore had resolved to integrate their two States. There was, therefore, no difficulty in forming a Union of the two States. By advocating an integration of Cochin and Travancore, he was only implementing the States Ministry's policy of reducing the number of States to the minimum possible.

When asked whether the integration of Cochin and Travancore would hinder the formation of a Kerala Province, Mr. Menon said that he was only concerned with the integration of States. He added the possibility of an Aikya Kerala could not, however, be ruled out at this stage. He added that no final decision had been taken on the future of Cochin and Travancore at present.

Mr. Menon said in reply to another question that if a union of the two States were effected, the people of such a Union would be full-fledged nationals of India and that the Union would be on a par with the Provinces in its relations with the Centre.

GADGIL'S DISCLOSURE IN PARLIAMENT

The Government of India have advised the Government of Madras that the present moment is not opportune to start work on the ambitious Ramapadasagar project. Reasons for the advice are technical difficulties, heavy requirements of materials and of foreign and domestic funds. The scheme is held ambitious in the sense that it will require for its completion more than Rs. 130 crores and 19 years' labour, and probably it will consume the entire cement, iron and steel and the entire technical and engineering staff available.

This was disclosed by Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines and Power, in the Parliament during question-hour on March 4.

SALARIES OF RAJPRAMUKHS AND UPARAJPRAMUKHS

The Minister of States, Sardar Patel furnished a statement in Parliament showing the salary and allowances sanctioned to the Rajpramukhs and Uparajpramukhs of the various Unions of States.

According to the statement the Rajpramukh of Saurashtra Union has been sanctioned a consolidated allowance of Rs. 16 lakhs per annum. In Matsya Union the Rajpramukh has got a consolidated allowance of Rs. 70,000 per annum. The Rajpramukh and Uparajpramukh of Vindhya Pradesh have been sanctioned a consolidated allowances of Rs. 122,000 and Rs. 20,000 respectively per annum. The Rajpramukh and the Uparajpramukh of Rajasthan have got a consolidated allowances of Rs. 5 lakhs and Rs. 25,000 respectively per annum. The Rajpramukh and the Uparajpramukh of Madhya Bharat have been given a consolidated allowances of Rs. two and a half lakhs each per annum. The salary and allowances of the Rajpramukh of Patiala and East Punjab States Union is under consideration.

NON-INDIANS IN GOVT. SERVICE

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said in Parliament in reply to a question that there were about 1,925 non-Indians serving in a civilian capacity under the Government of India. The expenditure incurred on them was about Rs. 12,87,735 per month.

Sardar Patel explained that Britishers were not "foreigners" but non-Indians" so long as India was not out of the Commonwealth.

DR. SYED HUSSAIN

Dr. Syed Hussain, the Indian Ambassador to Egypt, died suddenly at Cairo, in the last week of February after a heart attack. He was 63 years old.

Dr. Hussain, journalist and publicist, was appointed Ambassador in Cairo in November, 1947. Previously he had spent 25 years in the United States, where he was known as an ardent supporter of the Indian nationalist cause.

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Rs. 5-CRORE PLAN FOR GUJARAT UNIVERSITY

A five-crore plan of Gujarat University was unfolded by Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Speaker of the Indian Dominion Parliament, at a Press conference on December 28. He said that 100 acres of land were acquired for the various colleges of the University and 525 more acres of land would be acquired, it was proposed.

Arts, Commerce, Science, Pharmacy, and Engineering Colleges, with a Physical Research Laboratory, were started, while a Textile Technological Institute was to be started. Some of the buildings were constructed while others were either under construction or about to be constructed. The work of the University, which was expected to cost about five crores of rupees in 10 years had been initiated with a loan from a bank and advances from a few persons, while donations were flowing.

The University was recognised by the Government of India as a charitable institution for computing donations to it as an item of cost for the purpose of income-tax. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is one of the trustees of the University.

RADIO-PHYSICS DEPARTMENT FOR CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The Senate of the Calcutta University at its annual meeting decided to open a new department called "the department of radio physics and electronics" first of its kind in India, in the University College of Science with effect from February 1, 1949.

EAST PUNJAB UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS

The East Punjab University has decided to continue payment of scholarships awarded by the undivided Punjab University, Lahore, to such students as have migrated to other Universities consequent on the partition of the Punjab. Payments would be made for one year in the first instance after which the matter will be reviewed.

CARNATIC MUSIC COLLEGE

The Government of Madras have passed orders appointing Prof. P. Sambamurthi of the Madras University as part-time special officer for the organisation of the Central College of Carnatic Music.

The College of Carnatic Music will be run under the joint auspices of the Government of India and the Madras Government. Both of them will share the expenses equally. A large amount was originally provided for the acquisition of land and putting up buildings for the college; but in view of the general policy of the Government, that building programmes should be postponed for the present, the college is now being started in rented buildings in the old Mysore Palace grounds. Two buildings, "Rahamat Bagh" and "Sea View" have been rented for this purpose. The College will be situated in one, while the other will be utilised for the hostel. It is the intention of the Governing Body of this College to develop it ultimately into a Music University which, it is expected, when established, will be a unique institution for music in the East.

B. E. DEGREE OF MYSORE UNIVERSITY

The Government of Madras have ordered that the B.E. (Mechanical) Degree of the Mysore University be deemed equivalent to the B.E. (Mechanical) Degree of the Madras University. The Government have also directed that the A.M.I.E. (Ind.), to be awarded after November 1, 1949, in accordance with the revised syllabus prescribed by the Institute of Engineers (India), be recognised as equivalent to the B.E. Degree of a University in the Province of Madras.

BOMBAY UNIVERSITY

The following colleges of the Bombay University offer courses leading up to B. Com.: H. L. College of Commerce, Ahmedabad, Pratap Singh College of Commerce, Bombay; Podar College of Commerce, Bombay and Prem Chand College of Commerce, Surat.

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LEGAL

TRIAL OF EUROPEANS

The Home Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, introduced in Parliament a Bill for the removal of certain existing discriminations in favour of Europeans and Americans in the criminal law of the country.

The Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure contain certain provisions which entitle Europeans and Americans to preferential treatment in matters of trial and punishment. These include the constitution of special jury, special treatment in prison, etc.

These provisions, the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill says, are an anachronism and it is sought to expunge them from the statute book. Repeal of the Penal Servitude Act of 1855, and the amendments to the Indian Limitation Act, 1908, and the Prisoners Act, as proposed in this Bill, are consequential to the proposal to eliminate the discriminatory provisions.

The European Vagrancy Act, 1874, is also being repealed. The Act places vagrants of European extraction on a special footing as compared with the vagrants of other nationalities in India. "There is no reason for such discriminatory treatment and the Act is now sought to be repealed," the statement says.

The Bill also contains amendments to the Indian Extradition Act, 1903, to bring the law in line with the above principle.

GODSE'S APPEAL

Nathuram V. Godse, who was alleged to have murdered Mahatma Gandhi, has filed a petition in the East Punjab High Court at Simla reiterating his right to argue his own appeal. He has also made it clear that his appeal would be on the charge of conspiracy only and not to that of murder:

"I humbly pray that Your Lordships may be pleased to pass orders that I may be taken to the High Court at the time of the hearing of the appeal, so that I may argue in person.

SEVERANCE FROM HINDU FAMILY

The question 'whether a member of a Mitakshara Hindu Joint Family can become divided in status by issuing notice of his intention to separate to the Manager of his joint family without issuing notice to the other members was decided by His Lordship, Mr. Justice Viswanatha Sastri, at the Madras High Court, while disposing of a reference made to him.

Mr. Justice Satyanarayana Rao held that if a member of a Mitakshara joint family wanted to sever his joint status from the family, he should make that intention known to all the other adult members of the family. In a matter like this, the managing member had no power to represent the other members so as to enable him to accept notice of the severance in status and thus to create the disruption. His Lordship, after discussing the authorities cited, disagreed with the opinion expressed by the author of Maine's Hindu Law on this point.

Mr. Justice Panchapakesa Sastri took the contrary view, agreeing that the opinion expressed by the author of Maine's Hindu Law was reasonable, viz, that the right of a member to sever from the joint family was an individual right and consent or concurrence of the other members or even of the managing member was not necessary for it. It was enough if the member unequivocally expressed his intention to become divided.

In view of the difference of opinion, the matter was referred to a third judge, Mr. Justice Viswanatha Sastri. His Lordship agreed with the view of Mr. Justice Panchapakesa Sastri and held, after tracing the orgin and development of the Law on the point from early Hindu tests, that notice need not be given to other members of the family of the intention of the individual member to separate himself from the family in order to bring about a division in status between himself and other members and that the declaration of intention to separate must be clear and unequivocal.

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PAKISTAN'S TAX ON EXPORTS

Mr. K. C. Neogy, Commerce Minister, told Parliament that the Pakistan Government were agreeable to an early conference on the problems of Indo-Pakistan trade that were likely to arise unless Pakistan's budget proposals were "materially modified."

Mr. Neogy, who was opening the debate on demands for grants for the Commerce Ministry, said, "I was somewhat distressed to find in the present Budget of the Pakistan Government certain proposals of taxation which are calculated to affect Pakistan's trade with India and prejudice the interests of our country. I am gratified, however, to learn that the Pakistan authorities are fully convinced of the necessity for intimate and whole-hearted co-operation with us in the matter of promoting internal and external trade and that they are agreeable to an early conference for the purpose of taking a comprehensive view of the problems that are likely to arise unless their proposals are materially modified."

INFLATIONARY TENDENCIES IN INDIA

Inflationary tendencies still remain one of India's major economic problems, according to a world survey of world economic changes prepared by the United Nations Department of Economic Affairs. The report says:

There has been a continuation of inflationary pressure in most countries of the Far East during 1948. In general this pressure has results primarily from dislocations arising out of the war. It has been further aggravated in a number of countries by the continued disruption of normal economic life caused by internal disturbances.

In India, post-war inflationary pressures were primarily attributable to the large budget deficit for financing public investment, the increase in private investment and the decline in per capita supplies of essential goods, particularly food and cloth.

Dealing with the trend of financial and trade transactions, the survey says that the combined external trade of India and Pakistan has in recent years been characterised by the substitution of an import balance for the traditional export surplus.

Exports have declined while imports have been at a relatively high level owing to heavy purchases of capital equipment and the necessity of buying considerable quantities of cereals from abroad.

The liquidation of external debts during the war, the resulting decline in interest payments abroad, and the possibility of drawing upon Indian sterling claims on the United Kingdom have rendered possible this change in the trade balance. The pace at which sterling balances were released slowed down in 1948, however, and the balances that are released can no longer be freely converted to dollars.

INDIA'S FOREIGN ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

In view of certain unavoidable delays which have taken place in extending the necessary legislation to some of the States and the States Unions in connection with the Reserve Bank's enquiry into foreign investments in India and Indian investments abroad in terms of the Bank's notification of October 2, 1948, the last date for the submission of returns by persons in these areas as well as in the rest of India has been extended upto March 31, 1949. It is also notified that no further extension of time will be granted beyond this date under any circumstances.

FEDERATION OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Mr. K. D. Jalan was elected President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at the annual session of the Federation at Delhi. Other office-bearers elected for the year 1949-50 were: Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand, Vice-President; Mr. D. S. Sen, Treasurer; and Mr. K. P. Goenka to represent textiles.

The following members were co-opted: Messrs. Lalji Mehrotra, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, A. Shroff, Shanmukham Chetti, Jagmohan Das Japadia and Ramanlal Bhaichand Amin.

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RECOVERY OF ABDUCTED WOMEN

Over 300 abducted women and children were recovered in Pakistan and sent to India during the last eight months. The Government of India had so far registered 12,707 cases of abduction and 5,671 persons had been recovered. On the other hand, a third of the women recovered were not on India's list.

Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister for Transport and Railway, giving this information in reply to Mr. R. K. Sidhwa in the Dominion Parliament said that most of the women recovered in Pakistan had been brought to India. Difficulties were, however experienced in the case of some on account of their personal reluctance to return to their orginal families.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES IN INDIA & U. S.

Women's activities in the United States, Lady Rama Rau found, are quite different from those in India "for the simple reason that the scope women have in India is very much bigger."

The Ambassador's wife attributes this to the fact that social services are provided by the authorities in the United States while in India they are not. American private organisations therefore just support the services provided by the authorities. In India, however, the type of work done by women "reaches down to the people much more," she feels. Women's activities in India encompass such fields as literacy, child and maternity welfare and introduction of cottage industries.

WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR EXAMINATION

The Public Service Commission, West Bengal, has requested the Calcutta University to record the age of the women candidates appearing for different examinations of the university. The Commission points out that while giving appointments to women, they are experiencing difficulty in ascertaining the actual age of the candidates.

PAY SCALES FOR BRITISH WOMEN

Details of the new rates of pay, pensions and gratuities for members of the Women's Services have been published as a supplement to the general announcement made in the House of Commons.

The principle adopted has been that following the increases announced for men, women's pay should be raised to three quarters of that issued to men of corresponding rank and seniority. Retired pay, service pensions and long service gratuities for women are to be two-thirds those of men. Additional pay for women has, in general, been abolished, as it was for men, but some forms of it (qualification pay for A. T. S. officers) will be issued at about three-quarters of the rate paid to men.

Arrangements have been made to ensure that no woman receives less under the new code than she was receiving before. If her old rate, because of war service increment, for example, is higher than her new rate would be, the allowances will be continued at the same rates as for men.

WOMEN REGULARS IN THE U. S. A.

President Truman has just appointed the first batch of women officers to the regular forces of the United States. Out of the total number of 347, 199 have joined the army, 120 the air force and 28 the navy. These are no temporary assignments but regular appointments to military status, exactly as in the case of men. In rank the ladies range from second lieutenant to major. Rather brutally, however, Congress has decided to allot rank on the basis of age, making 32, for instance, the bouudary line between first lieutenant and captain, and 89 between captain and major.

COURTESY TO WOMEN IN BUSES

The Government of Madras have appealed to men passengers travelling by buses to show courtesy to women passengers and relinquish their seats in favour of the latter, whenever occasion arises.

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FEDERAL SERVICE COMMISSION

The Government of India, it is learnt, have decided that, except in exceptional circumstances, the recommendations of the Federal Public Service Commission with regard to the selection of personnel for appointments in Government service will be accepted.

In case any Ministry does not accept the recommendations, the reasons will be communicated to the Commission and the Commission given an opportunity to justify its recommendations if so desires. If, after further consultation, the Ministry still considers that the recommendations should not be accepted, the case will be placed before a Committee of the Cabinet consisting of the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Minister concerned with the appointment. This Committee will be the final arbiter in such cases.

While the Federal Public Service Commission is only an advisory body, the law imposes on the Government the obligation to consult the Commission in regard to certain appointments. The responsibility, after such consultation, however, rests with the Government but a convention has been in existence by which the recommendations of the Commission relating to appointments shall be accepted "save in exceptional circumstances."

RAILWAY AMENITIES FOR PASSENGERS

In accordance with orders to Railways from the Railway Board for special arrangements for supply of drinking water in the ensuing hot weather to passengers in their compartments at important stations, the M. S. M. Railway is arranging for an aggregate of 178 watermen in addition to the already existing number of watermen at principal stations. At selected stations these extra watermen, will go into the compartments and offer to fill the passengers' vessels without waiting for the passengers to go to them and ask for water. These special arrangements are being made as an experiment.

REUTER GOODWILL MISSION

A delegation of newspaper proprietors in England under the leadership of Lord Layton, Chairman of Reuters Board, arrived in India on a goodwill mission. The other members of the delegation are Mr. Malcolm Graham, Chairman of the *Express* and *Star*, Wolverhampton, Mr. R. A. Henderson, Chairman of the Australian Associated Press, and Mr. C. J. Chancellor, General Manager, *Reuters*, London.

It will be recalled that Reuters entered into an agreement with the Indian newspapers' proprietors on a partnership basis for the supply of foreign news to India. The Press Trust of India has been organised and taken over Reuters machinery in India under the terms of that agreement. There are loose ends yet to be tied and it is necessary that there should be further discussions between the Press Trust of India and Reuter Board. The object of the mission is to complete the discussions in India.

MEMORIAL TO LATE SAROJINI DEVI

An appeal for a fund of ten lakhs of rupees to raise a memorial to the late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in the shape of a children's hospital has been issued over the signatures of the Governor-General. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and others. The memorial hospital is to be constructed near the Kamala Nehru and Begum Azad Memorial institutions at Allahabad and will be managed in co-operation with them.

TOURIST TRAFFIC

The Sub-Committee of the Tourist Traffic Advisory Committee, meeting at Delhi, unanimously agreed to a suggestion to set up a Tourist Traffic branch in the Central Ministry of Transport. One of the main functions of the branch would be to co-ordinate the work of various bodies engaged in Tourist Traffic and generally help such organisations.

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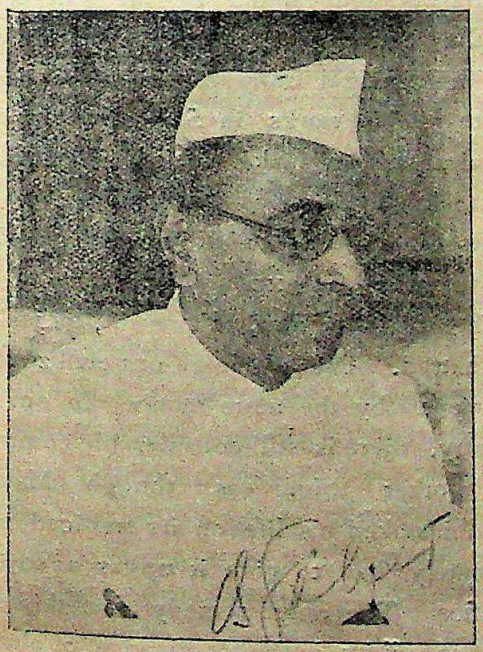
The Life and Message of Shri Shankara

BY THE HON'BLE MR. B. G. KHER

Premier of Bombay.

IN a striking passage in 'The Discovery of India' Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru thus sums up the life-work and greatness of Shankara :

" Shankara was a man of amazing energy and vast activity. He was no escapist retiring into his shell or into a corner



THE HON'BLE MR. B. G. KHER.

of the forest, seeking his own individual perfection and oblivious of what happened to others. Born in Malabar in the far South of India, he travelled incessantly all over India, meeting innumerable people, arguing, debating, reasoning, convincing, and filling them with a part of his own passion and tremendous vitality. He was evidently a man who was intensely conscious of his mission, a man who looked upon the whole of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas as his field of action and as something that held together culturally and was infused by the same spirit, though this might take many external forms. He strove hard to synthesize the diverse currents that were troubling the mind of India of his day and to build a unity of outlook out of that diversity. In a brief life of thirty-two years he did the work of many long lives and left such an impress of his powerful mind and rich personality on India that is very evident today. He was a curious mixture of a philosopher and scholar, an agnostic and a mystic, a poet and a saint, and in addition to all this, a practical reformer and an able organizer. He built up, for the first time within the Brahminical fold, ten religious orders and out of these four are very much alive to-day. He established four great Maths or monasteries, locating them far from each other, almost at the four corners of India. One of

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these was in the south at Sringeri in Mysore, another at Puri on the east coast, the third at Dwarka in Kathiawar on the west coast, and the fourth at Badrinath in the heart of the Himalayas. At the age of thirty-two this Brahmin from the tropical south died at Kedarnath in the upper snow-covered reaches of the Himalayas."

According to the generally accepted idea, Shankara was born in 788 A.D. and died in 820. At the time of his birth, India was in a state of disunion and disintegration. There was a large number of States, each warring with the others. King Harsha's empire had broken up, and in Northern India the Rajputs were struggling for supremacy. Buddhism was fast declining and a number of creeds had sprung up with crude ideas and cruder practices. The great religion of the Upanishads and also of the Buddha were nearly forgotten. What India required at the time was a dynamic personality, who could infuse a new spirit in the country and prove to be a strong rallying point for her cultural and religious forces. Shankara eminently fulfilled the need. From amongst the innumerable Srutis and Smritis he selected mainly the Gita, the Upanishads and the Vedanta Sutras and wrote illuminating commentaries on them. By unassailable logic and by his own pure life he proved that through appropriate discipline and conduct a man could attain the goal of religion in one's life. He was himself a great Sanyasin, and laid considerable stress on the need of every one leading a pure life. Sanyas did not mean inactivity to him and what he accomplished within his brief life of thirty-two years will be considered staggering by any ordinary man. He preached a religion of strength and made the teachings of the Upanishads current coin in the country. He proved that mortal man is really immortal and that man is a master of himself and nature. Godhood is immanent in man. *Iswarah Sarvabhutanam* and to realise this would be to overcome all ills and to attain indescribable peace. The mysterious Ego controlling our mind is a part of the immortal and indestructible Supreme Force *Paramatma* whose true nature is *Sachidananda*. True liberation consists in realising the oneness of the individual soul with the absolute soul.

Such, in brief, was the message of Shankara. In his own way he was a great nation-builder. The very fact that he established four Maths in the four corners of the country to encourage the idea of the fundamental unity of India and that he wrote all his works in Sanskrit shows that his aim was to make India culturally one. He took all that was good in the various tenets of his time and made it part of Hinduism as he expounded it.

The world is torn, at present, by jealousy and hatred. The whole of our civilization is threatened by the atom bomb. In our own country, there is still considerable communal and other bitterness, though Mahatma Gandhi staked his life on its eradication and ultimately had to give it up as a supreme sacrifice. The only remedy for this sorry state of affairs is the dominance of altruism and love over egoism and hatred. Why should I love my neighbour? Because in essence he and I are one. We are made of the same stuff; we cannot—must not hate each other as parts of the same body and must not hate each other. This feeling

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should be assiduously cultivated through culture, social institutions and a radical transformation of the personality of the people. The last is perhaps the most important. But how is it to be brought about? With all the power of his great intellect and vigorous personality Shankara proclaimed the great Vedantic truth that realization of our unity with God is the panacea for all ills. In the present day context we might say that an intense realization of our oneness would lead to elimination of egoism and hatred and to love of fellowmen. By prayer and pure action, constant meditation on the great truth of our essential being and by disinterested service to our fellow-beings we attain such realization, and our life acquires a deep meaning and purpose. That is the message of Vedanta as interpreted by Shankara and reinterpreted in our own day by Shri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and Vivekananda, by Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. And that is the only effective answer to the challenge of the atom bomb.

New Houses for Old–New Houses for All

BY MR. F. W. CORBETT.

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THE question of providing adequate and suitable accommodation for all, has always been a problem especially in the urban and industrial areas, but has now become a matter of urgency, by reason of the great increase of population in these areas, and the impossibility of meeting the needs of all, owing to the insufficiency of accommodation.

When the immense population of India, amounting to nearly three hundred and forty millions is considered the problem of providing accommodation for all in a reasonable period of time, appears, at first sight, to be insuperable, but fortunately, as the report of the Industrial housing Sub-committee published some time ago rightly remarks, the shortage of housing is more acutely felt only in the larger centres of population, as the great mass of the people live in areas of less than two thousand souls each, and the climatic conditions for the greater part of the year, make the provision of pucca housing for them relatively unimportant.

According to the census of 1941 only thirteen per cent. of the population of India is town-dwelling, but as the Post-war population of every city and urban area has been practically doubled, it is reasonable to assume that the urban population of India is now about twenty-five per cent. of the entire population.

This paper attempts to suggest a scheme for the simultaneous provision of dwelling houses not only for this twentyfive per cent. of the population, but also for the seventyfive per cent. of the rural areas, in a relatively shorter period of time than that envisaged in the Industrial Housing Sub-committee Report, or in any other report published so far. If vigorously carried out, it can provide every family in the rural areas with a decent dwelling within two years, can ease the position in the urban areas within five years,

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can completely house the entire urban population in ten to twenty years, and thereafter ensure that the provision of accommodation keeps pace with the growth in population.

Nothing adds to the dignity and self-respect of a man, than the fact that he is able to walk head erect into the house, instead of having to literally crawl into it, as so many of our people in the rural areas, and in the slum areas of our large cities now have to do.

It is very easy to achieve this in the rural areas in a short time, and with the minimum of labour and expense. The various designs of houses built of concrete, suggested and advertised from time to time, are excellent in their way, but are not necessary nor desirable for the rural areas and for the poorer sections in the urban areas, where the first consideration should be the *immediate provision* of cheap, easily constructed houses of the minimum standard of 100 square feet per person as laid down by the committee. Such dwellings can be easily erected, with little more than the cost of the labour, with the help of the prospective tenants themselves. There is no need to wait till cement, steel, and other expensive types of building materials are available. Nature has been prolific in providing our country with an abundant supply of clay and of building stone of every variety for building our houses. Temples, palaces and structures of every description have been built with these materials from time immemorial, and have stood the test of storm and stress for centuries. These materials are still in abundant supply, and, every village, town or other locality may easily obtain its requirements from within a radius of a few miles, at a minimum of cost in labour and transport. It would be a criminal and short sighted policy not to make use of these bounteous gifts of nature, and to hanker after steel, cement and other new-fangled and expensive materials which are in short supply, and beyond the means of the poor.

Nor is it necessary nor desirable to go in for pre-fabricated houses—another of those fads, created by the war. Prefabricated houses are alright as a temporary expedient. They are still on their trial, and their durability has yet to be proved. They are also not suitable for Indian conditions, where fairly thick mud or stone walls are necessary to keep out the excessive heat. Their comparatively higher cost also militates against their extensive use. There will be no need for them if we make more extensive and rational use of the cheap materials readily at hand.

For the poorest classes, and taking the rural areas first, the walls may be of mud, or of mud and brick, which are cheaper than cement, and have served them well for building purposes all these centuries. But the houses should be better built, with higher plinths and walls, and more doors and windows. If built entirely of mud, the walls may be of the improved type, reinforced with stone chips, and pressed into blocks in long wooden frames, as recently adopted and demonstrated by the military authorities.

The great advantage of this type of dwelling houses is, that work on them may be started *immediately and simultaneously* in every rural area by the people themselves during the idle periods between the harvests, and without having to wait for

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materials that are in short supply. All that they will need is a little advice and guidance. The first requisite is to decide the minimum standard dimensions for each dwelling. A survey may then be made of each village. In cases where the already existing dwellings are of less than the standard dimensions decided on, the owners or occupants may be helped and advised to reconstruct them to the required dimensions. As soon as a few such houses are reconstructed, other owners will see their advantages, and readily accept the help and advice to rebuild their own. Where they are prepared to rebuild with bricks or other suitable materials, they should, of course be encouraged to do so. In addition, new dwellings may be built for those who have none. In this work of building new dwellings, care must be taken to build according to plan, and not haphazardly, as in the past. The best plan would be to build in rows, each dwelling to consist of two rooms of the required dimensions, with a kitchen and a bathing place and a little courtyard at the rear. An open space of eight or ten feet may be provided between each building or group of two or three buildings, and twenty-five to thirty buildings may be built in each row. The next row may face the first, across a street, not less than fifteen feet wide. Each street will then consist of fifty to sixty houses, and, taking the average number of persons per household to be four, will provide accommodation for two hundred souls. A village of two thousand souls will therefore consist of ten such rows of dwelling houses, old and new. If this plan is vigorously carried out, all the villages and rural areas can be rebuilt simultaneously, with the help of the people themselves, to provide every family with a dwelling of the standard dimensions within a period of two years. This is a result well worth striving for.

The problem becomes more difficult and complicated as we approach the urban areas and larger centres of population, where slums, built up areas, and so called vested interests have to be contended with. But none of these need stand in the way of affecting an immediate and reasonable improvement in the existing deplorable conditions. Large scale slum clearance such as has been envisaged in an ambitious scheme recently announced for Calcutta, and costing no less than 75 crores of rupees, will only unnecessarily put off the required improvements indefinitely, whereas what is required is the *immediate* provision of more accommodation, and the *immediate* improvement in the present highly insanitary conditions, both of which may be taken in hand simultaneously.

Taking slum clearance first, we may begin by breaking down and rebuilding the squalid, insanitary, ill-ventilated leanto huts of old mattings and kerosene oil tins, which disgrace and disfigure many localities in all our larger cities. Where they are owned by profit seeking renters, they should be compelled to rebuild them to the required standards. Where they are owned by the occupants themselves, or by the local authority, the expense should be borne by the latter. At the same time a process of "thinning out" may be adopted, by pulling down an unnecessary room or wall here and there, to improve the ventilation, and

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by pulling down an entire hut or two at regular intervals in each street, for the same purpose. This "thinning out" may be accomplished with the least friction, and with the greatest common measure of agreement; by forming a committee of a few responsible residents of each locality, with the Municipal Commissioner, the Municipal Engineer and Health Officer, where they are available, to advise on which houses or portions thereof, may be pulled down to effect the necessary improvements. This method is much quicker and far less expensive than completely breaking down and rebuilding an entire area, and has the added advantage of causing the least disturbance or dishousing of the occupants.

Simultaneously with this "thinning out" process, a "filling in" process may also be adopted, by building, or encouraging the building of new houses in the open spaces that may be available in each locality. Elaborate development and housing schemes necessarily take years to materialise, whereas what is required is *immediate relief*. Our immediate objectives as far as the urban areas are concerned are therefore, to "thin out" the slums, and to "fill in" the open spaces. Both may be accomplished with a little active help from the Government.

This is a 'short term' policy for providing *immediate relief*. For 'long term' planning it should be the policy of every Government, and of every local authority, and, it should be made incumbent on every large employer of labour, to provide at least five per cent of its employees with suitable accommodation at reasonable rents at once, and thereafter, to add at least five per cent every year. If this is done, every urban dweller will be provided with a house suitable to his means and requirements within twenty years. As at least one-half of the urban population is already provided with accommodation, this means that the entire urban population will be suitably housed within ten years.

Until such time as this is accomplished the extravagant building of luxury houses by the very rich should be prohibited. For instance, it was recently announced that a Calcutta millionaire has planned to build a mammoth luxury mansion of seven storeys, provided with every refinement of luxury with four lifts constructed of bronze and aluminium, etc., etc., at a cost of seventyfive lakhs, to house his family and servants consisting of *only 120 souls!* Not to be undone, a Bombay millionaire is also reported to be contemplating a building of outstanding size, replete with every modern comfort on a scale hitherto unknown in India at a cost of *three* crores of rupees, for occupation by wealthy tenants! Such fantastic schemes are bad enough in normal times, but are a crime against society at a time when millions have not even a roof over their heads. These millionaires should be persuaded, if not forced to use their wealth to provide much needed accommodation for the poorer classes of tenants at reasonable rents and to defer their fantastic schemes to more prosperous times. For the present the policy and purpose of everybody should be, "New Houses for old, and a house for every family, rural or urban".

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THE INFANT STATE OF INDONESIA

By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachariar, M A
Principal, R D. M. College, Sivaganga.

FOR nearly three years and a half, from March 1942 to August 1945, Japanese propaganda in Java laboured hard to spread the exaltation of the Asiatic and the humiliation of the White man in the minds of the youth and the illiterate masses, particularly by means of the radio, the press and the popular stage. More important than the Japanese Army *personnel*, left in the Island on their evacuation was the vast quantity of ammunition, guns, bayonets and rifles, secured by the Indonesians, partly taken from unresisting Japanese soldiers and partly handed over voluntarily by the Japanese themselves, including control of their concentration camps. When the allied victory came about, these concentration camps did not at all benefit and continued to suffer, while fear of starvation increased for the internees.

The Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on the 17th August 1945 with a great flourish of trumpets. In Sumatra enthusiasm was not so great. It was only a year afterwards that the Republican leaders were able to claim that Island as the second great pillar of their national structure. But in Borneo the Freedom Movement no sooner started than it withered away. There was no stir at all in the Northern Celebes, and but very little in the Lesser Sundas and in the Dutch New Guinea. In the rich Island of Bali, with its predominantly Hindu culture, the political influence from Muhammedan Java was comparatively small. Dr. Soekarno has been the main pillar of the Movement.

The next great Indonesian leader, Dr. Muhammad Hatta, had first fallen under the spell of German National Socialism and early grew up to be a champion of an independent Republican Status for his country. Both Hatta and Soekarno had ardently believed that Indonesian Independence would be realised under the new Japanese Order for Eastern Asia. Sjariffoedin, the next leader, is more westernised than the others. Soetan Sjahrir, the youngest of the four leaders, is a Sumatran by birth and frequently interned in New Guinea and elsewhere; and he was quite firm in his determination not to have any collaboration with the Japanese.

The Indonesian Republic was blessed at its birth by the dying Japanese Empire "in the shadow of the flames caused by the atom bombs of America," but it is equally certain that the Republic was not wholly of Japanese manufacture. At Dalath, near Saigon, the historic meeting of Soekarno attended by Hatta, and Radjiman, the Japanese-sponsored Mayor of Batavia, with the Japanese Field Marshal Terauchi, took place on the 11th August 1945. Three days later the proclamation was finally made of the birth of Indonesia, with its red and white flag and no compromising colours either of Dutch blue or of the Japanese Rising Sun. The younger generation felt that they were nearly as good as the Japanese and far better than the Europeans; while the Pelopors (the Youth Movement) included a number of fanatics for the Republican cause and many bands of terrorists and suicide squads.

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For some months anarchy continued to prevail. The Chinese in the Islands who numbered two millions, were set upon by the poorer people and robbed and persecuted as they formed the easiest prey to the hooligan elements. The Dutch, including the semi-Dutch folk, had expected speedy relief by the Allied Troops. Dutch rule in the past was interpreted, on the one side, as a creditable record of three centuries of enlightenment and progress, but on the other condemned as three long centuries of exploitation and oppression. The numerous States and Regencies scattered over the islands, especially in Sumatra, under the control of nominally-hereditary Sultans and of nominated Regents, were also warmed by zeal for the Republican cause. The Dutch contended that Indonesian Nationalism had developed somewhat prematurely, and transformed itself within less than two decades from a local and East Javanese to a pan-Indonesian basis. The Dutch Lieutenant-Governor-General, Dr. Hubertus van Mook, had been a sober politician in the past and had strenuously worked for the good of the East Indies, both culturally and politically. He had always been striving, negotiating, arguing, planning and pleading, only to find that the agreements he had successively hoped to achieve had always become elusive and tantalising. Soekarno had always been immovable from his goal of a sovereign Indonesian Republic, though he permitted his followers to go through the wearisome processes of negotiations, arguments and counter-arguments, leading to tentative agreements.

The Allied Supreme Commander was anxious that British Indian Troops should not get themselves involved in the internal politics of Indonesia, particularly because Indian opinion was not sensitive about the use of the Indian troops to suppress the independence and national movements in any Asiatic country. Their aim was merely to restore peaceful conditions and allow free expression of opinion and action that would lead to a final settlement.

For some months confusion was rampant in the land. When Indian troops landed for restoring order in October, 1945, bitter fighting persisted between the Japanese and the Indonesians, mainly due to the desire of the latter to obtain Japanese Arms. The British Command claimed to have faithfully followed a policy of restraint in the suppression of terrorism and disorder. But terrorism remained a persistent sore during all the months of negotiations that followed. A competent observer has shrewdly noticed that the Indonesian National Movement had been initially vitiated by the limited knowledge and small political experience of its leaders and also by the effect of three years of Japanese training and propaganda. In the process opportunities for private revenge, loot and massacre were much greater than in normal national movements.

II

Soekarno, who was proclaimed the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the second week of November 1945, formed a new Cabinet with Sjahrir both as the Prime Minister and the Minister for both Home and Foreign Affairs. The President retained his firm hold upon the enthusiasm and the affections of the masses. He cleverly shifted his headquarters to Jogjakarta in Central Java, leaving his Prime Minister to deal

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with the delicate and complicated political situation at Batavia. The new Premier remained closely linked with his master, and never abated one jot of the reiterated demand for complete independence. Indeed, the Indonesian Cabinet felt itself to be strong enough to compel the Dutch negotiators to come to its doors for settlement, instead of its going to the Dutch Government requesting an understanding.

Sjahrir first took part in a series of conferences with the British and Dutch Delegations in an endeavour to bring about a final settlement of Dutch and Indonesian relations. In Sumatra, the Republican Movement was confined to Palembang and Medon; in Celebes the Indonesian leaders and local chiefs were at first unwilling to co-operate with the Dutch, but soon returned to order; and in Borneo the silence of desolation had always prevailed. Van Mook put forward appeal after appeal to the Supreme Command urging the adoption of a firmer hand in Java as no political agreement was possible while acts of terrorism continued. But time was inexorably on the side of the new Republic. Sjahir disliked in his heart all the acts of terrorism, but for the time, turned a blind eye towards them. Jogjakarta was much better suited for the Republican leaders than Batavia. Thus between Batavia and Jogjakarta "there was both tug and war, but the tug was all on the part of the Dutch, and the war all on the part of the Indonesians, with no connection between them." While the Dutch saw no other solution than a settlement under the Dutch Flag between themselves and the Indonesians the Republican leaders consistently held that their independence had already become a *fait accompli*.

III

The constitution framed for the Republic has a strong leaning towards that of the U.S.A., giving the President great powers to proclaim martial law and to disallow bills passed by the Council of Representatives and an article establishes socialistic nationalisation of everything. On the other side, the Dutch declaration of Policy elaborated the principles of re-organisation of the East Indies sketched by Queen Wilhelmina in 1942 and held out the prospect of combined independence and collaboration for the Indonesians in the Commonwealth.

A moderate political organisation emerged out of the practical turmoil, claiming to voice the opinions of millions of Indonesians who were not caught up by the Republican fervour, but as usual with all moderate movements, in stirring times it did not secure success and its leaders were naturally denounced by the Republicans as Dutch-puppets.

Talks on the new proposals began in February 1946 for negotiating a political structure based upon full freedom and self-determination for the Indonesians sufficient to satisfy all except the Extremist elements. As before, Van Mook talked and talked and flew often to Holland to get renewed instructions, while Sjahrir listened, and frequently journeyed between Batavia and Jogjakarta. All the time Soekarno kept himself in splendid isolation. But soon Dutch forces began to land in increasing numbers to take over, by gradual steps, from the British the task of maintaining order; and Sjahrir vigorously protested

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against their landings, but urged counsels of moderation upon his Extremist followers. The result was that among the Republicans the moderates parted company from the fanatics, though they would not give up the cause of the Republic. Van Mook now offered a Free State of Java, that would be a partner with the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the Federation of Indonesia and the partnership was to last during the transition period necessary for the Free State to grow into a full—developed nation. The offer was refused; on which the Dutch were prepared to acknowledge an Indonesian Republic. Now the Indonesians wanted the recognition of *their* State as *the* one Republic of Indonesia. After this Sjahrir was kidnapped but set at liberty soon; and the incident did not cause more than a passing flutter.

In the Conference in Malino in Celebes held in July 1946 Van Mook stuck to his original stand. A later conference gave no practical results. By October 1946 there were 65,000 Dutch troops in Java well armed and trained; and a Royal Commissioner-General was now sent over from Holland for negotiating a final settlement; but though a truce was obtained through the mediation of the British Special Commissioner for South East Asia, Sjahrir held that the principle of Federation should be carried further than the Dutch had suggested and that Indonesia would like to acquire membership of the United Nations Organisation. He also desired a clear definition of relations between the Republic and the rest of Indonesia as well as with the Netherlands. The new Cabinet of the Republic that was now constituted (October 1946) was representative of all parties; and for the first time the Netherlands Gevernment officially recognised the Republic, though they did not as yet announce what the constituent parts and territories of the Republic should be and did not certainly agree that Sumatra should yet be a part of it.

Thus a settlement was at last arrived at; but the proposals were fiercely opposed in Holland itself; and Soekarno held aloof, as usual, at Jogjakarta, obviously ignoring both the negotiations and the agreement.

The draft Liggadjati agreement broke to pieces on a dispute over article 15, which referred to the Government of the Netherlands having power to initiate forthwith legal measures to adjust the constitutional and international position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the new situation. This agreement clearly indicated how far the Netherlands Government were willing to go; but it had no real effect upon Indonesian opinion. The Dutch could win over Sjahrir, but not Soekarno, nor Hatta, nor Sjaffudin. Thus the new year of 1947 opened with a normal truce that was intended to cover the whole of Indonesia but the battle of bullets and the perpetration of atrocities continued, leaving everything unsettled.

(*To be continued.*)

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Kantilal and the Octopus: A Story

BY MR. DEVENDRA PRATAP

KANTILAL took the bottle of "Pneumocure" in his hand and examined it carefully, tallying the particulars on the label with those jotted down in his note book.

"Seems all right," he said. "How much?"

"5/8, Sir."

"What? But the controlled price is 3/8, surely?"

The shopkeeper who was a shrewd, narrow-eyed, fat man with four chins and a smile that seemed laid on his face with a brush, winked.

"You are right, Sir," he said. "But, alas! we don't get it at controlled rates from the wholesalers. We buy it in the black market ourselves—for *esteemed customers like you*". The words trickled out of his mouth like synthetic honey and his smile deepened into one of obsequiousness.

"You lie," said Kantilal, trying to keep his voice even." "I *know* you get a quota from the Civil Supplies Department."

"My good Sir, but how much? Aye, Three dozen bottles a month. Pchah. And I have a hundred patrons to think of."

That was the black marketeer's way—always. Kantilal smiled grimly at the familiar words.

"I don't see," he said emphatically, "that that gives you any right to resort to the black market, buying or selling. If it were Brilliantine or a comb, your action would be bad enough in all conscience. But it is *not* Brilliantine. It is a medicine. An *essential* medicine for children. To blackmarket in it is to gamble with a child's life. It is a *crime*."

The shopkeeper's smooth silky smile vanished suddenly as if some one had run a blotting paper across his pudgy face. His eyes became steely. He curled his lip and all his four chins jutted out to assume an expression of derision.

"Then take your precious child into the General Ward of a Hospital," he snapped. "Why come to a shop? Why buy an expensive medicine? If the child's life is so dear, why not fork out what I ask?" He made a quick movement and snatched the bottle from Kantilal's hand, passing it on to an assistant behind him. "Crime indeed! It would be a happier world if people had less of this blasted Socialism in their heads and more in their pockets."

Of the customers present, a few laughed outright—people, Kantilal noticed, who wore stylish suits and diamond rings and had more than one chin; some grinned sheepishly—those of the spineless middle class who wanted the best of both worlds; only a very few—the young idealists—ranged themselves on Kantilal's side.

"But he is *right*," said one of these. "You ought not to blackmarket, you know." His tone was serious but pusillanimous. "You are not co-operating with the Government."

Two or three men laughed—those with the well fed appearance. The spineless continued to listen attentively, now and then wagging their heads indecisively, always endorsing the majority viewpoint.

"Co-operating with the Government!" said one of the multiple chins, guffawing as if he had come across a rare joke. He

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turned towards the man. "You young bloods are all alike. Empty-headed idealists. You know *nothing*. What has the Government done for us that we should co-operate with it, eh? Can you answer that? Look at me. I am a Building Contractor. In 1942, my income was 30 thousand a month and I had three de-luxe cars. And to-day? Today, I offer "prasad" in a temple if I make two. And, as to cars, I suppose some *would* call a miserable 14 H. P. contrivance a car!"

He spat bitterly and continued: "And why have I come to such a pass? Because of our worthy National Government. Because of checks and counterchecks on my honesty. As if it could ever be in doubt! Merely to ensure that my cement will not be examined too closely, I slip across five thousand to an officer, only to find another officer above him who keeps reverting to its 'poor' quality. *Poor* quality, indeed! And when I have greased his palm too, up comes another—and yet another. There is no end of them. And eventually one turns up—he's rare, I,ll admit—who will *not* accept my 'envelopes' and creates all sorts of fuss checking up on the bricks to find out if they are really first class. Bah. Sheer persecution, I call it. *Co-operating with the Government*!" He spat again. Turning to the shopkeeper, he bought six tins of a tonic food at thrice the controlled price and left the shop.

The shopkeeper and several of the remaining customers laughed heartily and the protest which had risen to the lips of the young man was stilled. With a shrug of his shoulders, he collected his purchases and slunked quietly out of the shop, followed by the other 'idealists and the 'spineless.'

Kantilal flushed with anger. The fellow had talked nonsense and his logic had annoyed him. At the back of his mind was the image of his two-year-old child Ramesh. He was in the throes of pneumonia and, as a last resort, the doctor had ordered "Pneumocure". Nothing else—if anything—could save the boy, he had declared finally. So Kantilal had left the house at once, promising his young distracted wife that he would be back very shortly.

And here was "Pneumocure" right before his eyes. And it was not as if the difference was much. He *could* afford the two rupees extra which the shopkeeper demanded. But ought he? He was in a fix. He thought, sifted and weighed the issues carefully, dispassionately, and at last proceeded to the counter.

"All right, *baba*," he said. "Give me a bottle."

The shopkeeper's sticky smile appeared again—along with his doormat attitude.

"My wise Sir," he said in a confidential whisper. "I'm glad you see reason at last. These are not the days for idealism. You have a child to save and I—I have my large family to think of, eh? Well, well, here you are. And remember me whenever you need something you can't get anywhere else, see? I stock everything—*everything*."

Kantilal nodded his head appreciatively, put some coins on the counter and tucked the bottle of "Pneumocure" in his pocket.

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"But it is only 3/8, my dear Sir," said the shopkeeper, counting the money a second time before Kantilal, coin by coin, so as to make no mistake.

"That's right," said Kantilal." "3/8 is the price and 3/8 you get. Not a pice more."

"You cheat," cried the shopkeeper, his face livid with rage.

"Give me back the bottle."

"No," cried Kantilal, equally loudly. "And if you don't keep a civil tongue in your head, may be I'll have to show you how hard my knuckles are."

A crowd collected. A constable appeared.

"Hey, hey. What's all this?" the latter asked, stepping forward and saluting the shopkeeper.

"Let me see the bottle," he demanded when he was abreast of the situation. He took the bottle, examined it carefully, and was about to give it back to the shopkeeper when Kantilal smartly jerked it out of his hand.

"So!" he exclaimed, "Our worthy incorruptible police, eh? Never heard of Sardar Patel, have you?" Then turning to the shopkeeper, he said quietly: "You'll have to come with me to the Police Station, master. This constable cannot settle our differences.

The fat man looked nervously about him and his tone changed immediately. "The Police Station?" he querried in a voice that betrayed his fear. "But, my dear Sir, there *are* no differences. None at all. You are right. The price is 3/8. Thank you, Sir, thank you."

Kantilal thought again. Here was the end of the matter—so far as *he* was concerned. Should he leave it at that and run home with the precious drug? But something inside him prevented him taking this easy course, this line of least resistance. He caught hold of the fat man by the scruff of his neck and dragged him out of the shop.

"I must see it through," he said fiercely, "It is my duty. So, unless you want me to kick you all the way like a football, you will come quietly, my friend. And you too," he added turning towards the constable.

He was not a very powerful man but a certain zeal within him—a kind of fire—gave him the courage of a lion and, completely cowed by it, the shopkeeper and the policeman followed him meekly.

By the time they reached the Police Station, an enthusiastic crowd—never much in sympathy with the undeservedly wealthy or the "red turban"—was trailing behind them, cheering lustily.

Before the Inspector in charge, Kantilal stated his case simply. The fat man followed with a brazen denial and the constable supported the fat man. Under the table, something papery passed from the shopkeeper to the officer whose face immediately lit up with a smile of comprehension. He took Kantilal aside and whispered something into his ear.

"Are you trying to bribe me into silence, officer?" said Kantilal amazed at the other's words. "Shameful, I bring you a specific case of black marketing—you have no idea at what cost to myself—and you want to hush it up! But I might have known. For the last time, are you or are you not going to register my complaint against this man? Because, if not, perhaps I'd better get in touch with the S. P. I'm determined to see this thing through, you may rest assured. Somebody's got to

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give a lead. The Octopus must have its tentacles cut.

He knew that much time was being wasted. Every moment was precious to the life of his child. But he heroically ignored the lesser and stuck doggedly to the greater.

At length, the Inspector seemed to become convinced that this fanatic young man was in dead earnest. Reluctantly, lingering over every movement, he produced a register and leisurely took down Kantilal's dictation.

"Any witnesses?" he asked triumphantly, producing what he thought was a trump card.

To Kantilal's surprise, no less than to the Inspector's six young men stepped out of the crowd and among them was the man who had raised his feeble voice in the shop to support Kantilal and had later seemed to slink away.

"I was outside all the time—watching," he said.

Three faces fell, as the witnesses put their signatures and addresses to the report and at length, when it was all over, Kantilal hailed a taxi and jumped into it. He had done his duty and now he could go home with the precious "Pneumocure".

But even as the taxi drew up at the door of his house, he knew, with a sudden stab at his heart, that it was useless. He had arrived too late. The house was in commotion and the sound of his wife's wailing reached him.

In a sudden fit of rage, he dashed the bottle of "Pneumocure" to the ground and kicked viciously at the glass splinters. "Oh, if I hadn't been such a fool," he wailed remorsefully as he strode towards the house. "If I had let well alone..."

But, at the threshold, a new light dawned on him suddenly like a flash of lightning. He paused, jerked his head back proudly, looked at the starlit sky and murmured: "*Have* I been a fool, really? Have I? I wonder.."

Rajasthan—Past, Present and Future

BY MR. B. R. K. BHATNAGAR

RAJASTHAN, the land of the traditional rulers of Delhi in the pre-Muslim India, namely Rajputs, becomes the land of democracy, with the inauguration, on March 30, 1949, of the (Greater) United State of Rajasthan comprising all the States of Rajputana.

But even at the hour of its fall to the advancing forces of Indian nationalism, this last home of princely rule remains true to its historical traditions, which it established in the time of Akbar and later Moghul Emperors and continued during the days of East India Company and subseqent British Viceroys, *i.e.*, the tradition of falling in line with Delhi. With the exception of Rana Pratap's Udaipur in Akbar's days, the entire Rajasthan, the land of reckless fighters, had paradoxically enough accepted the suzerainty of Delhi without spilling a drop of blood when the spilling of blood counted in the history of India. And now, when Delhi has changed its masters from Muslims and British to the Indian National

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Congress and Rajasthan witnesses the bloodless transfer of power from Rulers and Princes to popular leaders, Rajasthan has once again accepted unlike other Unions of integrated States which have their own Legislatures—to be directly responsible to Delhi. This is, as it were, the age-old magic, which Delhi, the cradle and cemetery of successive governments of India, wields over the land which supplied a whole galaxy of heroes and heroines to the colourful stage of north Indian history, stage lit up by Rajasthani stars like Rana Sanga who led the armies of first Rajput confederation against Babar, and after routing Babar's advance guards at Khanwa inflicted on him a life of austerity and compelled him to break his drinking cups and swear by *Quran* never to touch wine again as a pious precaution against an impending defeat at the hands of Rajput forces, by stars like Rani Padmini who faced the fire to uphold the honour of Indian women and Rana Pratap who fired the imagination of soldiers of freedom in the face of heavy odds and imperialistic designs of Akbar, by stars like Raja Mansingh who carried the stamp of Rajput military genius throughout the length and breadth of the country and brought Kabul in the North and Golcunda in the South to the feet of Delhi and poetess Mira Bai who stamped the compositions of the Indian poets of all times with a religious fervour.

I have called Rajasthan the land of Rajputs though Rajputs form only 5 per cent. of the population, It is, nevertheless, the land of Rajputs, in that the entire texture of human life, and the entire outlook of 150 lakhs of its inhabitants is shaped, moulded and cast after the Rajput pattern. The Rajasthani literature and folk songs written in "Dingal" are mostly bardic in origin, having for their theme the chivalry and valour of Rajput kings and chiefs; the fairs and festivals have the colour and romance reminiscent of Rajput bravery: the dress, appearance and social manners follow closely those prescribed for Rajput courts; and even prominent poets and paetesses have been the Rajput princess like Mira Bai whose compositions have been translated in all the Indian languages from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin and the Somnath to Puri and the Rajput prince like Prithvi Raj, who, though a dignitary of Akbar's court, is believed to have inspired Rana Pratap to abandon the idea of qualified surrender to the Great Moghul, which the Rana had contemplated in a moment of desperation and exile. The couplets which produced this magic effect and Rana Pratap's reply to it when translated read:

FROM PRINCE PRITHVI RAJ

If you, Rana Pratap, would acknowledge Akbar, call him by the name of Padshah, the sun would rise in West. Oh Diwan (seniormost among the Rajputs); write to me one of the alternatives, whether I should twirl up my moustaches in pride or kill myself with my own sword.

FROM RANA PRATAP

The God *Eclinga* (Siva) will allow the mouth of Pratap to call Akbar only a Turk. The sun will rise in the East as it always does. Gladly therefore O Peethal (Prithvi Raj)! twirl up your moustaches in pride!

"Fair for the brave", is an age-old adage. Doubtless the people of Rajasthan have been brave—the Rajputs, Jats, Gujars and Minas have left an imprint of martial glory on the Indian Army of which they are an integral part even today—and fair their women-folk.

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The beauty of Rajasthan's women has been proverbial. Well known for their well-chiselled features, they dress themselves in most elegant styles. Their ample colourful shirts which are a master-piece of tailoring in folds and pleats and star-studded *cholis* in real or imitation embroidery, impart rhythm and majesty to their movements. They have always fascinated the visitor from the West, one of whom Aldous Huxley, says that the women of Rajasthan

> move with the princely grace of those who, with pot, and baskets on their heads, have passed their lives in practising the department of Queens.

Women belonging to the upper classes have been shut up behind the purdah, yet Rajasthan, true in its ideals, has ever been respectful to the dignity of womanhood. The kingdoms lost, lives sacrificed, and the pyres left by Rajasthan for upholding the chastity of its women and protecting the honour of its queens are the well known phenomena of Indian history.

The land which honours its women and produces sturdy martial people, has been equally a patron of art. The Rajasthani school of painting is a distinct and recognised school of Indian painting, possessing distinctive feature and beauty of its own. The love episodes of *Radha* and *Krishna* and the pictorial rendering of classical *Ragas* and *Ragnis* are the principal motifs of these paintings. The rare speciments of this art had a section exclusively devoted to themselves in the Paintings Gallery at the recent Government House Exhibition at New Delhi.

The architecture of Rajasthan has been described as a living art by Havell. The palaces of rulers, and the structures erected at the place of the cremation of royal persons speak volumes for what the Rajasthani architecture has been capable of. Though Rajasthan does not possess any master builders, and has not given proof of their existence before, the talent of the individual builder is of a high order and even today the artisans and masons have retained a capacity to beat men of their class from other parts of the country. An ample proof of this was provided when Rajasthan, particularly Jaipur, Bharatpur and Alwar contributed a large number of masons at the time of the laying out and construction of New Delhi.

II

It is a change from the poetic to the prosaic to leave the enchantingly colourful panorma of Rajasthan's past and return to the grim realities of the present.

What Rajasthan is to-day, except a backward unindustrialised barren tract of land? This is true. But the statement is not an unmixed truth. Rajasthan is backward, no doubt industrially, but it is the sons of Rajasthan's soil that are the industry makers of the Dominion of India. Whether it is the celebrated Birlas and Dalmias, the Singhanias or the Sekhsarias, the Podars or the Goenkas, all hail from Rajasthan—the owners of factories, mills, airways, banks, and whst not. Except the Tatas. most of the front rank industrialists of India come from Rajasthan. If Rajasthan is, therefore backward economically, it is not the fault of its people. It is Nature which is to blame, the Nature which has been hostile to its people. The entire energy of its inhabitants is concentrated not so much on expansion and development as in providing the very means of subsistance and livelihood,

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which would preserve human life against the ravages of Nature and the recurrent danger of famine. Sandy desert patches and hilly barren tracts abound in Rajasthan, and the fear of famine lurks round the corner. But still heroic efforts have been made, wherever they could be made, to overcome Nature through wells, bunds and canals, particularly in the bigger of the States like Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner.

As for industries, the land has uot a bad account to give of itself. It has undoubtedly been incapable of large scale industrialisation, both for want of knowledge and means—knowledge and means, which, with the integration of the States, now are expected to be forthcoming. But it must be said to its credit that it has preserved and in case of Jaipur and Bikaner developed its cottage industries full well. The brass, ivory, sandal-wood, dye and paper industries of Jaipur are in a flourishing state. The carpet and wool manufacture industries have recently been organised by the Bikaner Cottage Industries Institute.

The backwardness of Rajputana has also been ascribed to the lack of education of the people. The people of Rajputana are indeed backward in education; but here again the educational progress of the land has been a queer phenomenon. There have been colleges in every big State of Rajputana. The Maharaja's College at Jaipur is over a century old and has seen the birth of the Punjab, Allahabad, Agra and now Rajputana Universities to which it bas been affiliated from time to time for its various courses of study during its long history. There has been free education almost in every State. In addition, the Birla Education Trust and Messrs. Surajmal Nagarmal have opened hundreds of educational institutions in Rajputana. A number of mutually independent big and small units have been existing in Rajasthan, yet, Rajasthan presents the singular example of possessing a university of its own, to which the educational institutions of all these administratively separate and politically unintegrated units are affiliated. This is an advantage not possessed even by the hitherto largest Union of States like Madhya Bharat. It is hoped that not faced with any difficulty on this score, Rajasthan will now make great headway in the field of education.

This is no doubt that with such advantages Rajasthan will soon be on the road towards progress, the essentials for which it possesses in abundance—historical heritage, aesthetic and cultural outlook, industrial acumen, political unity, vast hidden unexploited natural resources and opportunities for power development at the only perennial yet potential river.—*Chamba.*

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PROVINCIAL BUDGETS

By Prof. V. G. RAMAKRISHNAN, M.A.,

THE pattern of provincial finance that emerges from the Provincial Budgets recently presented to the Legislatures is that, as an anti-inflationary measure, the Provincial Governments have avoided deficit financing. In almost all Provinces, notably Bihar, Madras, Bombay, W. Bengal, deficits of varying volume have been sought to be met by new taxation measures. In Madras the deficit is of the order of Rs 3·91 crores, while the taxes proposed are expected to yield about Rs. 4 crores. In Bombay the additional taxes proposed will convert an anticipatory deficit of Rs. 398·48 lakhs with a surplus of Rs. 11·52 lakhs. In W. Bengal the revenue deficit is Rs. 111 lakhs and this is expected to be made up by Rs. 80 lakhs expected from the proceeds of the recently passed Sales Tax Amendment Bill and the Agricultural Incometax Amendment Bill and Rs. 20 lakhs from the proposed increase in the entertainment taxes. The attempts made by the Provincial Governments not to leave their deficits uncovered is quite welcome but some of the taxation measures are obnoxious from the point of view of the larger interests of the people. For instance, the Bihar Government's proposal to levy sales tax on food grains, the Madras Government's proposal for withdrawal of the exemption from the General Sales Tax now allowed on the 1st sale of agricultural products; the 50. p. c. increase in the purchase tax on groundnut and cashewnut, the tax on coffee hotels and boarding houses—all these will adversely affect the price of foodstuffs of the consumer and on that account, are to be depreciated at the present time since half the battle against inflation consists of the reduction in the price of food. The proposal of the Bombay Government to levy a tax of 3 pies on all exports from that Province which is expected to yield about Rs. 2¾ crores a year, the withdrawal of the exemption so far granted in Madras in the case of tea, and the imposition of a tax on cotton at one stage are instances of levies which will accentuate the inflationary pressure, and further taxation of exports by the Provinces is an innovation payment with potentialities of evil for the future. While the progress in the process of integration and merger of States tends to break the old land customs cordon between them and the rest of India, the imposition of export duties by Provincial Governments is a barrier to inter-provincial trade and militates against national interest. The Madras Government's proposal to levy a tax on the increase in value of urban immovable property from 1938 to the date of sale looks like an inroad into central sphere of revenues and the proposal to impose a 12½ percent surcharge on house tax levied by municipalities and panchayats is a clear encroachment on the field of local finance. The introduction of Prohibition and the abolition of the Zamindari system have no doubt added to the difficulties of provincial finance, especially at a time when the inflationary situation imposes upon the Provincial and Central Government to balance their budgets and put a check on non-productive governmental expenditure. In their attempts to cover deficits, the public authorities seem unable to resist the temptation to treat trade and the tax-payer as convenient milch-cows.

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In regard to revenue, expenditure and fresh taxation, the provincial budgets this year disclose more or less similar features. The refugee problem in some provinces, and the acute food shortage in all the Provinces have affected their finances. For instance, W. Bengal has budgeted for a total expenditure of Rs. 10 crores on the relief and rehabilitation of refugees during the running year, whlle C.P. proposes to spend Rs. 3.27 crores on refugees. As regards the pressing and permanent problem of food, the cost of food subsidies and schemes for growing more food figures largely in the budgets of Bombay, Bihar & C. P.—Bombay (Rs. 8½ crores), C. P. (Rs. 4½ crores), & Bihar (Rs. 86 lakhs for grow-more Food schemes) alone. Any easing of the situation in the Provincial Budgets must begin first of all with an improvement in the food situation. Expenditure on Police and general administration etc. seem to be on the increase in all Provinces largely due to the present political and economical conditions with the result that lack of adequate funds seem to place nation-building activities in the region of possibilities rather than of immediate achievements. It looks as if more funds will not be available until the prices come down to normal levels and the various schemes now being planned actually become sources of provincial revenues.

Another main feature of Provincial Budgets is that fresh taxation follows more or less on the same lines. Excepting U. P. all Provinces have gone in from fresh taxation, and in all of them, the items, chosen are more or less the same. The Sales Tax has become a kind of 'Open Sesame' to the Provinces for augmenting their revenues. For instance, Bombay has chosen to levy the tax on a wide list of food products, cheap cloth, and school children's requirements. Bihar proposes to tax food grains at 3 pies in the rupee. The consumption of electricity has come in for fresh taxation, while in Bombay it is being extended to industrial consumers, while in C.P. it is being levied for the first time on non-industrial consumers. As regards the sales tax, the varying policies as well as the varying rates of Provincial governments raise the question whether it is not advisable to have it centrally collected and distributed to the Provinces as in the case of income-tax.

W. BENGAL

The impact of the partition is much more evident in the economic than in the political sphere in the province of Bengal. The Budget estimates of W. Bengal Government for the financial year 1949—50 discloses revenue deficit of one crore and eleven lakhs. Chronic budget deficits have been always an unhappy feature of Bengal's finances even in the pre-partition days and the evil legacy has passed on to W. Bengal also. But it must be said to the credit of the Finance Minister that he has reduced the deficit to a very small proportion in a province whose economy has been rudely shaken by the Global War as well as the partition. The Revised estimates for the current year place the revenue at Rs. 30-59 lakhs as against 31.19 lakhs in the original budget, the difference being due to drops in revenue from Stamps, Registration, Provincial Excise, and land revenue, and the grants from the centre have been reduced to the tune of Rs. 4 crores and 87 lakhs and the cumulative effect of all

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these things would have caused serious gaps in revenue receipts but for the better receipts under Sales Tax, Raw Jute, Electricity duty, entertainment Tax, Motor spirit, share of the divisible pool of income-tax and jute export duty.

For the coming year, increased receipts are anticipated under various heads such as Provincial excise, civil works, other taxes and duties and Transport. To meet the anticipated deficit in the coming year, it is proposed to enhance the entertainments tax, to revise the Agricultural Income-tax and to remove more commodities from the exemption list under Sales Tax. On the whole the financial structure of the Province is not unsound. It has no public debt, funded or floating though it owes to the centre a sum of Rs. 8 crores 82 lakhs which will swell to Rs. 24 crores 83 lakhs at the end of the next year and these amounts are intended to finance such productive projects as Calcutta Transport scheme, Grow More Food schemes, the Mor Project and the Damodar Valley project. An analysis of the expenditure also reveals the changing pattern of public finance towards nation-building items. The shift from dead weight to productive expenditures is unmistakable. It is true that Police still occupies the 1st place in the list of expenditures but General administration which occupied third place in undivided Bengal has dropped to sixth place in 1949—50 in W. Bengal. Education which was fifth is now fourth. Medical aid has reached third place and the trend is thus in favour of nation-building items.

As regards W. Bengal budget this year, a notable feature is the review of the political and economic situation given by Mr. N. R. Sarkar, the Finance Minister, as a background to the budget proposals. It is a matter of more than passing interest. Among the remedies suggested to overcome the deteriorating economic situation is borrowing capital from abroad and he is of opinion that loans from the International Bank would of course enhance India's credit and make other foreign creditors all the more ready to lend to India. But he wants such loans should be reserved only for selected Government sponsored or big schemes. He considers that participation of foreign industrialists would be even more fruitful of results than loans from International Bank in as much as India will get the requisite 'know-how' which the Bank Loans may not always carry with them. Since India has a strong centralised type of Government based upon democratic principles, Mr. Sarkar thinks that there is no need to be unduly apprehensive of the evils of foreign capital that are likely to manifest themselves in a country having a weak Government.

BOMBAY

As regards the budget for 1949-50, the revenue receipts are estimated at Rs. 48.81 crores whereas expenditure debitable to revenue is Rs. 52.41 crores. There is thus a gap of Rs. 3.60 crores and in order to meet the deficit, the Bombay Finance Minister has made the following proposals. First modifications in the present sales-tax structure, stamp duty on bullion transactions, electricity duty on energy used for purposes other than lighting and fans or by industrial establishments and a tax on newspaper advertisements. Of the four proposals, there is justification for stamp-

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duty on bullion transactions on the principle of taxing those best able to bear the burden of the tax. But in the case of other taxes, they would be really inflationary in their effects. The new imports are expected to bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 4.1 crores, which after covering the deficit will leave a small surplus of less than Rs. 12 lakhs.

MADRAS

The budget from 1945-50 estimates revenue receipts of Rs. 51.75 crores as compared with Rs. 53.38 crores (revised) for the current year. The estimated expenditure on revenue account for the budget year is placed at Rs. 55.66 crores as against the revised estimate of Rs. 57.04 crores for 1948-49. Thus the budget for the coming year reveals a deficit of Rs. 3.90 crores. Additional taxation measures are proposed to cover the deficit besides serving as an anti-inflationary measure. It is doubtful how far the additional taxation proposed will be really anti-inflationary but it is quite certain that it is an additional burden to the common people.

In a marathon speech, the Finance Minister has surveyed the measures for the betterment of the people and in particular for the Harijans, *viz.* a separate department of Harijan Welfare and ample free educational facilities from the primary to the University stage. The Government's programme of Industrial development provides Rs. 51 lakhs for the purchase of shares in the proposed Industrial Finance Corporation. The Central Government has been approached for the establishment of a steel factory and there are proposals regarding the production of important chemicals. The acquisition of the Andhra Paper Mills at Rajahmundry, the setting up of a hydrogenation factory at Calicut, the arrangements that are being made for the production of Austin Cars and the establishment of a factory for Standard Cars and Ferguson Tractors form part of a programme of industrial development. It is noteworthy that there is one thing in common to both Madras and Bombay budgets. In both provinces the full effects of the loss of revenue on account of Prohibition and the costly social projects are now becoming more apparent and the two Governments are resorting to desperate fiscal measures to make both ends meet.

UNITED PROVINCE

The U. P. Budget for 1949-50 declares a small surplus of Rs. 15 lakhs, receipts being estimated at Rs. 55.73 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 55.58 lakhs. No new taxes are proposed. Instead, two funds, the 'Sugar Research and Labour Housing Fund' to which Government have transferred Rs. 150 lakhs this year and the 'Zamindari Abolition Fund' to which will be allotted one crore out of the current year's surplus are to be created. The savings of the tenants are to be mobilised for feeding this Zamindari Abolition Fund. A tenant who contributes an amount equal to ten year's rent will be entitled to a reduction of 50 per cent on the sum now paid up by him as rent and will pay to the State one-half of this sum as revenue. This scheme will at once bring scattered surplus purchasing power into a pool to be utilised for eliminating middle men and reviving agricultural prosperity and will exert a healthy downward pressure on

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inflation by canalizing savings into productive channels.

CENTRAL PROVINCE

The budget for 1948-49 shows the revenue at Rs. 18·99 crores as against the estimated expenditure of Rs. 18.79 crores. In order to augment revenues, in the coming year, the exemption list under the Sales-tax has been narrowed down, as in the case of Bombay and Madras. Besides certain suitable articles have been transferred from the ordinary to the luxury list under this tax. Other taxes are the entertainments duty at the uniform rate of 50 per cent of the ticket, a profession-tax at the rate of Rs. 28 per annum upto an income level of Rs. 10,000 yearly and at Rs. 50 for income above Rs. 10,000, a registration fee of Rs. 12 per annum from money-lenders, enhancement of the taxes on motor vehicles, and the electricity duty as in the case of Bombay and Madras.

BIHAR AND ORISSA

Both Bihar and Orissa budgets for the year 1949-50 reveal certain common features. The estimated accounts of the two provinces show surpluses and both Provinces have introduced fresh taxation measures to augment their revenues.

In the case of Bihar, the revenue is estimated at Rs. 890·09 lakhs as against a budgeted expenditure of Rs. 876.09 lakhs. On capital account a receipt of Rs. 3039·74 lakhs as against a disbursement of Rs. 2907.09 lakhs is anticipated thus showing a surplus of Rs. 132·65 lakhs. On the side of taxation, proposals are for increasing the tax on motor vehicles, adhesive stamps, agricultural income and sales.

As regards Orissa, the budget for 1949-50 discloses an estimate of Rs. 24·40 crores under revenues and of Rs. 21.52 crores under expenditure and thus a surplus of Rs. 2·88 crores with which the current year's balance of Rs. 5.91 crores is expected to close the accounts with a balance of Rs. 8·80 crores at the end of the budget year. With a view to meet the cost of post-war schemes and other long-range requirements of the Province, proposals have been put forward to levy a tax on the sale of foodgrains at 3 pies in the Rupee, an increase in the rate of tax on retail sales of motor spirit and a super-tax on agricultural income over Rs. 25,000 a year and the taxation proposals are estimated to yield Rupees two crores.

EAST PUNJAB

The budget estimates for 1949-50 disclose a gap of Rs. 8·55 crores. Revenue receipts are estimated at Rs. 14·37 crores and expenditure at Rs. 22·92 crores. Out of a sum of Rs. 8·30 crores to be spent on refugee relief, a sum of Rupees seven crores is expected on this account from the Central Government and the real deficit would therefore be about Rs. 15 crores.

A survey of Provincial budgets leads us to certain general conclusions of considerable significance for the present and the future. War time inflation brought a sudden increase in Provincial revenues in terms of rupees and the inflationary conditions continue to maintain revenues at the bloated levels of the war period and all the Provinces have gone forward on the path of fresh taxes and large scale expenditure. Rising expenditure, on account of refugees, development schemes such as Grow-more Food

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Campaigns, expanding social and security services are outstanding features of Provincial Budgets of 1949-50. By some means or other, the Provinces mostly show a surplus for the coming year. Though they have attempted to avoid deficits, they cannot claim to have strengthened the fight against inflation. The need for co-ordination of tax policies either among Provinces or with the Centre does not seem to have received the consideration that was insisted upon at the recent Finance Ministers' Conference about the twin objectives of combating inflation and securing co-ordination in fiscal policies. The present position requires first of all relieving the inflationary pressure, and economy in public administration. Though the liquidation of illiteracy, total prohibition etc. are unexceptionable, these schemes of social amelioration depend on a certain rate of growth of our national income and the evolution of scientific system of public finance. Small Provinces like Orissa, Assam etc. have on the whole adopted fiscal policies free from serious error. West Bengal and East Punjab have suffered from the evils of partition which is writ large on their budgets. Among the medium-sized provinces, Bihar has made a careful and prudent management of her finances and among the bigger Provinces, U. P. has levied taxes to the tune of Rupees four crores a year and has been making annual additions to its revenue reserves. Madras and Bombay have also levied new taxes to the extent of Rupees' four crores a year and in all the Provinces, the new levies have fallen disproportionately on the sales-tax, as for example Bombay and Madras trying to cover three-fourths of the expected deficit from sales-tax. The increase in indirect taxation especially the manner in which it is now being employed is bound to affect the growth of trade and industry, and taxable capacity of the people. The present chaotic system of grants from the Centre to the Provinces, the present divisible pool of revenues between the Centre and the Provinces and the entire structure of Provincial taxation call for hard thinking and scientific reorganisation.

BUDGET AT A GLANCE (1949-50)

(IN CRORES OF RUPEES)

	BENGAL	BOMBAY	U. P.	C. P.	BIHAR	ORISSA	MADRAS
1. *Revenue*	31.83	48.81	55.73	18.49	24.40	8.90	51.75
2. *Expenditure*	32.94	52.79	55.58	18.79	21.52	8.76	55.66
3. Surplus (+) or Deficit (−)	—1.11	—3.98	+0.15	0.30	+2.88	+0.14	—3.91
4. Net Tax yield about	1.11	4.10	Nil	·50	Nil	Nil	4.00
5. Net surplus (+) or Deficit (−)	—	+.12	+·75	+·20	+2.88	+0.14	+.09

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INSIDE THE RED FORT

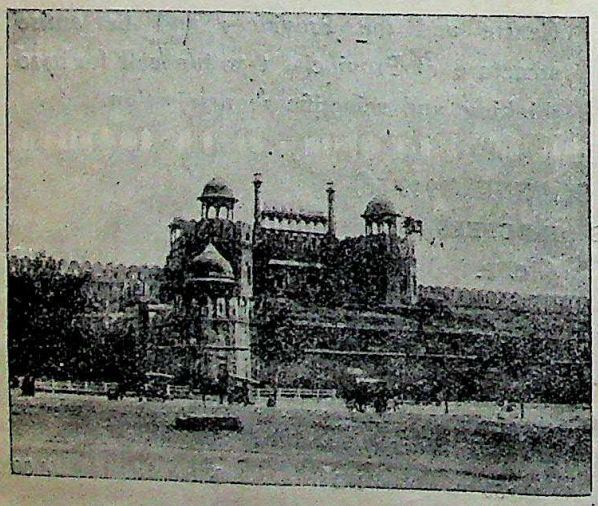
By Mr. N. K. HALDAR

—:o:—

THE recently concluded Mahatma Gandhi murder trial, which incidentally cost the Government more than Rs. 5,00,000, has stirred renewed interest in Shah Jahan's Red Fort wherein was conducted for nearly 8½ months one of the most momentous and poignant criminal cases of modern times.

It was here during the historic Mutiny of 1857 that Bahadur Shah was proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan by the mutineers. Within the four walls of the citadel a few months later, he was tried by a military court on charges similar to those which confronted the three I. N. A. officers in 1945, at the close of World war II.

What is the Red Fort's history and what is its heritage? It was built in the middle of the 17th century by the Mughal Emperor, Shah Jahan. Delhi boasts of many



A VIEW OF THE RED FORT, DELHI.

historical monuments of medieval grandeur and superb architecture but the Fort, described also as the "Heavenly Palace," is unique and legendary.

It is believed that under the foundation-stone of the Imperial Palace lay a solid gold model of the palace and a copy of the Holy Quran given by a Sunni Pir with the strict injunction that on the preservation of that holy book would depend the glory and continuity of the Moghul dynasty in India.

Shah Jahan secreted it along with the gold model under the foundation-stone, but Aurangzeb who knew the secret, dug it out for religious reasons, and kept it in a mosque especially built by him within the precincts of the Imperial Palace. It is well known that during his reign the Moghul Empire reached its zenith.

After Aurangzeb's death, the holy book mysteriously disappeared from the mosque and the disintegration of the Moghul Empire proceeded apace.

Much has been written about the awe-inspiring palace of Shah Jahan inside his Red Fort. One of the inscriptions on its walls reads, "a part of high heaven embellished with a hundred beauties,' illustrating the ecstasy of the Court poet who beheld in it an ethereal magnificence comparable to Heaven itself. Nor was this mere poetic hyperbole. One of the two most famous palaces in the Fort is the Diwan-I-Khas (Hall of Private Audience) which, writes an enthusiast, symbolises the great Shah Jahan himself, awe-inspiring in his royal eminence, exuberant in his love of beauty and dazzling in the majesty of his imperial power. The beauty of this gorgeous palace lies as much in its architectonic meaning as in its architectural excellence

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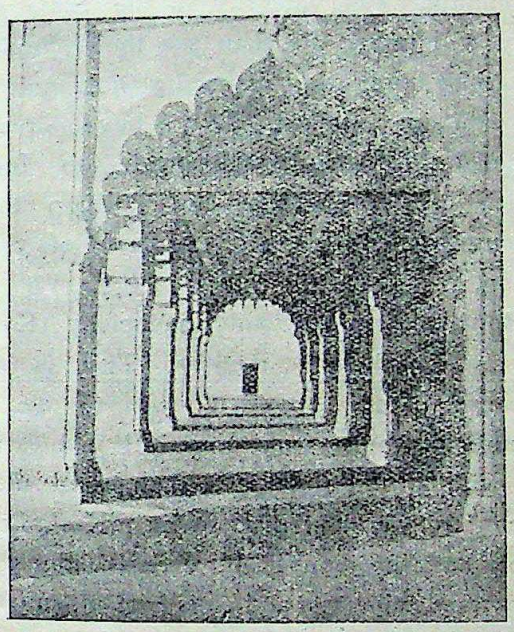
to which the purity of its marble, the perfection of its *Pietra Dura* decoration, the harmony of its rhythmic design, the grace of its colonrs and the attraction of the delightful background of the river Yamuna on one side and the Palace garden on the other, all contribute.

In short, the Diwan-I-Khas is indeed a marvellous gem of Mughal art, symbolic



DIWAN-I-KHAS INSIDE THE RED FORT.

of its royal builder's boundless magnificence and unstinted patronage of art and architecture.

There is a fairly big marble dais (takht) now removed to the eastern aisle of the hall, but which originally lay in the centre as the support for Shah Jahan's world-famed and bejewelled Peacock Throne, better known as Takht-i-taus, which cost no less than Rs. 10 million, equivalent then to £1¼ million, and took seven years to complete. Among the precious stones which encrusted it was a ruby, believed to be worth a lakh of rupees. It was first used by the Emperor in March 1636 A. D., for the New Year's day celebrations amid scenes of unexampled grandeur.

Next to the Taj at Agra, the Diwan-I-Am (Hall of Public Audience) is the best specimen of Moghul architecture, and has been immortalized in the oft-quoted inscription on one of its walls:

> If Paradise be on the face of the earth,
> It is this, it is this, it is this.

It was here that the Emperor met the principal officials, nobles and ambassadors to transact weighty and confidential business of State. There he would personally write or dictate all urgent official letters, promulgate State Firmans, decide the disputed affairs of the Crown demesne, award principal grants and charities, approve important architectural plans, inspect the works of the court painters and craftsmen, and, last but not least, enjoy musical entertainment in the company of select friends and courtiers.

After 300 years of fluctuating fortunes, the Red Fort still stands four-square in the capital of a new India, in the heart of a free and sovereign country, not just a relic of an age that has passed but as a reminder of India's ageless glory.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

"THE INDIAN REVIEW," (12 as.), published by G. A. Natesan & Co. in Madras, contains a number of interesting articles. This *Review* is level-headed in its policy and provides a fine example of decorous constructive journalism. Its format is neat and its proof reading is commendably good. Readers who appreciate an unbiassed survey of the political panorama will find it in The Indian Review—*Illustrated Weekly of India*.

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Kashmir's Future—Linked-Up With India

By Mr. J. NIGAM, M A.

WITH peace once again reigning supreme in the beauteous Valley of Kashmir, things are by now clear that Kashmiris never wanted war to come and ravage their land with endless death and misery. Both by nature and temperament Kashmiris are a peace-loving people who want home-rule under their own leadership without any pressure from outside. Under the able and wise leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, who is popularly known as Sher-i-Kashmir and who is now the Prime Minister of the State, they have always stood for peace and non-violence.

To say that Kashmiris revolted against the Dogra rule and began killing and butchering their own people with the help of the tribal raiders, who gave them a helping hand to become free and accede to Pakistan is as great a myth as can ever be imagined. It was Pakistan which with lusty promises of rich loot let loose a host of tribal people led by her regular forces, to capture the land of Kashmiris and make her a scapegoat for her own exploits. How Kashmir under the leadership of the National Conference rose as one man to meet the challenge and how Indian Army came to their rescue is now history.

The glorious fight that Indian Army and State's people put against the forces of evil that threatened the very existence of the soil, forced the invaders to agree to cease-fire and honour the pledge that India signed when it conditionally accepted the State's accession. The State's accession to India or Pakistan is now a matter of the free will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and no pressure from outside can now intimidate with the life and honour of the Kashmiris. Kashmiris know their mind best and no fanatic propaganda can separate them from the National Conference that keeps them together. The leaders of the National Conference are all tried leaders of the people who have no axe of their own to grind. They have always stood for the honour and integrity of the State and they will rather die than see their country tottering under the menacing influence of any outside power. They have already decided that they will accede to India which can help them to develop their resources and raise the standard of their living,

Both economically and financially Kashmir is a backward country. This is not because nature ordained her to be so. Nature has been very bountiful in blessing her with all the resources that go to make a country big and prosperous. Kashmir is a big treasure-house of various kinds of important minerals and ores and if suitably explored, it can unearth some of those rare things which are the envy of the world. There is every possibility that Kashmir may have a big reservoir of petrol and a big pipe line hid in her bosom.

There is no denying the fact that if Kashmir has to make good use of her resoueces and if it has to liquidate her poverty, it must ally herself with a country whi h can deliver her goods in the minimum possible time. India is the only country which can help Kashmir in the right direction. There can be no doubt, about this. Pakistan with her weak resources and equally weak capacity for a swift

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industrialisation cannot pull another man's cart. She has neither the machinery nor the necessary strength to drive through this business.

India has sufficient strength to tide over her present difficulties which are mainly due to after-effects of partition.

Free India has vast resources. Her financial position is sound. Her industrial output is creditable and she has a well balanced economy. She is striving hard to work night and day to harvest the power that lies waste in her big rivers. She has already under execution very many tenative plans which will change her face altogether.

Kashmir knows that in associating herself with the mother country, she is going to have a good time. She knows also that if it basked in India's healthy sunshines, it will emerge as a great country—big and prosperous. All her poverty which clings to her like an old disease and tampers with the life of her people will be a thing of the past and she will have reason to feel proud of taking a right decision when her very existence was at stake.

Kashmiris cannot afford to take a different decision for that would amount to killing the goose that laid her golden eggs. All her trade and industry are directly connected with India. Kashmir is abundant in fruits. It prepares silk and silken cloth, saries, handloom cloth, costly durries and other luxury goods. All these things find their ready market in India.

Pakistan cannot even offer a fair price to all these commodities. She herself exports fruits. Only last year when she was cut off from India her fruit trade was greatly paralysed. As costly a fruit as grapes did not get enough market in Pakistan and was sold at 2 annas a seer. Silken and other luxury goods that are so popular in India cannot find so ready a response in Pakistan where people are proverbially poor.

Kashmir attracts an unending stream of tourist traffic from India. Roughly speaking more than half the population of the Valley earn their livelihood by associating themselves with this traffic. If Kashmir joined hands with Pakistan all this will stop and this will result in great dislocation of trade and industry which will finally tell upon her people.

All these factors weigh heavily with Kashmiris. They cannot possibly damage their own cause. They have to put their house in order and they will think twice before they take a hasty step.

SONG

BY TERENCE HEYWOOD

I know the loveliest, whitest of beaches,
That sleeps in tranquillity under the noon,

And bears in the breast of its inland reaches,
A blue lagoon.

Its wind-chiselled features by sea-spray entinctured
Are undulant, shapely and smooth to the eye,

And its bosom immaculate halo-encinctured,
Is bare to the sky.

I shall go with my love there and spend the day gazing,
In the lake, in her eyes, in the blueness above,

And into the night I shall linger there lazing,
With all I love.

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

I WISH I HAD BEEN THAT BANK CLERK

Half of these stories about the prodigious fortunes made by begging are (I verily believe) misers' calumnies. One was much talked of in the public papers some time since, and the usual charitable inferences deduced. A clerk in the Bank was surprised with the announcement of a five hundred-pound legacy left him by a person whose name he was a stranger to. It seems that in his daily morning walks from Peckham (or some village thereabouts) where he lived, to his office, it had been his practice for the last twenty years to drop his half penny duly into the hat of some blind Bartimeus, that sat begging alms by the wayside in the Borough. The good old beggar recognised his daily benefactor by the voice only; and, when he died, left all the amassings of his alms (that had been half a century perhaps in accumulating) to his old Bank friend.

Was this a story to purse up people's hearts, and pennies, against giving alms to the blind?—or not rather a beautiful moral of well directed charity on the one part, and noble gratitude upon the other?

I sometimes wish I had been that Bank clerk.

—*Lamb.*

. . . . .

POET AND THE FOOL

Sir, I admit your general rule
That every poet is a fool;
But you yourself may serve to show it
That every fool is not a poet.

—*Pope.*

WHY BEMOAN DEATH?

What reason hast thou, O mortal, for all this exceeding sorrow? Why bemoan and bewail death? For, if thy life past and gone has been welcome to thee, why not take thy departure like a guest filled with life, and enter with resignation on untroubled rest? But if all thou hast enjoyed has been squandered and lost and life is a grievance, why seek to add more, to be wasted in its turn and utterly lost without avail? Why not rather make an end of life and travail? for there is nothing more which can continue to give thee pleasure: all things are ever the same.

Epicurus.

. . . . .

A LAW SUIT

Tom and Bill had gone to law;
Such a sight you never saw!
Tom was deaf and so was Bill,
But the judge was deafer still.
Tom recounting all he'd spent;
Said, 'He owes me five months' rent.'
Bill replied, with smiling scorn,
''Tis at night I grind my corn.'
Then the judge, serene and bland,
Raised a deprecating hand:
'Why dispute with one another?
After all, she is your mother.'

—*A. C. Benson.*

. . . . .

CALL A SPADE A SPADE

In literature as in life he makes himself felt who not only calls a spade a spade but has the pluck to double spades and re-double.

—*Q.*

. . . . .

THE SURE WAY TO BE CHEATED

The surest way to be imposed upon is to think oneself cleverer than other people.

—*La Rochefoucauld.*

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PEACE

[The simple poignant sincerity of these lines will find an echo in many hearts that have loved, lost and suffered. The poem is steeped in sentiment which however, is touched by a courage which clears it of sentimentality. The note of grief and loveliness slowly broadens down into resignation.]

What though the world indifferent be, and lost
Is all the dear delight of happier days,
And gone the one who gave to life its light,
Peace has not fled. The rapture of the spring,
—The breathless hush of early summer dawns,
—The magic of the moon behind the hill,
—The cloistered calm of dim cathedral woods·····
—The eternal stillness of the shining stars,
—The shining beauty of untrodden snow,
—The brooding peace of sleeping moors at dusk,
These are Earth's pastures green, her waters still.
All that one loved is lost, but there remains
—Though ne'er again the path of joy be trod—
The Changelessness of God.'

—*Hilda Travelyan—Thompson.*

. . . . .

TO DO GREAT THINGS

To do great things a man must live as though he had never to die.

—*Vauvanargues.*

GLORY

To what do Caesar and Alexander owe the infinite greatness of their renown, if not to Fortune? How many men has she not snuffed out in the beginning of their career of whom we have no knowledge, who brought to their work the same courage as they, but whose ill luck stopped them short at the very birth of their enterprises? In the course of the many and extreme dangers to which he was exposed, I do not remember having read that Caesar was ever wounded. A thousand have fallen in lesser dangers than the least of those he passed through.

—*Montaigne.*

. . . . . .

ONE DISASTROUS DAY

"Now no more shall thy home receive thee with glad welcome, nor wife and children run to be the first to snatch kisses and touch thy heart with a silent joy. One disastrous day has taken from thee, luckless man, all the many prizes of life." This do men say, but add not thereto "and now no longer does any craving for these things beset thee withal."

—*Lucritius.*

MISFORTUNES

Nobody is so weak but he is strong enough to bear the misfortunes he does not feel. —*La Rochefoucauld.*

. . . . .

GREAT MEN

Great men owe a fourth part of their fame to their daring, two-fourths to their fortune and the remaining fourth to their crimes. — *Ugo Foscolo.*

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THE DEEP PATHOS

The deep pathos lying in the thought of human mortality—that we are here a little while and then vanish away—that this earthly life is all that is given our loved ones and to our many suffering fellowmen—lies nearer the fountains of moral emotion than the conception of extended existence.

—*George Eliot.*

. . . . . .

NOTHING BEGINS, AND NOTHING ENDS

Nothing begins, and nothing ends
That is not paid with moan;
For we are born in other's pain,
And perish in our own.

—*Francis Thompson.*

. . . . . .

KINDNESS AND COURAGE

Life is mostly froth and bubble;
Two things stand like stone—
Kindness in another's trouble
Courage in our own.

—*Lindzay Gordon.*

. . . . . .

RETIRED BUSINESS MAN

He always said he would retire
When he had made a million clear,
And so he toiled into the dusk
From day to day, from year to year.
At last he put his ledgers up
And laid his stock reports aside,
But when he started out to live
He found he had already died.

—*Anderson M. Scruggs,*
in THE SUN (New York).

. . . . . .

THE DESPISER

He who despises mankind will never get the best of either others or himself.

—*Toqueville.*

THE SPORT OF FATE

Here on the earth we are the sport of Fate; nay, on the earth itself we are worse off still, we are beneath the moon, and beneath the moon there is not only Fate, but something more unworthy and equally malignant—chance, to say nothing if damp and the ills of earth and bad demons.

—*Gilbert Murray* in
"Greek Religion."

. . . . . .

THE GRATITUDE OF MEN

I've heard of hearts unkind, kind deeds
With coldness still returning;
Alas! the gratitude of men
Has oft'ner left me mourning.

—*Wordsworth*

. . . . . .

LIFE AND POETRY

All that is worth remembering in life is the poetry of it. —*Hazlitt.*

. . . . . .

MAGNANIMITY AND PRUDENCE

Magnanimity owes no account of its acts to prudence.

—*Vauvanargues.*

. . . . . .

THE SERVICE AND THE STATE

You will do the greatest service to the State if you shall raise, not the roofs of houses, but the souls of citizens; for it is better that great souls should dwell in mean houses than for mean slaves to lurk in great houses. —*Epictetus.*

. . . . . .

CLIMBING AND CREEPING

Climbing and creeping are done at the same attitude. —*Swift.*

. . . . . .

HAPPY AND UNHAPPY FAMILIES

All happy families resemble one another; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way. —*Tolstoi.*

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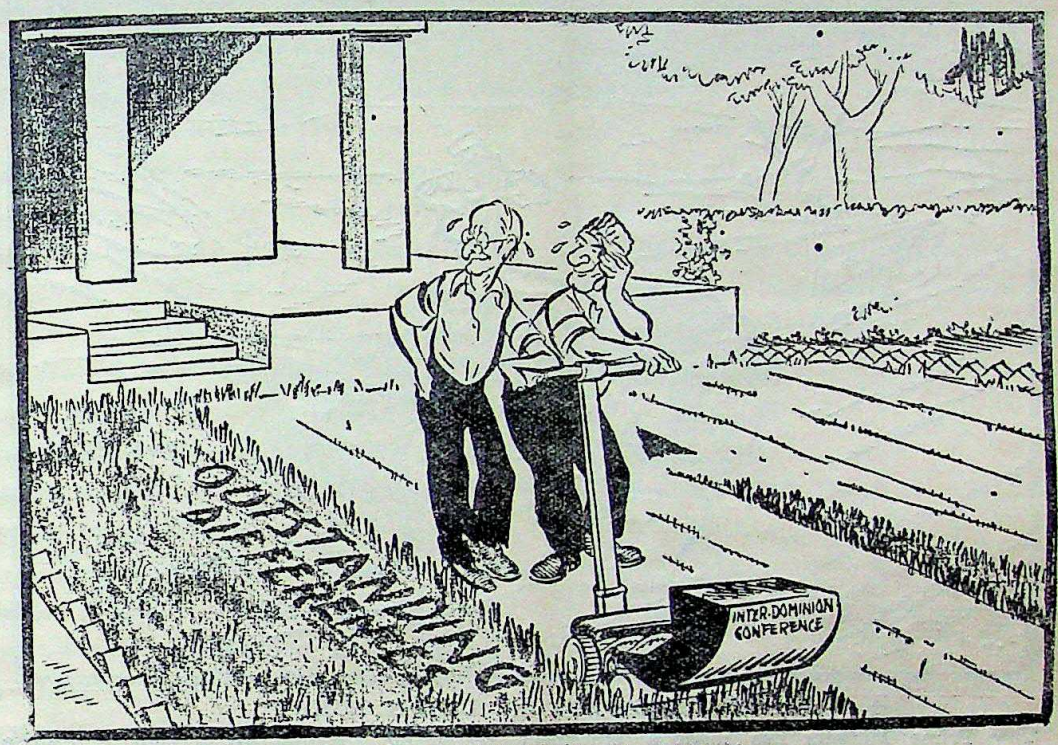
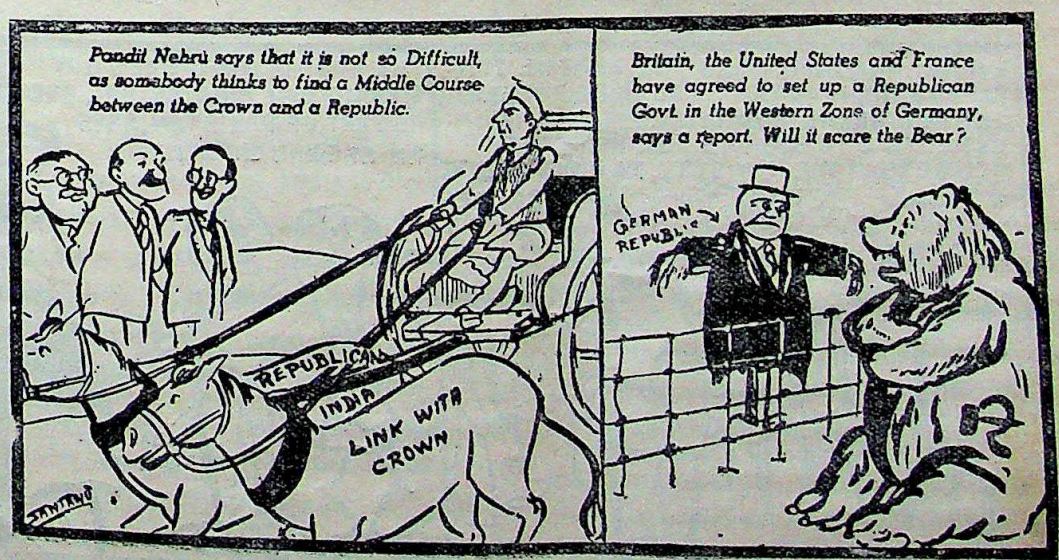
TOPICAL CARTOONS



"NOT VERY MUCH LEFT NOW!"

Courtesy: *The Hindustan Times.*



Courtesy: *Free India.*

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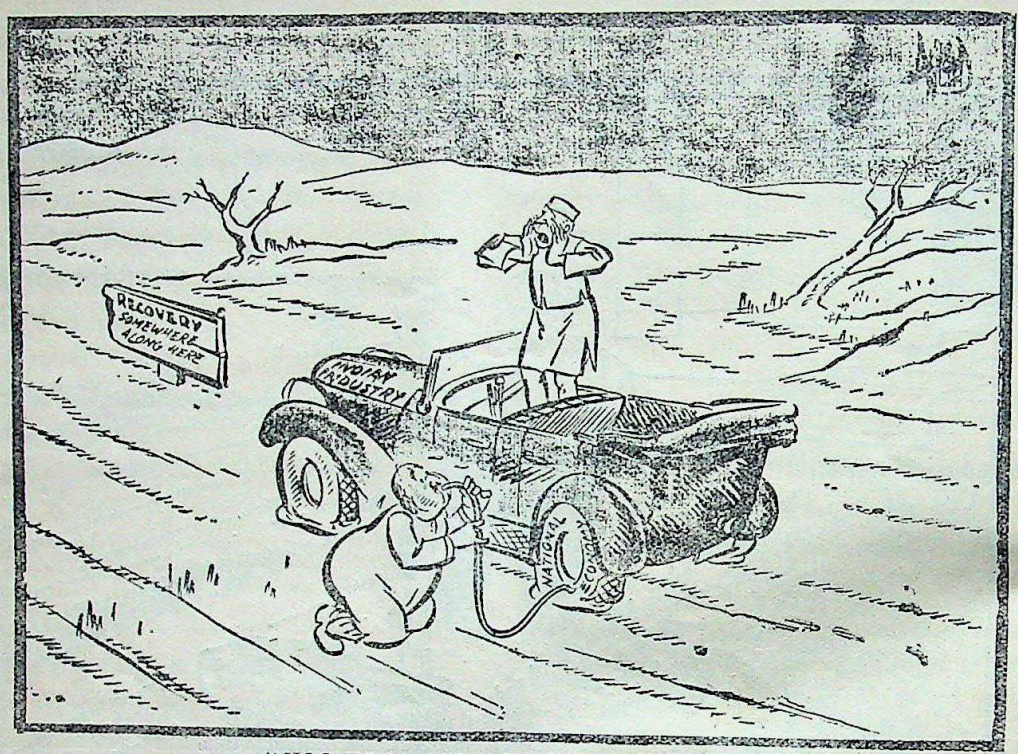

"YOO-HOO! ANYONE GOT A PUMP?"

The Prime Minister has made a statement reassuring freedom to foreign enterprise from discriminatory restrictions and welcoming capital from abroad.

Courtesy: *The Hindustan Times.*

Courtesy: *Free India.*

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Commonwealth Agreement

THE outcome of the London Conference of Commonwealth Premiers is the settlement of a problem that has been the theme of endless discussions and consultations for several weeks past. The Agreement is satisfactory in so far as India becomes a member of the Commonwealth on her own terms. And then the Commonwealth is all the richer for the retention of a country of such potential power and importance. A new experiment in international fellowship has come into being—replacing the old Statute of Westminster—whereby "Dominions and Republics become indistinguishable and the way opened for discussing closer ties and looser union."

According to the London Agreement India will "remain a full and equal member of the Commonwealth of Nations freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress."

The Government of India have agreed to accept the King merely as symbolic head of this "free association of independent members". The King will have no constitutional functions as far as India is concerned. The future head of the Republican India will be an elected President, who will express the sovereign will of the people and exercise the functions hitherto performed by the King.

Thus the British Crown will cease to be the ruling symbol in New Delhi and will become, for India, merely the symbol of her association with the Commonwealth of Nations. When her Republican Constitution comes into force, "India will cease to owe allegiance to the Crown, while all the other Dominions, including Pakistan and Ceylon, will continue to owe such allegiance."

At the final plenary session of the Premiers Pandit Nehru is reported to have made a speech which left a deep impression. One of his main points is believed to have been that the Commonwealth should not be regarded as a military bloc, but should try to approach world problems in a constructive and progressive way.

Other important aspects of the declaration are as follows:

(1) India will continue to enjoy full imperial preference to trade matters.

(2) The word "Dominion" which has not been used officially for some time, will now be finally abandoned.

(3) Within the Commonwealth, Indian citizens will continue to have all the rights they now enjoy.

(4) Legislation, it is suggested, will not be needed in any of the Commonwealth countries to give the declaration full effect.

(5) When India becomes a Republic the office of Governor-General, as representative of the King, will disappear.

(6) The future designation of India's diplomatic representatives in Commonwealth republic—now called High Commissioner—has yet to be decided.

To a large extent the London Agreement is a personal triumph for Pandit Nehru even as it fully expresses British genius for adapting itself to new situations.

Sir H. P. Mody, New Governor of U. P.

Sir Homi Mody, the biographer of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, is an Indian first and a Parsi afterwards. He is the last person to think of himself in terms of community but it must be gratifying to members of this important minority, that an eminent Parsi leader and businessman should have been chosen Governor of U. P. in succession to Sarojini Naidu. Sir Maharaj Singh in Bombay and Asaf Ali in Orissa are reputed members of other important minorities.

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Recruitment to the Armed Forces

Brig. Billimoria, Director, Selection of Personnel, Army Headquarters, who was addressing a Press Conference in Bombay complained that response from suitable young men for admission to the newly-started Inter-Services Wing of the Armed Forces Academy had been "disappointing," with a large number of vacancies for the training courses remaining unfilled. But what was more disturbing was the disparity of the response of the various Provinces. For example, Brig. Billimoria said:

> Out of the approximately 180 cadets now undergoing training at the Inter-Services Wing, over 50 were from East Punjab, about 40 from Delhi Province, and about 35 from the United Provinces, leaving about 50 only from the other large provinces of India, such as Bombay, Madras and Bengal.

Illustrating the disparity further, the Brigadier said that for the second course of the Academy, beginning in July, 1949,

> out of about 300 applications received up to date, 240 were from East Punjab, Delhi, and the U. P. while only 18 were from Bombay, 11 from Madras, 11 from Bengal, 10 from C. P. and Berar and 4 from Bihar.

If this "very serious state of affairs" continued, Brig. Billimoria said, "and over 75 per cent of Officer Candidates for the Armed Forces were recruited from Northern India

> we will be faced with the problem of a martial class again, which no true citizen of India would desire in a secular State.

It is in the interest of Free India that the citizen army of the future is fully representative of all Provinces and classes of people and there is no disparity in the response to the recruitment drive of the armed forces of the country.

Asian Nations meet in New Delhi

India is content to be left free to manage her affairs without hindrance from foreigners. Having just recovered her freedom she does not aspire to lead any more than she desires to be led. But circumstances are forcing her to take a leading part in Asian affairs. Events in Burma and China and Indonesia cannot be a matter of unconcern to us. There is trouble in all these countries and India, being comparatively free from such troubles she is looked up to for guidance and friendly counsel. She has vast resources in men and material and her statesmen have not been wanting in sagacity and goodwill. India is steadily acquiring a sort of natural leadership which she cannot afford to dispense with.

Representatives of eleven Asian countries met in New Delhi last month under the Presidentship of India's Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and reviewed the situation in Indonesia and considered the next step to be taken for a satisfactory solution of the Indonesian problem.

The conference, which was of an informal nature, became necessary, as the recent resolution of the United Nations Security Council on Indonesia, was not in conformity with the one passed on January 22 by the Asian Conference on Indonesia.

The countries represented at the conference were: Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, China, Ceylon, Egypt, Iran, Nepal, Pakistan, Siam and India.

THE LIMIT

The burglars were busy in the store. "Look at the price of this suit," said Bill. "Downright robbery, I call it."

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The Madras Ministry

Madras, which in the past, led the other Provinces in efficient and progressive government, has of late fallen in public esteem. It would be invidious to discuss the relative merits of the two Premiers who have successively held the position once held by C. R. and Mr. Prakasam. There is one thing in common. Mr. Kumaraswami Raja, like Mr. Reddiar owes his position to the favour of a clique which has made and unmade Ministry in the Province. The main business of the leader is to lead and if he submits himself to be led by any group however powerful, he is no more secure in his office, and the same process which helped him to power will be his undoing. Secondly the legislators themselves hardly seem to be of one mind on any matter of public importance, save the retention or dissmisal of the men in their power. Until the legislators begin to think in terms of policy rather than of personalities there is little hope of good government in the Province. And then, fancy each Minister speaking his own mind irrespective of the collective view of the Cabinet. The Cabinet must work as a team, choosing its leader with discrimination and working with him loyally and faithfully. The new Premier has had fairly good experience of public life and his modesty must carry him far in enlisting the support and co-operation of those whose support and co-operation are well worth having in the interest of the government and people of this Province.

DO YOUR BEST

Judge: "The sentence is twenty years' penal servitude."

Prisoner: "But, my lord, I won't live that long!"

"Never mind, just do the best you can."

Pandit Nehru on Foreign Investments

The Prime Minister's statement in Parliament welcoming foreign investments in India has aroused considerable interest in Britain and U. S. A. There is of course, plenty of capital in India, and if Indian businessmen are wise and patriotic they can make the best use of their capital in their own interest and in the interest of the country. But in the long term programme of industrialisation on which India is bent on launching there is ample scope for additional investments from abroad. The Prime Minister's statement is not necessarily an invitation to foreign financiers to employ their money in India in preference to Indian capital. It is to be interpreted as offering a fair field for foreign financiers if they care to take the opportunities offered by the new demands of Indian industrialisation.

The chairman of the U. S. National Association of the Manufacturers recently pointed out two conditions which are necessary to ensure the free flow of foreign capital. The capital importing country should ensure fair and non-discriminatory treatment to foreign investors and foreign capital must be protected against inadequate compensation in the case of compulsory acquisition. Pandit Nehru's statement gives ample guarantee to foreign investors on both these points.

GLAMOR GIRL

The head of the firm was frowning over a letter. Calling for his chief clerk, he said: "That typist—you certainly didn't engage her on account of her grammar!"

"Grammar", said the other. "When you were emphasizing the importance of grammar—well, I thought you said 'glamor'!"

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Truman's Threat

President Truman's threat that he would not hesitate to use the atom bomb against the erring nation does no more than reflect the average Westerner's approach to the problem of peace. The American President is merely echoing the familiar language of Churchill and Stalin. For at bottom the temper of mind which gives vent to such language is just the same in all three. But who is to judge whether a nation's acts are righteous or wicked? Hitler had no doubt that his national socialism would save the world from the wickedness of Western democracy and he threatened the rest of the world with dire consequences. Whatever is good or bad for the nations there is no doubt that this kind of talk is one which is bound to create the very atmosphere of war. And yet the President's intention was far from aggressive. The attitude of mind betrayed by such talk is the very despair of the pacifist intent on paving the way to permanent peace. What we need is a new approach to the problems of peace, an approach which must appeal to ths best instincts of men and nations, inspiring confidence and faith in one another and in the ultimate brotherhood of mankind. Hence Gandhiji's insistence on correct means for ends, however desirable in themselves.

Eire breaks with the Crown

On April 18, Easter Monday, Eire cut off her last link with the British Crown. The ceremonial inauguration of the Republic of Eire was an impressive affair. At a Press Conference in Dublin, the same afternoon Prime Minister John Costello declared:

> We now stand alone as a Nation. We have no alliances, entanglements or ties with any country in the world. But we are to be reckoned with now as an independent State, however, small we are.
>
> Until partition goes we cannot give the full contribution we could give in economic and military co-operation in the defence of peace.

Mr. Costello said the Eire Government would be prepared to allow the people of Northern Ireland to retain their present powers of Government provided that the powers of defence and foreign affairs were in the hands of an all-Ireland Government.

> Although we have severed the ties that bound us to Great Britain and the other members of the Commonwealth, we believe that what has been done to-day will ensure more cordial and closer co-operation, greater and more real friendship between Ireland, Great Britain and the other Commonwealth countries than could over have existed under former conditions.

Mr. Eaman de Valera and members of the opposition boycotted the function, as in their view this act of complete severance would make the idea of re-union with Northern Ireland absolutely out of the question. Spokesmen of the Government on the other hand are convinced that link with the Crown has in no way helped the process of re-union and is likely to prove a hindrance rather.

U. N. Trusteeship for Italian Colonies

India has suggested an eight-point plan for direct United Nations Trusteeship for the whole of the former Italian Colonies in Africa, with the exception of Eastern Eritrea. Addressing the General Assembly's Political Committee, Mr. M. C. Setalvad, Chief Indian delegate, called for an impartial United Nations administration outside the Big Power orbit, and devoted to the preparation of these territories for early independence.

Mr. Setalvad said India appreciated the strength of the case made out by Ethiopia for the incorporation of a part of Eritrea into Ethiopia. "In the circumstances," he said,

> I would suggest that in Eastern Eritrea, including the ports of Massawa and Assab, an immediate plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations be taken.
>
> If the people express their will to be incorporated into Ethiopia such a decision may be given effect to.

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Journalists in Conference

South Indian journalists, meeting in Conference at Madras, were happy to have their tried and well beloved President Mr. N. Raghunathan of the *Hindu* to guide their deliberations for the fourth time in succession. That selection was a tribute alike to Mr. Raghunathan's interest in working journalists and their own appreciation of his eminent services.

Speaking of the role of the press following the achievement of freedom in India Mr. Raghunathan made pointed reference to the twin evils of scurrilous writings in newspapers and the gutter Press, battening on group prejudices and antagonisms, communal, religious and racial. Such unhealthy developments cannot be too strongly deprecated. But he held that, while the ordinary criminal law should be rigorously enforced against all law-breakers including the erring section of the Press, nothing should be done to impede the fullest freedom of criticism unless there was imminent danger of violence resulting from the misuse of such freedom.

It was a happy augury too that the first important public gathering which the new Premier Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja addressed was the conference of journalists. That is as it should be. For as the Premier rightly observed a 'fearless and independent Press, like an independent judiciary was an index of real democracy.' The press, he added, should bring home to the Government their acts of commission and omission, which required rectification.

In fact nothing can be more helpful to good government than a clean press, critical when necessary but always discerning and helpful in the larger interest of society.

Civil War in China

The civil war in China has flared up with fresh vigour on the failure of negotiations. The Communists have crossed the Yangtse at various points and are spreading out fanwise to the South. Nanking has fallen, they have entered Taiyuan and isolated Shanghai. The defence on the mighty river has crumbled with surprising suddenness. The Nationalists have evacuated the capital and have fallen back to Hangchow, the capital of Chekiang province. The complete collapse of China seems inevitable.

What kind of Government will emerge from the civil war is a matter for speculation. Mr. Mao Tse-tung, the Communist leader, has declared that

> the particular task of the Chinese Communists is to unite all revolutionary forces within the whole country, to drive out the aggressive forces of American imperialism, overthrow the reactionary role of the Kuomintang, and establish a unified Democratic People's Republic.

He has denounced "foreign imperialism and native feudalism" and has called for the abrogation of all unfair treaties which China had been forced to enter into with foreign countries.

At the moment the Communists are in full command and fairly strong and popular too. Western powers can hardly afford to take liberties with new China. They will doubtless move warily seeing that new China, though Communist, will yet be undivided. A united China is a different affair to deal with and can't be tackled piecemeal. But then Chinese Communism may adapt itself to the needs of the soil and turn out a different pattern from the Soviet.

Broadly speaking, human beings may be divided into three classes: those who are toiled to death, those who are worried to death and those who are bored to death.

—*Winston Churchill.*

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

MAHATMA GANDHI. By H. S. L. Polak, H. N. Brailsford and Lord Pethick-Lawrence. With a Foreword and Appreciation by Sarojini Naidu. Odhams Press, Ld., Long Acre, London. Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Rs. 10-8.

The publishers claim this is a complete and authoritative biography of Mahatma Gandhi yet published. No biography of Gandhiji could be complete in one volume. His long public career, crowded with so many activities and such achievements could hardly be compressed within the space of a single volume. Attempts are therefore rightly made in India to prepare a full length biography of the Mahatma, making use of all available material in the shape of innumerable sketches and studies and his own literary remains. But the book under review is certainly as authoritative a document as can be conceived. For all the three writers and the lady who wrote the Foreword were all intimately associated with Gandhiji in many of his activities and at various times. And they can rightly claim to speak with authority and personal knowledge. Gandhiji had inspired many writers among his contemporaries and the authors of this book are not the least of them. Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mahatma Gandhi's deputy during the pre-1914 period in South Africa, writes appropriately enough of the early years. Mr. H. N. Brailsford, journalist and author, writes of him during the inter-war period. Lord Pethick Lawrence writing with the dual authority of an old friend and former Secretary of State for India rightly observes

that the world of atom bombs and perhaps bacteriological warfare 'may yet be forced to think again of some escape from self-destruction along the Mahatma's lines.'

Lord Pethick-Lawrence sums up the Mahatma's role in world history :

No one truly understands the life and thought of Mahatma Gandhi who imagines the emancipation of India from foreign rule was the main purpose of his life, or that its attainment was his greatest contribution to the land of his birth.

For his kingdom, like that of Christ or the Buddha, was not of this world. It was the moral emancipation of his countrymen and countrywomen from the sins of sloth, cowardice, malice and uncharitableness that was his overriding passion.

Nevertheless, unlike these founders of two great religions, Gandhi stepped down from the high plane of spiritual leadership to mingle in the arena of everyday affairs. In that, he more nearly resembled the Hebrew prophets who played an active part in the statecraft of their days.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who, alas has so soon followed the Mahatma, writing as friend and disciple in a foreword asks :

How, in what lexicons of the world's tongues, shall I find words of adequate beauty and power that might serve, even approximately, to portray the rare and exquisite courtesy and compassion, courage, wisdom, humour and humanity of this unique man ?

He was assuredly a lineal descendant of all the great teachers who taught the gospel of love, truth and peace for the salvation of humanity, and who was essentially akin to all the saints and prophets, religious reformers and spiritual revolutionaries of all times and lands.

YOUNG TEACHER'S GUIDE. By the Rev. R. Conesa. S. J. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay, price Re. 1.

This is a useful exhortative book for those who enter the teaching profession. There are six chapters, the last two being The Modern World and Modern Education, and Modern Theories of Education.

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THE WORLD AND INDIA. By Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. Published by the Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore, Re. 1.

The beautifully got up little booklet under review is the substance of the two lectures delivered by the author to the Indian Institute of Culture, and they appeared first in two instalments in the *Aryan Path* January and February 1949. The first lecture "India and world culture" gives us the main characteristics of Indian Philosophy and Culture, and brings out the "ideological and material intercourse which has gone on for long centuries between India and the rest of the world. The progressive, universalistic, rational, spiritual and the humanistic ideals of Indian thought are clearly touched on and eloquently described. The fundamental unity of Indian culture is emphasised as its unique character.

THE INDIAN CITIZEN; HIS RIGHTS AND DUTIES. By V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Hind Kitabs Ltd. Bombay.

The Hind Kitabs Ltd., have done very useful service to the reading public by bringing out an Edition of Srinivasa Sastri's Kamala Lectures on the Rights and Duties of the Indian Citizen. No other publication can be more opportune at a time when the constitutional Pundits of the land are engaged in forging anew the constitution of the country. The statement "every law is a veritable freedom" is upheld by Sastriar with his characteristic clearness and force of diction. The book provides good reading to the student and the citizen as well.

OCCIDENTAL CIVILIZATION. By G. S. Ghurye. International Book House, Bombay. Rs. 20.

Dr. Ghurye, who is the Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay, has already shown his careful knowledge of culture and civilization in his book Culture and Society. In the present book he has made a wide study of the culture of the West in its various aspects. He has taken the period from 1300 to 1925 and studied the contribution of various countries to painting, sculpture, architecture, drama, opera, science, philosophy and other thought. One chapter is given to each, and after each chapter he has given a list of all the distinguished names in the various countries in that art form. His discussions are historical and critical. With such a vast theme he naturally does not go into detailed criticism. He gives only the general features of the scene. But his purpose of revealing the co-operative nature of culture he has very well succeeded in bringing out. While the chapters dealing with the different arts are full of useful information, and may even serve as a reference book, his last chapter of conclusions is full of suggestive thought. Apart from everything else, the book is revealing of international interdependence, and serves therefore the greatest need of the hour,

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INDIAN LANDSCAPE: A BOOK OF DESCRIPTIVE POEMS by R. N. Currey, Routledge, London, price 5*s*. net.

These are "glittering trifles" produced by a typical British soldier in India, with sufficient "sensibility" to record his impressions of what he sees while travelling in the country. In India we conceive of poetry more devoutly than in the vein of a superficial and supercilious impressionist. The race of overweening birds of passage is bound to decline in the future.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

—:o:—

April 1. Sri Kumaraswami Raja elected leader of the Madras Legislative Party.

April 2. Chandranagore Assembly votes for merger with India.

April 3. Golden Jubilee of Pope Pius XII.

—Governor-General gives assent to Madras Zamindari Bill.

April 4. Atlantic Pact signed at Washington by Foreign Ministers of 12 nations.

April 5. Parliament passes three non-official Bills on Marriage reforms.

April 6. New Madras Ministers sworn in.

—East Punjab Cabinet resigns.

April 7. Karens surrender to Government forces in Burma.

April 8. U. N. Steering Committee accepts India's move to discuss Indonesia.

April 9. Pandit Nehru inaugurates at Delhi Indian National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO.

April 10. Congress Executive discusses Nehru formula for Commonwealth Conference.

April 11. Deadlock in Kashmir talks.

April 12. Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of Burma arrives in Delhi.

April 13. Reports of Pakistan raid on border village.

April 14. New Ministry for East Punjab announced.

April 15. U. N. submits fresh Kashmir truce plan to India and Pakistan.

April 16. Red Peace terms in China.

April 17. Sir H. J. Kania addresses Madras Lawyers at Advocates' Association's Diamond Jubilee.

April 18. Eire cuts link with Crown.

April 19. Pandit Nehru leaves for London to attend the Commonwealth Conference.

April 20. Personnel of Fiscal Commission to review Protection policy announced.

April 21. Commonwealth Prime Ministers meet in London.

—East Punjab Cabinet formed.

April 22. Chinese President and Premier quit Nanking: Communists cross the Yangtse; Nanking falls.

April 23. Madras Premier inaugurates Southern India Journalists' Conference.

April 24. Government forces take Karen stronghold at Insein.

April 25. Dutch attack Sumatra.

April 26. Admiral Nimitz assures fair and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir.

April 27. London Conference of Commonwealth Premiers concludes with an agreed settlement.

April 28. U. N. Kashmir Commission presents "final terms" to India and Pakistan.

—Eire's Parliament receives Pandit Nehru.

April 29. Mr. S. P. Sinha, Judge, Allahabad High Court, removed from office.

April 30. Provincial Food and Agricultural Ministers meet in Conference at Delhi.

—Reds advance in S. China; Evacuation of Hangchow.

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

INSIDE PAKISTAN

Alec Reid, in the concluding article of his "Report on Pakistan" in the columns of the *Hindustan Times* observes that the enthusiasm which was born of the creation of Pakistan has now cooled off and the people are now faced with grim realities of trying to make things work with a grave shortage of necessary talent.

Any country, especially a new one whose frontiers have been carved with a knife, like Shylock's pound of flesh, he says, has to face dangers on three fronts—economic, social and political. Pakistan, starting from scratch, has to build up these fronts and if the pioneering spirit, the spirit which acclaimed the entry to the Promised Land, does exist then planning should be well ahead.

I heard much of this pioneering spirit when in England during the past two years and read stories sent across to the London Press by Pakistan's many friends among English journalists and also her other admirers who broadcast very encouraging reports as to her progress. For instance, in the early days after partition, the crusaders of Mr. Jinnah were reported sitting on boxes (apparently there was a great shortage of chairs) merrily plunging into their manifold tasks in the building of the new State. But judging by the present position, 18 months after, that reported pioneering spirit has cooled off somewhat and Pakistan is now faced with the grim realities of trying to make things work with a grave shortage of the necessary talent. Plans for the future are by no means in short supply but how and when they are to be carried out is another question.

But if from the start the minority had been clearly shown that they would get a square deal, if urgent efforts had been made to produce a constitution within whose framework their interests would have been safeguarded much of the present-day muddle might have been averted. From the start, however, members of the minority (and the Hindus in particular) were damned as potential fifth-columnists and many thousands who were loath to leave what had been their homes for generations had little alternative but to seek refuge in the Indian Union. And they took with them much of the brain power that is so sadly required in Pakistan today. Those that are left, in the absence of assurances as to their future and any encouragement whatever to play their part in the building of the new State, cannot but be a drag on the wheels of progress.

I was told, when both in Western and Eastern Pakistan, in somewhat vague terms of the new Dominion developing a new brand of Socialism known as "Islamic," but since there has been no report of even a draft constitution, it is difficult to appreciate what exactly this means; and espcially it is difficult to forsee the position of the Hindu minority. Does the brotherhood of the Koran embrace the unbeliever? It would clarify the position if at least this were made known.

Internally the country is being ruled by the few rather than the many, but in the main the people are not proving intractable, though elements of dissatisfaction are not lacking. These have not infiltrated from India but have grown up on Pakistan soil and until and unless the leaders realize that sometime or other there must be a reckoning, it will be difficult to produce peace and prosperity. High-handedness and Fascist shock tactics cannot hope to establish a permanently peaceful relationship. West Punjab is a case in point, where the rule of the people has been substituted by autocracy; East Bengal is in practice ruled by a handful of non-Bengali Muslims, while the Frontier is very much under British influence of a most reactionary type controlling the Ministry of Quayum.

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GO SLOW IN NATIONALISATION

"D. V. G.", writing in the February number of *Public Affairs* (the Journal of the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs) observes that there was a time when the public services of Britain were noted for their incorruptibility and public spirit. The war, did not leave that reputation as it was. There are stories of slackness to be heard long before the Bachelor-Gibson episode. Secret money is only a part of the difficulty of public management. Another fact of it is in the lack of technical competency. Business management cannot be mechanised. It needs individual gifts of insight and imagination. How will nationalization or government management ensure this?

Honesty, technical efficiency and personal vigilance are the three indispensable conditions of success in business organization, not merely from the point of view of the balance-sheet, but also from that of utility to the public. The supply of these qualities cannot be unlimited for a Government in any country; and in India in any event we have every circumstance warning us that our position in this respect is very far from one warranting complacency. Our progress in nationalization therefore is not to be ordered by impatience and hurry.

The Government of India have considered not only the susceptibilities of private enterprise, but also the interests of the masses at large, in making it clear that their plan of nationalization is limited to a few specified heads, at any rate for the present, and that private capital will have a fair field for ten years at least.

Two things are clear about nationalization:

(1) It should be restricted to items of absolute necessity as judged from the point of view of the general public interested in the goods or the services of the concern in question.

Where private enterprise has given or can be made to give reasonable satisfaction, the State must not step in. Regulating private enterprise is a different matter. When the springs of private enterprise are dried up, society can exist only as a piece of mechanism and not as a free growing organism. So maximum of private enterprise and minimum of nationalization.

(2) When nationalization is in operation, even when it is properly applied, there must be the best possible kind of vigilance exercised over it by the Parliament or the responsible legislature.

Nationalization is in practice the rule of a body of Government officials. This means the addition of another Department to the bureaucratic organization of the State.

In a democratic State, the Minister responsible to the legislature for the affairs of a bureaucratic Department is often a layman. Can a layman's supervision and guidance go far enough in the field of technical business? Can he be trusted to help without becoming meddlesome? And will the Parliament, which is to control the Minister, be any less amateurish? Ill-informed and amateurish meddling is sure to ruin the business. What then is the remedy? The solution must be sought along the following lines suggested by Stephen King Hall in his recent news-letter.

At the beginning of each session (of Parliament) a Select Committee should be set up with power to send for persons and papers. There is an analogy in the Committee on expenditure which functioned during the war, although, for security reasons, some of the most interesting fruits of their labours were never exposed to the public gaze. The Select Committee on Public Corporations would have the duty of keeping the activities of these new bodies under constant review, and it would be the duty of the Committee to report periodically to the House of Commons, drawing the attention of the House to any matter which in the opinion of the Committee required publicity and debate. The main Committee would probably find it convenient to sub-divide itself into Sub-Committees each charged with the job of being the watch-dog of a particular Corporation.

Magistrate: "Can't this dispute be settled out of court?"

Both the Accused: "Certainly, Your Worship. That's just what we were trying to do, when the police interfered!"

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FRANCE AND INDIA

Louis Renou's article in *Prabuddha Bharata* published by courtesy of the International Literary Pool, UNESCO, reveals the close link between France and India in respect of India's literary treasures. After dealing with French translators of Sanskrit works Mr. Renou goes on to observe that apart from Sanskrit works, very little —too little—has been done to make familiar in French the best of the Tamil writings as well as those in Hindi, Bengali or Marathi. "We shall soon have a partial translation of the works of Tulsi Das. So far as contemporary work is concerned, rather more has been done, but not nearly enough. Several books by Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Sarat Chandra Chatterji and, recently, a sociological novel by Mulk Raj Anand, *Coolie*, have found readers in our country and have enjoyed success. Efforts in the last thirty years have naturally been concentrated on the works of Rabindranath Tagore, in whom we have appreciated the faithful reflection of all the tendencies of the Indian mind. Much of his work has been translated in French; a fine poet, Pierre Jean Jouve, assisted by Professor Kalidas Nag, has translated *The Swan*. Andre Gide, one of the foremost writers of our time, and himself a Nobel prize-winner, has translated *Post Office* and *Gitanjali*. In his preface to the latter, he says,

> 'I have spent much longer time translating certain of these poems than Tagore spent writing them. It seemed to me that no thinker of modern times deserved more respect, I might almost say devotion, than Tagore. I took pleasure in humbling myself before him as he had humbled himself to sing before God.'

One of our recognized critics, Thibaudet, also greeted *The Home and the World*, when it was published in French, with resounding praises."

Indian mystical theology found a genuinely interested mind in the philosopher Bergson, who tried to define the characteristics of Indian mysticism in contradistinction to Christian mysticism. "Bergson was familiar with the ancient writings in the English versions, while for modern movements he referred to the works of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, which have been translated into French, as have the works of Aurobindo, Gandhi, and a few others, in the last few years."

The names mentioned prompt a reference to their biographer, Romain Rolland. Romain Rolland did more than anyone to disseminate the doctrines of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda in the Western worlds. "He was able to link them with the doctrines of ancient India from which they are derived and, through them, to popularize Indian thought. Those lyrical works, to which may be added the same author's book on Gandhi, are in the tradition of romantic writings. It is principally owing to them, I think, that Romain Rolland has been regarded in India as the most representative of contemporary French authors."

Not only is France, like all other Western nations, a civilized country from the material point of view, as much as, and possibly more than any other, it is a country in which intellectual values, the heritage of classical antiquity, and Christianity, have been preserved with their pristine force. In spite of decline, France is a home of literature, art, and philosophic thought. How could she fail to acknowledge the splendour of Indian culture, as she did previously, when the treasures of India's past first met her gaze?", asks the writer.

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PERSONAL AND PUBLIC CONDUCT

Emphasising that the need for adopting a higher standard of conduct is not for Congressmen alone but for every one, Sri K. G. Mashruwala writes in a recent issue of *Harijan*:

While there is enough reason for the general dissatisfaction towards the Congress organization and its members, it would be most dangerous on the part of the people and parties opposed to the Congress to suppose that Congressmen are the only people who should correct themselves in order to set the matters right in our country. The Congressmen are but a small part of the nation, and perhaps, with everything said and done, the better section of the society. As matters stand, I do not see any body which is organized on better rules of personal and public conduct than the Congress and is capable of replacing it for the better.

The very fact that the Congress organization itself lays stress on this matter and is alive to the deficiencies of its members is a great and hopeful sign. It is not unlikely that under the chastening effect of its principal leaders, it might yet shed its weakness before it is too late. But the critics who run down the Congress are likely to harm themselves by adopting a complacent attitude that their own standards of conduct are much superior or that it is the Government and the Congressmen who have to mend or end and that they have nothing to contribute.

While, therefore, I allow myself to criticize the Congress-Government or Congressmen unreservedly, when necessary, I feel no pleasure in doing so. If I have said, at times, that the Congress will die or be ruined it is not that I wish so, or curse it. Rather, it is in the spirit of a friend and an old servant of the Congress that I make my remarks.

What is necessary for the Congress is still more necessary for the nation. Everyone of us has to adopt a higher standard of conduct. Everyone of us has to turn Godwards *i.e.* towards truth, righteousness, honesty, simplicity, cleanliness and love and regard for the comfort of others. Let it be realized that we cannot expel God from our life and yet be happy and contented.

THE SOVIET EMIGRANTS

A valuable source of information on conditions and outlook in Russia at the present day is available in the tens of thousands who have "escaped from the Soviet Union", observes George Fischer in the *Russian Review*, published in New York. Disaffected citizens, there doubtless are, in all countries and the writers warning is important that American analysts of the emigres' evidence must be unwilling "to accept too readily whatever anti-Soviet evidence some may expect or hope to hear."

Those interviewed by the writer of the article seem to have been in agreement, however, as to widespread disaffection against the Soviet Government, found in every layer of the population, though its expression is prevented by the "ever-present and over-feared system of arrests." One get an insight into the possible reason for the rigid control of expression by writers and artists, lest subversive ideas gain currency. A totalitarian regime *has* to sit on the lid very firmly or risk its own overthrow.

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But the fear of Communist ideology in the West does not bespeak great confidence in the obvious superiority of the democratic pattern, as the democracies generally are unable to "come before the court with clean hands." It is the sense of one's own inadequacy or one's own shortcomings that makes competition or comparison feared.

But, as the *Aryan Path*, truly points out, it is a grievous mistake to look with apprehension and resentment at the people of any country, above all a totalitarian country, for the sins of omission or commission of its ruling.

The Russians, like the Indians, like the Americans or the French or the English, are *people*, a mixture of good and bad, wisdom and folly, selfishness and readiness to sacrifice oneself, and the sooner people generally learn this and so rise above national no less than creeded or racial labels, the better for mutual understanding and peace and for triumph of the universal brotherhood of man.

THE CIVIL SERVICE IN FREE INDIA

In England and other parliamentary countries the Civil Service is a purely administrative body. The Ministers who are leaders of public opinion lay down the policy of the Government and it is implicitly carried out by the Civil Servants. Of course in actual practice the long experience and expert knowledge of Civil Servants may indirectly contribute to policy-making.

In India, during the British rule the Civil Servants, were performing functions which were incompatible with democratic principles says Mr. R. J. Venkateswaran in the March *New Review*.

Up to 1921, the position of the Civil Service was that of a governing corporation. With the exception of the posts of the Viceroy, the governors of Bengal, Bombay and Madras and the chief justices of the High Courts, all the senior appointments were held by the members of the Civil Service. All the lieutenant-governors were I. C. S. officers. They also directed and controlled the public works department, forest administration, police and other technical services. As the Montague-Chelmsford Report said, "The I. C. S. has been in effect much more of a government corporation than a pure civil service in the English sense."

Having thus enjoyed unlimited powers for a long time, it was but natural that the I. C. S. should feel nervous when the Reforms were published. They tried their best to whittle down the Reforms and formed associations to protect their interests 'by the same kind of methods as those by which Trade Unionists in England band themselves together to protect their own interests'.

The Reforms of 1919, however, actually strengthened the Services. The Ministers were given no control over them in the matter of postings promotion and discipline. All these functions were taken over by the governors although the Act did not empower them to do so. Even after the introduction of provincial autonomy, the civil servants continued to enjoy enormous powers and privileges.

But all this has changed with the attainment of independence. The civil service has ceased to govern. It has become a purely administrative body.

Its members have realised the significance of the change and have adjusted themselves to the new environment. But they can discharge their duties efficiently and in the best interests of country only if they are freed from the irritating interference of party politicians.

CHEAPER

It was a very dissatisfied tenant who approached the landlord of the new house.

"Look here," he said, "that house I've just taken from you is horribly draughty. I've spent pounds on heating arrangements, but wherever I sit my hair is blown all over my head. Can't you do something about it."

The landlord shook his head.

"I'm afraid not," he replied. "I think it would be easier and cheaper for you to get your hair cut."

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BOOK KNOWLEDGE IN SPIRITUAL LIFE

"Experience" said Swami Vivekananda, "is the only teacher we have. We may talk and reason all our lives, but we shall not understand a word of truth, until we experience it for ourselves. You cannot hope to make a man a surgeon by simply giving him a few books. You cannot satisfy my curiosity to see a country by showing me a map; I must have actual experience. Maps can only create curiosity in us to get more perfect knowledge. Beyond that, they have no value whatever. Clinging to books only degrades the human mind. Was there ever a more horrible blasphemy than the statement that all the knowledge of God is confined to this or that book? How dare men call God infinite, and yet try to compress Him within the covers of a little book!"

Books have become an unhealthy obsession with us, observes "Jibendra" in the *Vedanta Kesari*. We waste time in reading and discussing them while the hour for spiritual practice goes by. "Constant preoccupation of the mind with one's own thoughts or those of others embodied in books hermetically seals it against the descent and reception of truth, light, knowledge, power from above—a descent which can only take place in a quiet, peaceful and silent mind and not in a mind which is ever active, restless and pre-occupied."

If books made men better, changed their lives or widened their hearts, the world would be an altogether different place to live in from what it is to-day. The fact that it is not so is proof positive of the inadequacy of mere book learning for the purpose of spiritual life. Books may act as an incentive to higher life by stimulating the intellect a little. They have therefore an intellectual but not a spiritual value.

"In spiritual life the object is to realise the spirit, the Atman, as the fundamental truth of our existence—not merely know or apprehend intellectually—and this can only be done by a spiritual living."

SPORTS AND THE NATION

In an article on Sports and the Nation, published in the *Bulletin of Physical Education* of Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo stresses the need and utility of sports for the nation.

Sports, he says, are valuable not only for building the foundation of health, strength and fitness of the body but also for fostering the qualities of discipline, courage, hardihood, steadiness of action, sportsmanship, and high morale, which are greatly needed and of the utmost service to the nation in war or in peace.

Concluding the article Sri Aurobindo observes:

> I need not enumerate, the other benefits which can be drawn from the training that sport can give or dwell on their use in the national life. In our universities, sports have now a recognised and indispensable place; for even a highest and completest education of the mind is not enough without the education of the body. When the qualities I have enumerated are absent or insufficiently present, a strong individual will or a national will may build them up, but the aid given by sports to their development is direct and in the way negligible. This would be a sufficient reason for the attention given to them, in our Ashram, though there are others which I need not mention here. I am concerned here with their importance and the necessity of the qualities they create or stimulate for our national life. The nation which possess, them in the highest degree is likely to be strongest for victory. Success and greatness but also for the contribution it can make towards the bringing about of unity and a more harmonious world order towards which we look as our hope for humanity's future.

NO TIES

"There's one thing about you men who wear open-necked shirts. You always seem to be so free."

"We are. We haven't any ties."

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

RACIAL TROUBLE IN S. AFRICA

Mr M. T. Naidu, a member of the Executive of the South African Indian Congress who has been appointed to advise the Indian delegation to the United Nations in the South African dispute, was born in Durban and has lived there all his life. In the course of an interview in New York he observed:

"The condition of Indians in South Africa has been deteriorating for the past 18 months and is rapidly worsening. We attribute the present situation in South Africa on the racial question to the policies which the Nationalist Government is following at present.

The racial disturbances that occurred in Durban recently seem likely to be repeated. The Government are going ahead with their policy that continues to sharpen racial, and particularly anti-Indian feeling. The Indian population of South Africa is anxious that the United Nations should find some method for taking a forward step on the 1946 resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on the treatment of their nationals in the Union. There seems no way of influencing the South African Government by any internal appeal," he continued.

"The only way seems to be for world opinion to get South Africa to change her racial policies. Speaking from my own experiences I can see the racial difficulties that exist in South Africa."

ECONOMIC PRESSURE ON S. A. INDIANS

Mr. George Singh, Durban Attorney, who has been appointed to represent the 282,000 Indians of South Africa at the United Nations Assembly, said in London that they had no future in South Africa.

"There is grave danger," he said, "that their moral character will crack very soon. Until recently, it has been very high, but the situation, politically and economically, has deteriorated very seriously.

Dr. Malan's Government is pursuing a policy of squeezing the Indian out of South Africa. The only possible country to which they can go is India. All other countries have refused to take them in.

About half of the 282,000 Indians live in Durban. Of these, roughly 70 per cent. live below the poverty line according to the official statistics of the Natal University College.

The South African Government used to offer a bonus of £20 to every Indian who returned to India. They now offer £40. That is a lot of money to an Indian working class family with an average of four children.

I don't think many Indians will return to the land of their forefathers; yet there is every temptation to find a new home away from South Africa. The African native populations are being urged to boycott them. The Government still closes its eyes to the racial propaganda."

Economically, the Indian is being throttled.

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Ceylon and the Far East

INDIAN INVESTMENTS ABROAD

DR. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, said in Parliament that the investments of South Indian Chettiars in Ceylon, Malaya and Indo-China were estimated at Rs. 5 crores, and Rs. 2.14 crores respectively.

Replying to Mr. Brajeshwar Prasad, Dr. Keskar added that Chettiars also owned about three million acres of paddy land in Burma, but they had no investments in Siam.

As regards their investments in Burma, no reliable information was available. The Government of India were negotiating with the Government of Burma with a view to securing for the Chettiars equitable compensation for their lands which the Government of Burma proposed to take over under the Burma Land Nationalisation Act.

South-West Africa

TRUSTEESHIP FOR S. W. AFRICA

Dr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, said in Parliament in reply to Mr. Lakshminarain Sahu that the Government of India were strongly of the United Nations General Assembly's recommendation that South-West Africa be placed under a Trusteeship system should be given effect to.

India's representatives would press for this in the General Assembly whenever the question was considered, he added.

"Travelled all over the World, eh? Went up the Rhine of course?"

"Climbed it to the top."

"Saw the Lion of St. Marks?"

"Fed it."

"And visited the Black-Sea?

"Filled my fountain pen there."

Sumatra

DUTCH MURDER OF INDIANS

The Government of India has made a strong protest to the Netherlands authorities against the shooting of three Indians by Dutch paratroopers on December 30 last at Djambi in Sumatra.

The Government received information of the incident through their Consul-General in Batavia. The Indians were shot dead after their houses had been ransacked.

The Government of India's protest has been lodged with the Far East Office of of the Netherland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Batavia.

Meanwhile the External Affairs Ministry has requested the Dutch Ambassador in Delhi to make enquiries and ascertain the facts.

Brazil

INDIAN COLONIZATION IN BRAZIL

Indian Ambassador to Brazil Mr. M. R. Masani in a recent speech expressed satisfaction with regard to a proposal covering Indian immigration and colonization in Brazil, which he said "will be a happy solution to the problem of low population in one country and over-population in another country."

Mr. Masani added that, if the project is completed, Indian immigrants will come to Brazil "with the intention of becoming assimilated into Brazilian life and will become good Brazilians."

PUZZLED

A Young wife, wishing to announce the birth of her first child to a friend in a distant city, telegraphed: "Isaiah 9, 6," which passage begins "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given."

Her friend, unfamiliar with the scriptures, said to her husband: "Margaret evidently has a boy who weighs nine pounds and six ounces, but why on earth did they name him Isaiah?"

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MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

WORK OF NATIONAL PLANNING

The Congress Working Committee meeting at New Delhi on April 5 expressed its "high appreciation of the good work done by the National Planning Committee".

The Working Committee adopted a resolution accepting the National Planning Committee's proposal to maintain an up-to-date series of reports on various phases of National Planning.

This work will necessitate full co-operation with the Central and Provincial Governments and more especially their statistical department.

In order to draw up a scheme for the continuation of this work a Committee consisting of the following is constituted :—

The President of the Congress, the Prime Minister of India, the Minister for Industry and Supply of the Government of India, Mr. J. C. Ghosh, Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai and Prof. K. T. Shah.

The Committee shall be called National Planning Series Committee. Prof. Shah will be the Secretary of this Committee and will be in charge, on behalf of the National Planning Committee, of the office and funds of the Committee. It will continue to function till effect is given to any new scheme that may be evolved.

The Planning Committee, appointed by the Congress ten years ago, having completed its work, dissolved itself at the end of last month.

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

The Congress Working Committee has accepted the report of the Jawaharlal-Vallabhbhai-Pattabhi committee recommending the postponement of the formation of linguistic provinces for a few years, "so that we might concentrate during this period on other matters of vital importance and not allow ourselves to be distracted by this question."

The Committee adds that if public sentiment is "insistent and overwhelming, we, as democrats, have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole."

The Committee, however, feel that the case of Andhra Province should be taken up first and the question of its implementation examined "before we can think of considering the question of any other province."

NATIONAL CULTURAL TRUST

A scheme for the establishment of a National Cultural Trust for India has been accepted in principle and its details are being worked out by the Ministry of Education.

This information was given by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister of the Government of India, replying to a question in Parliament. It was proposed to undertake preliminary work in connection with the Trust and to call three conferences of experts.

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PANDIT NEHRU ON INDIA'S ROLE

Addressing a Press Conference at Government House, Bombay, on the eve of his departure to London on April 19, Pandit Nehru said:

I have always sought the goodwill, affection and co-operation of the Indian people and always obtained it in a generous and abundant measure. If I have achieved anything in life, it is because of that affection and goodwill. I feel now that at no time was this goodwill and affection more necessary than at the present moment when I am on the point of emplaning for the West to consider problems which affect the present and the future.

During the past years we, all of us, in India, have been partners in the making of history and history has marched with giant strides in this country, in Asia and the World. History is still in the process of being made and there are mighty movements and considerable turmoil and conflicts in the World.

Free and independent India faces this prospect with a measure of confidence. We have to a large extent found ourselves and we have survived many perils and dangers and this has bred confidence in us to face the future.

I have little doubt that in this future India has to play an important role, provided always that she adheres to the great ideals which have inspired us in the past and to the lessons which the Father of the Nation taught us. "Our very position demands a wider appreciation of what is happening in the world and an acknowledgment of our duties and our obligations to further world peace and progress.

The immediate object of my going to England is to discuss the future association of India with the Commonwealth countries. I have already, in Parliament and in open Congress and elsewhere, discussed this matter with frankness and stated what our fundamental position is. I shall abide necessarily with the directions given to me on this subject and equally necessarily by the ideals which have inspired us.

In regard to our foreign policy, we have repeatedly stated that we cannot align ourselves with power blocs hostile to each other. This is not merely a policy of neutrality, but is a positive approach to the problems of the world in the hope that we might further the cause of peace and friendship between nations. I believe India can be of service not only to India and Asia but to the world in this matter. It is with this background that I have tried to approach all our foreign problems.

History is on the march and we have to keep in step with it, at the same time trying to mould it and fashion it to the best of our ability. Ultimately the policy of a nation depends upon her inner strength. It is because our inner strength has grown and because of our great potential, which will progressively become actual, that India counts more and more in the counsels of the world.

Recently I was reported, by some error, in a London newspaper as having said that there is no morality as between nations. As a matter of fact, I hold strongly to the opinion that unless there is a moral basis, both to the internal politics of a nation and to its external affairs, that nation will suffer and the world will suffer. I hope that whatever happens, India will never do anything that is wrong morally even though some misguided people might think it is advantageous for the moment.

And so, for the present, I bid a brief goodbye, conscious that I am not going abroad as a mere individual but as a representative of a great nation with the goodwill of millions and with the desire to approach other nations in a spirit of friendship and co-operation. Jai Hind."

MR. CHURCHILL'S BOSTON SPEECH

Speaking at Boston (Massachusetts) on March 31, Mr. Winston Churchill said that an outstanding feature of the 20th century had been the enormous expansion in the number of people who were able to share in the "larger and more varied life" previously reserved for the very few.

If we are to bring the broad masses of the people in every land to the table of abundance, it can only be by the tireless improvement of all our means of technical productions, and by the diffusion, in every form of education, of an improved quality to scores of millions of men and women.

Even in this darkling hour I have faith that this will go on.

Britain's wartime Prime Minister declared:

We are now confronted with something quite as wicked but in some ways more formidable than Hitler.

Mr. Churchill urged the utmost vigilance in the present cold war, but did not think that violent or precipitate action should be taken now. "War is not inevitable." Often something happened to turn or mitigate the course of events. Hope or patience need not be abandoned.

If however there is to be a war of nerves, let us make sure our nerves are strong, and are fortified by the deepest convictions of our hearts.

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INTER-DOMINION AGREEMENT

Agreement was reached in respect of the majority of 27 items considered at the three day Inter-Dominion Conference which concluded its deliberations at Delhi on April 4.

Among the more important items on which agreement was reached were those relating to the payment of pensions and cash certificates. The Conference also agreed to set up a machinery to ensure prompt payment of pensions, provident funds and security deposits of provincial and State Government servants who had left one Dominion for the other.

The Conference further agreed to set up a machinery to consider matters, such as border incidents, which do not fall within the sphere of the Partition Committee of East and West Punjab, and to implement decisions reached on such items.

CONSTITUTION OF STATES

The constitution of Indian States is likely to form an integral part of the Indian Constitution as a result of agreement reached between the Government of India and representatives of Indian States, it is learnt.

This will eliminate the need for each State debating and passing a separate Constitution through its own Constituent Assembly. The States Constituent Assemblies will presumably function as interim Legislative Assemblies until new Assemblies are elected under the new Indian Constitution.

It is believed that the Indian Constitution, which is expected to be passed by August 15. 1949, will have a separate chapter devoted to the Constitution of States just as in the case of the Pro-vinces. One important effect of this decision will be that the difference in the status of Provinces and acceding States will be further narrowed down.

LOCAL FINANCE ENQUIRY

The Government of India have constituted a committee known as the Local Finance Enquiry Committee, to enquire into the question of the finances of local bodies and make recommendations for the improvement of local finances.

The Committee will examine (1) whether the existing resources are adequate for the performance of the functions assigned to the local bodies and consider what further sources of revenue should be provided, (2) the methods of Government assistance to local bodies, and (3) the existing machinery and methods of assessment and collection of taxes.

Mr. P. K. Wattal has been appointed Chairman and Mr. Labu Ran Mehra Secretary of the Committee, which consists of eight other members.

BIRBAL SAHNI

India has lost one of its greatest men of science in the death of Dr. Birbal Sahni, Head of the Department of Botany and Dean of the Faculty of Science, Lucknow University. Wherever botany is studied his name is held high. His outstanding contributions to the subject not only won him international fame but raised India's status in the world of science.

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MEDIUM IN UNIVERSITIES

The Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a written reply said in Parliament that the Government of India had not yet reached any final decision on the report of the Committee on the Medium of Instruction and were awaiting the views of the University Commission expected in September next.

The Committee on the Medium of Instruction had recommended that steps should be taken during the next five years for the gradual replacement of English as the medium of instruction and examination at university stage, by the language of the State, Province or region, he said.

The Central Advisory Board of Education had resolved that the final decision on this recommendation should await the report of the University Commission.

The Nagpur University had proposed to introduce Hindi and Marathi as the media of instruction in the first year class of colleges from July 1949 and extend their use to higher classes year by year. The Annamalai University had introduced Tamil as the medinm of instruction in the intermediate art courses.

The Benares University had decided that Hindi should be additional medium of instruction in all subjects except English and modern Indian languages in Inter and B A. classes, and from 1950 Hindi alone would be the medium of instruction for those students whose domicile was Eastern Pnnjab, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and Raj putana. The Calcutta University had allowed students to answer question papers either in English or in their mother tongue.

GOVERNMENT'S AID TO UNIVERSITIES

During the question-hour in Parliament on April 5, the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, replying to a question as to what steps were being taken to stimulate scientific research in the Universities, specially in Atomic Physics, said that the universities had the dual function of training scientific workers and of conducting fundamental and applied research.

The Government of India, he added, were stimulating scientific research in the universities by (1) sanctioning grants-in-aid for buildings and equipment required for research, the expansion of special Research Departments and the conduct of approved research schemes; and (2) the discovery and training, of talented persons through post-graduate schemes and fellowships. Grants-in-aid totalling over Rs. 28 lakhs have been sanctioned for the purpose during 1948-49.

Fellowships have been awarded for research in Nuclear Physics. A National Professorship of Physics has been created at the Indian Academy of Science, Bangalore.

UNIVERSITY FOR KARNATAKA

The Premier of Bombay, Mr. B. G. Kher, introduced in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on April 4, a bill to establish a University for Karnataka. The Premier said the University would come into being in 1950 and its jurisdiction would extend to the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Kanara and Dharwar.

Mr. Kher said that the establishment of the University would fulfil a longfelt need and a pressing demand of the people of Karnataka.

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LAWYERS' ROLE IN FREE INDIA

Inaugurating the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the Madras Advocates' Association on 15th April, the Chief Justice of Madras, Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, suggested the creation by the Government, of a separate Department for conducting juristic studies and social inquiries, which he said should precede legislation.

Legislation, he added should never be the result of mere one-sided lobbying.

The Chief Justice said that the Department should be a body of experts both for long-range investigation, and for dealing with the day to day complaints and defects in the actual operation of the laws, and for making proposals for improvement.

The important role of lawyers in guiding Democracy on right lines was emphasised by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in the course of an address he delivered on the second day of the celebrations.

The members of the Association presented an address of felicitation to Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, one of the seniormost members of the profession, who completes the 51st year of his legal practice.

Sir Harilal Kania, Chief Justice of India, in a thought-provoking address on the concluding day dealt with the problems comfronting lawyers in India.

Sir Harilal placed before the lawyers the ideal of service and defence of right, fearless of consequence, and urged them to do all they could to stabilise the freedom of Independent India.

Stressing the need for having an independent judiciary, Sir Harilal expressed the hope that the oft-repeated assurances of politicians and public men in this connection would soon be "translated into action in the Constitution Act."

The Chief Justice of India cautioned against hurry in regard to a change-over from English as the language of courts and said that the problem of language of courts was not acute, and, if they wanted to avoid inconveniences, this was not a sphere in which impatience could pay.

FREE LEGAL AID FOR THE POOR

The All-India Progressive Lawyers Association has set up a Free Legal Aid Bureau in Delhi for the benefit of the poor. The Bureau, which is the first of its kind to be set in India, will provide free legal aid to political workers and others, who are unable to secure legal advice, provided that they are not charged with communal offences, offences relating to sex, theft and bribery.

PUNISHMENT FOR FOOD OFFENCES

The Indian Parliament passed on April 5 the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Bill, which replaces the ordinance which has been in force for six months. The Bill makes the punishment of imprisonment obligatory in respect of food offences except when the court for reasons to be recorded in writing is of the opinion that in the circumstances of the case imprisonment is not called for.

In addition, the Bill also empowers courts to order the forfeiture of the vehicle or vessel used for smuggling.

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FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

The Prime Minister. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru making his long awaited policy statement on the participation of foreign capital in India said in the Dominion Parliament on April 6 that as regards the existing foreign interests, "Government do not intend to place any restrictions or impose any conditions which are not applicable to similar Indian enterprise."

Pandit Nehru added: "Government will so frame their policy as to enable further foreign capital to be invested in India on terms and conditions that are mutually advantageous."

Pandit Nehru said that foreign interests would be permitted to earn profits, subjects only to regulations common to all.

If and when foreign enterprises were compulsorily acquired, the Prime Minister said, compensation would be paid on a fair and equitable basis as already announced in Government's statement of policy.

The Prime Minister made a special reference to British Interests in India and assured them that although it was the policy of the Government of India to encourage the growth of Indian Industry and commerce, there was and would still be considerable scope for the investment of British capital in India.

He added: "The Government of India have no desire to injure in any way British or other Indian interests in India, and would gladly welcome their contribution in a constructive and co-operative role in the development of India's economy."

SETTLEMENT OF PAKISTAN'S DEBT

The amount outstanding in respect of Burma's separation debt and share of the pensionary liability to India was in the order of Rs. 64.5 crores and Pakistan's partition debt to India had not yet been worked out and it would be some time before this was done, said Dr. John Matthai, Minister for Finance, in the Dominion Parliment.

The Finance Minister further informed the House that Pakistan was due to repay her debt in 50 equated instalments commencing from August 15, 1952. Burma's separation debt was repayable in 45 years commencing from 1937-38 and her share of the pensionary liability was to be paid currently. The payments had remained suspended from 1942-43 and the question of resuming them was under discussion with the Government of Burma.

LIMITATION OF DIVIDENDS

The Parliament passed the Finance Minister's Public Companies (Limitation of Dividends) Bill which limits the dividends which may be paid by public companies to six per cent of the paid-up capital or the average annual dividend between Apr. 1, 1946, and Mar. 31, 1948, whichever is higher.

The Bill, which is an anti-inflationary measure, will expire on Mar. 31, 1950. The Finance Minister assured the House that if early next year it was found that a measure of this kind was not necessary, Government would not extend the duration of the Act.

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ABDUCTED NON-MUSLIM WOMEN

"Government have received reports that a number of abducted non-Muslim women have been taken over the Pakistan border into Afghanistan," said Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Minister, in reply to Giani Gurumukh Singh Musafir, in Parliament.

Mr. Ayyangar added that the matter had been taken up with the Afghan Government during June 1948 and they had repeatedly given their assurance to help India as far as possible in the recovery of abducted women from areas under their control. "As the task of locating the abducted women is fraught with many practical difficulties, it will take some time before any tangible results are achieved."

WORKING WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

With a view to promoting the welfare of working women, assisting them in choice of a profession and finding employment for them and promoting their interest in professional work, a number of Patna lady teachers, doctors, nurses and other working women have formed a "Working Women's Association". Courses of lectures on hygiene and home nursing are being organised by the Association in different Mohallas.

WOMEN FOR JUDICIAL SERVICE

Women have been made eligible for recruitment to the Judical Civil Service in the United Provinces, according to a Gazette notification published in Allahabad.

The notification amends the U. P. Civil Services Judicial Branch Recruitment Rules to make women eligible for recruitment to this service.

HEALTH OF GIRLS IN COLLEGES

There are now a few hundreds of girls studying in various colleges of Nagpur. The average college girl is really a sight. With the exception of a few, most of them are far from robust, writes Prof. M. G. Dharamraj in the course of an article in *Nagpur Times*.

I don't think the university or the colleges could be blamed for their physical condition, he adds. The girls, especially those studying in co-educational institutions, do not get all the facilities for games and physical recreation. Even when they get the facilites, the general atmosphere is not free enough for them to take full advantage of them. Even in the Central College for Women, apart from the Hostel girls, the day scholars do not get much by way of physical exercise, except for what movement of the body is afforded by the bus that takes them to and fro. The medical report of the girls of the university is far from flattering.

WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS FOR SWITZERLAND

The Government of Switzerland, whose women have neither franchise nor the right to hold public office, last month took the revolutionary step of announcing the formation of a Voluntary Women's Army Corps, whose duties will include anti-aircraft service. The Corps is to be formed immediately and women between the ages of 20 and 40 will be eligible. In the event of war, the age limit will be raised to 60.

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NEW MINISTRY FOR MADRAS

A 10-man Ministry for Madras headed by Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja was sworn in on April 6 by H. E. the Governor at the Secretariat. Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy and Mr. B. Parameswaran have been taken into the Cabinet while Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, Mr. V. Kurmayya and Dr. S. Gurubatham have been left out.

Mr. Raja making an announcement earlier said that he proposed to have "a few more Minister's shortly to represent certain areas and interests."

Accordingly, as we go to press, Mr. C Perumalswami Reddiar has been sworn in.

DR. PATTABHI VISITS EYE INSTITUTE

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President of the Indian National Congress, recently visited Dr. Agarwal's Eye Institute at 15, Daryaganj, Delhi. He saw the patients suffering from various eye troubles practising the novel methods of treatment under the care of Dr. Agarwal and highly appreciated the synthetic eye treatment which is practised in this institute. Recounting how his own wife had benefitted from this latest system based on the research of Dr. Agrawal, Dr. Pattabhi said, "My wife suffering from the paralysis of the External Rectus of the left eye and therefore from 'diplopia' (double vision) has got over her trouble by a steady persuit of the regimen prescribed by Dr. Agarwal and she bears witness to the many cures of obstinate and obscure eye complaint under the roof of the doctor's clinic."

NEW EAST PUNJAB CABINET

The nine-day old Sachar Cabinet was reconstituted on April 21 by the inclusion of three new Ministers.—Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, Mr. Prithvi Singh Azad and Sardar Gurbachan Singh Bajwa.

After the swearing-in ceremony, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar told the Associated Press of India that the relations between the old and new Ministers were not only cordial, but definitely influenced by considerations which were of the highest order—namely the interests of the province.

GANDHI FUND

An event described by Dr. Rajendra Prasad as without parallel took place at Sardar Patel's residence at New Delhi on April 16 when, at a simple but dignified function, the Industrial Committee of the Gandhi Memorial Fund presented to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Fund, cheques for over Rs. 5 crores, representing collections made since last May when Sardar Patel called leading industrialists to Mussoorie and fixed the target of Rs. 5 crores as their contribution to the Fund.

The importance of the occasion was further heightened by Dr. Prasad's announcement that public subscription to the Fund had also touched the figure of Rs. 5 crores.

C. R.'S. GOOD CONDUCT PRIZE

His Excellency Mr. Rajagopalachari Governor-General of India has instituted a good conduct prize to be awarded annually from the year 1949-50 for the best behaved student in the Salem Municipal College.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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The Place of Religion in a Secular State

BY MAHAMAHOPADYAYA DR. P. K. ACHARYA, M.A., PhD, D.Litt., I.E.S.

—:o:—

A distinguished philosopher Dr. Radhakrishnan (as reported by the Associated Press and published in the *Leader*, March 14, page 6) has been taking pains to explain in all educational centres, the policy of the independent Indian Government to evolve a State wherein religion should not be the primary outlook of human life. A curious definition has been advanced: "Secularism means the adoption of the scientific (?) spirit. It means the absence of religious arrogance or dogmatism, an attitude of impartiality so far as different religions are concerned, equality of opportunity for all religions and not dogmatizing for any one religion. Again, secularism means that the world is not to be regarded as an illusion: it is not to be dismissed as a dream. It does not mean that one would be non-religious or dogmatically religious." Therefore, the learned thinker concludes that "the secular state is the most fertile ground for the material and spiritual progress of modern humanity."

The dictionary meaning of the term 'Secularism' is, however, the "supreme attention to the things of the present life." It is complete "worldliness." The atheistic school of philosophers, known as the *Charvakas* (talkers of sweet words) asserts 'that soul is not different from body and that the phenomena of the world are spontaneously produced.' It follows, therefore, that everything ends with the mortal body and nothing remains after death, for the benefit of which anything has to be done in this life and in this world." Thus in the absence of any creator and any possibility of accounting for our deeds in this world before an infallible and all-knowing Supreme Judge in the next world one can indulge in eating and drinking or enjoying worldly pleasure at any cost without any fear of the consequences because life ends here completely. And these atheists reject all sources of true knowledge *viz.*, faith (sabda), inference (anumana) and analogy (upamana) and accept only sense perception (pratyaksha). The limit of sense perception, is, however, very short and defective. By this source of knowledge one cannot be sure that he was born of his own parents. Faith and belief in a supreme Creator are therefore superfluous. Indeed, Kanada advanced the doctrine of atoms which are uncaused and eternal. Thus godless scientists evolve

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the creation of the world and all its creatures by the permutation and combination of these atoms which are further analysed into electrons.

The State which is determined to secularize its activities has, therefore, to endeavour "conversion from religious to materialistic progress." It follows logically and inevitably that one would be non-religious completely. The spiritual thinker of the Hindu creed does not regard the world "as an illusion" nor does he 'dismiss it as a dream.' To him the world is as real as he himself is. But the creator, God, is the real reality, the only truth, and the aim of intelligent humanity is to realize that truth and to be free from blindness and arrogance and self-conceit. It is a self-deception and subtle argument to say that while 'America to-day erects beautiful buildings devoted to education instead of the beautiful cathedrals or mosques or temples of medieval Europe and in Soviet Russia the biggest building is a factory or a college, the secular State of independent India, partitioned from Muslim Pakistan for the sake of a largely homogeneous Hindu population, would be able to balance its activities and avoid 'one particular aspect of life.' Despite the fact that 'India had realized, as shown by the Mohenjodaro monuments of 3000 B.C., the place of spiritual values,' it will be 'a dream and an illusion' to expect that in the new secular State of India, despite such an old tradition, 'it should not be difficult for us to pursue the scientific mind side by side with the quest of the spirit and not divorce the one from the other.' For such a laudable achievement, however, it would not be enough to pass the Hindu Code Bill. The State will have to provide religious education and create an all round environment to instil in our minds a living faith in God and in the continuance of human existence after the disappearance of the mortal body.

The same fallacy appears to have been committed by a political thinker of the present age, the late Mr. Roosevelt, in conspiracy with Mr. Churchill, when they startled the world by announcing, as the world policy, the four freedoms for everybody, *viz.*, freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom from fear of others and want of the necessities of life (food and clothes), and freedom of religion. Elsewhere* it has been shown that 'obviously these are contradictory ideals. Unless it is assumed that there is a uniformity in human culture and human civilization these high sounding elements of freeedom cannot fit well together. If all peoples of the world do not think in the same way no freedom of thought can be ensured for all. Christian mission, fascism, socialism, communism, totalitarianism each imposes its own ideas upon others. It will suppress others by force if they speak against it. It will starve others by an economic blockade. It cannot allow sacrifice, for instance, in the name of religion. In the name of liberty of thought, if you do not care for the chastity and sacredness of single union between the sexes then there would be hardly any difference between man and beast. If in the name of free trade

* Writer's "Indian Culture, Civilization, Arts and Religion."

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and commerce you rob, exploit, and starve others you are as selfish, as callous and as cruel as the primitives. If you allow free practice of various religious customs, which are repugnant to each other, the peace and harmony of society will be disturbed. And if all peoples living side by side are allowed to have their own freedom of thought and action there can be no harmonious society. The free animals of the jungles, have never prospered. The survival of the fittest is an inconvenient truth. Indians cannot forget so soon that the Indo-British Government forcibly stopped music before or in the hearing of a mosque. The R. S. S. movement is being mercilessly suppressed on the plea that they did not conform to the partition of Mother India for the appeasement of the Muslims and for the sake of securing power to rule by a certain group without any opposition.

The point under discussion is, however, not politics but an effort to understand the relation between a secular State and Religion, not in a dogmatic manner neither at the cost or the suppression of any one else's faith and belief. In the India of the past all forms of religion prospered side by side. Even King Asoka or Kanishka who made Buddhism the State religion did not openly persecute the followers of the Vedic Religion. On the other hand the Imperial Gupta Kings, Samudragupta, Chandragupta and Kumaragupta, who revived the Hindu religion with Horse-sacrifices, publicly attended at the ceremonies of the Jains and the Buddhists. The history of the country bears witness to the fact that India, of all the medieval and ancient countries of the world, never indulged in religious warfare. There is no mention in her history of any fight between the followers of Vishnu, Siva, and Sakti. In fact even the Muslim saints like Satya Pir (Narayana) are still worshipped in orthodox Hindu families. The labourers in Madras fall flat before the Madonna. To the Hindu mind there is no distinction between one religion and another. There is, therefore, no ground for the propagandist of an ideal secular State to fear that if the State emphasizes the need for religious faith and belief equality of opportunity for all religions' will necessarily disappear and 'dogmatizing Hinduism' will disturb the peace of mind of our Ministers. Did the prayer meetings of Mahatma Gandhi produce any fanatics in any part of the country? His assassination was not caused by his mass practice of religion.

But what is that religion which a State must develop if peace, harmony, and material progress among the peoples of various faiths and creeds are to be aimed at? The problem concerns man's relation to society. The question is whether it should be determined 'by his right and not by his services.' According to one ideal "all that a man should demand is a fair field and no favour so that he can count on rising to the level to which his abilities and his attainments entitle him'. According to the other ideal it is assumed that 'a man has a right to a comfortable living in virtue of his mere existence and without any regard to any return he may make to society, with the corollaries that the majority have a right to commandeer unusual ability and exact special service from it, and that no

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man may receive more than a fixed maximum reward'. There can, however, be no question about which of these two ideals is 'more stimulating to the development of intelligence, or more acceptable to plain self respect'.

The Hindu tradition has ascribed the discrepancy between man and man, born and brought up without partiality to destiny or the consequences of one's own action in some previous birth. This destiny can however be altered only by the Almighty God if he is propitiated by our worship, prayer and good deeds. In any case an individual can build up a better destiny for the future by doing better in the present birth. The natural distinction between man and woman, and between man and man is based on individual instinct (guna) and ability (karma.) The forcible removal of such natural distinctions by exercise of political majority in the legislative councils cannot produce equality between the sexes and between workers and intellectuals. A frank recognition of such an unavoidable distinction has the advantage of offering an explanation and consequent justification of the otherwise obscure incongruities of human life. It reconciles the individual to his personal disadvantages and inferiority complex. But it encourages all to improve their lot by personal effort, and to build up a better future. It recognizes the original equality of all human beings, all being the progeny of the same God, despite the accidental distinction of sexes and classes and castes; as it prescribes for the ultimate achievement of equalization in the fulness of birth and rebirth. The individual advantages in the domestic, social, commercial, and political fields are intended to provide greater facilities to improve through the limitations of one's birth. It is not correct to think that the Hindu Shastras and scriptures adopted an organised policy to exploit and keep suppressed the inferior groups or the women folk. There was in fact a real parental honesty in providing a restricted scope for gradual and steady development for the children so that they could improve quicker rather than in getting greater scope which suited better the more matured adult. A subaltern becomes a better commander-in-chief of an army when he gradually rises in rank. A woman becomes a better Judge of a court of law if she learns her own duties as the mistress of a household. Only Almighty God can turn a woman into a man in her next birth if the woman prefers to be so. No secular State can make the husband bear the child instead of the wife. Similarly no amount of equalizing efforts can give more brains to an unintelligent man. The Hindu legislators recognized these facts and formulated their laws for material progress in the family, community, society, agriculture, industries, trade and commerce, for kings and rulers, along with moral and spiritual advancement. Thus was provided 'the most fertile ground for the spiritual and material progress of humanity'.

In which of the modern states of the world is the spiritual and material progress well balanced? Will the countries like Greece, Italy, Germany and Great Britain become spiritual minded by converting their beautiful churches into factories or colleges as in Russia and America? Do these advanced States make provision for instilling an active faith in God and immortality of the human

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soul? Do they provide for the next life as they give old age pensions? They are no doubt anxious that the child should grow into a good citizen and that there should no hardship in old age. Do they similarly think of the life hereafter? Should India blindly imitate the West and lose its unique heritage, for which alone Indian culture and civilization are still respected all over the world? We cannot retain that respect by the merely building factories and hospitals in place of temples or by giving shares of property equally to our daughters or making them free to change their husbands whenever they feel like doing so.

There has been a misapprehension in the relative natures, functions and relations of the Religion and the State on account of the surging tide of materialism following the overthrow of religious inspiration in European and American countries.

"The erroneous views have not only sabotaged the universal, primordial, divinely revealed religion and all the religious paths that have followed in its wake, but have put men on a wrong scent of libertinism in morals, unscrupulous power-hunting in politics, and anti-social or internecine class-war in social relations. And there has been under the materialistic rule of the new ideology an unusual progress in the scientific means of destruction. The way-out of these calamitous conditions is not in turning away from, but reverting to, the ideology, social systems and political conditions revealed and preached in the Vedic Shastras. In the proper amendation of these erroneous views lies the hope of human happiness, order, harmony and abiding peace, as well as the stabilization of the disturbed equilibrium of world conditions".

The science of Theology treats of God and of man's duty to Him. While Natural Theology is based on reasoning, Positive and Revealed Theology deals with faith and belief more than reasoning, The inductive and experimental method of science is not applicable in matters of transcendental faith. The practical form of religion proper takes for granted the existence of some supernatural and Almighty Power which can regulate human destiny. Thus is recognized man's obligation to God who can be propitiated by obedience, love and worship through prayers, meditation and offerings according to the ability and opportunity of the worshippers.

The practice of such religion can safely be encouraged by any modern State without fear of interrupting the efforts at all material and ethical progress. The British King is still the defender of the faith. What would be the difficulty if the independent State of India instil a faith and belief in God and continuance of human existence after death in this life? What would be the harm if the Government makes it a law for every body in schools, colleges assemblies and other congregations to pray in the simplest language of Mahatma Gandhi—"Allah Ishwara ekai nam savkosumati deo Bhagvan?" Will there be anything wrong if we pray

Sarvepi Sukhinah Santu sarve santu niramayah
Sarve bhadrani pasyantu ma kaaehid duhkham apnuyat.

"May everybody be happy; may all be free from disabilities, diseases; may all look for everybody's good; may none suffer from sorrow and disappointment."

The repetition of such slogans from our childhood and in all our activities may instil faith and belief, which are lacking in modern civilization.

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THE MINISTRY AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

By Dr. P. C. ALEXANDER, M.A. D.Litt.

THE civil services in India have a new role to play now. The transition from bureaucracy to parliamentary democracy has imposed on them many new responsibilities and duties. The introduction of responsible government has apparently reduced the importance of the civil services. They have now to work under "political heads" who are responsible to an elected legislature. They have to faithfully carry out the policies and programmes of the party in power, even if they may have no faith in any of them. They have to take note of public opinion as expressed in the press and from the platforms. But on clear examination we will find that even though the importance of the civil service has apparently declined, their responsibilities and duties have greatly increased.

Parliamentary government is the government of amateurs. One is chosen as a minister not because he is an expert in the subject alloted to him, but because of various other considerations. In parliamentary democracy it is not necessary that a minister should be an expert in the subject he administers. Neither is it possible to have only experts in a political executive. W. B. Munro says that in nine out of ten cases in Britain the minister will have no professional qualifications for the technical responsibility to which he is assigned. "The British war office" he says "has been headed at times by a philosopher or a journalist, the admiralty by a merchant or barrister, and the board of trade by a university professor."[1] Even the Chancellors of the Exchequer who are expected to be familiar with the intricacies of public finance have been very often amateurs. "A youth must pass an examination in Arithmetic" says Sir Sidney Low, "before he can hold a second class clerkship in the Treasury; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be a middle aged man of the world who has forgotten what little he ever learned about figures."[2] Initial unfamiliarity with the work is no barrier to appointment as a minister. It is expected that he will get himself acquainted with the subject in course of time. The veteran Palmerston is said to have told his Assistant when he assumed charge of the Colonial Office "to come upstairs for half an hour and show him where those confounded Colonies were on the map." After all, as Bagehot says, ths duty of the Minister is not to work his department, but to get it worked. Even if he is capable of doing it himself it will not be possible for him to do full justice to his task. A minister in parliamentary democracy, unlike in the presidential system, has to devote a good deal of his time and energies to parliamentary work. As a prominent member of the party, he has to spare some time for party work. As a popular leader, he has to tour the country, attend meetings, and explain to the people the policy and activities of the government. These are indispensable functions for a minister, and naturally he cannot spare all his time and energies for executive work. What is expected of him is to get the job done by the civil services. Ramsay Muir says: "Unless the minister is either a self-important ass or a man of quite exceptional

1. Governments of Europe, p. 114.

2. The Governance of England, p. 201.

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grasp, power and courage (and both of these types are uncommon among successful politicians) he will in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, simply accept their view and sign his name on the dotted line."[3] This may sound like exaggeration, but this is the critical opinion of a well-balanced observer. Muir does not minimise the importance of the political executive; he only emphasises the importance of the role played by the civil service in a parliamentary type of government.

The question now is whether the civil services in India will prove themselves capable of discharging the heavy responsibilities expected of them. Independence and partition have brought about a great depletion in their ranks and their present strength is quite inadequate for our requirements. With the opening of embassies in foreign States, the integration and merger of native States and the expansion of the fields of governmental activities in general, India is feeling the difficulties of an inadequate civil service. The chief difficulty about the Indian civil service is that it never had any training in parliamentary democracy. Indian civil service had no doubt a great reputation for efficiency; but there was great truth in the popular jibe against it that it was neither Indian nor civil. Lord Morley had realised the incompatibility of a rigid civil service with popular administration many decades ago. "Our administration would be a great deal more popular" he observed "if it were a trifle more elastic. Our danger is the creation of a pure bureaucracy, competent, honourable, faithful, industrious, but rather mechanical, rather lifeless, perhaps rather soulless". In spite of declarations like this, the main policy of the British administrators in India has been to keep the civil services as rigid and mechanical as possible. The Mont-ford reforms of 1919 and the Government of India Act of 1935 made no attempts to establish healthy traditions in the relations between the ministry and the civil services. The partial transfer of power made in 1919 did not in any way affect the "mechanical, lifeless and soulless" character of the civil services. The ministers in the transferred half had practically no control or influence over them. Special provisions had been made in the Act to safeguard the privileges of the bureaucracy. The All India services and the higher branches of the central services were recruited exclusively by the Secretary of State in Council. They held office during the pleasure of the Crown, and they could not be dismissed from service by any authority subordinate to that which appointed them. An aggrieved officer had the right to complain to the Governor. Under the rules of executive business, cases in which the minister differed from the opinion of his subordinate civil servants had to be submited to the Governor for final orders. The secretary in the departments had direct access to the Governor and the minister had to put up with the humiliation of seeing the Governor upholding the views of the civil servant as against his! Even the 1935 Act, which introduced full autonomy in the provinces and partial responsibility at the centre, did not introduce healthy traditions in the relations between the ministry and

3. How Britain is governed. Pp. 55-56.

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the civil services. The All India services continued to be under the responsibility of the Secretary of State in Council. The promotion of an officer, or any order suspending him from office, or punishing or formally censuring him had to be made by the Governor or Governor-General in his individual judgment. There are as many as forty-six sections in the 1935 Act elaborating the special privileges of the civil services. It is no wonder, if the civil services, with their statutory privileges and rights, failed to function in the traditions of popular administration [4]. What is required now is a thorough reorientation of the civil services to suit the new rquirements, and a clean burial of their past traditions.

An honest and efficient civil service is the *sine qua non* for efficiency in a parliamentary type of government. We cannot always hope to have supermen as ministers. Ministers may be good, bad or indifferent, but the civil service cannot afford to be anything but good. If India can establish an efficient, honest and incorruptible civil service, uninfluenced by communal, caste or provincial considerations, that will be the best guarantee for our success in parliamentary democracy.

4. Cases of conflict between the ministry and the civil service under Provincial Autonomy are not rare. A notable instance is the conduct of the Chief Secretary of Bihar. "In December 1937 it was published in the papers that Mr. W. B. Brett, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, had issued a circular directing district officers to disregaad orders emanating from or purporting to come direct from the ministers unless these were duly signed by one of the permanent secretaries. The prime Minister of Bihar, it was rumoured, was determined to resign if the Governor did not support him in taking a strong line of action in the matter. Subsequently, Mr. Brett explained that the circulur had been issued by him in his private capacity.

THE GERMAN PHENOMENON

By Mr. A. F. THYAGARAJU, M.A., (Lond)

THE periodical resurgence of Germany is a political portent which cannot be easily ignored. Since Bismarck presented a startled Europe with a unified Germany, the nations of the world have been blind to the meaning of this augury until it has been too late. Twice in living memory have they learnt what a potentially destructive force Germany is, and what a tremendous impact she can make on every part of the globe. But too often in the past has attention been directed to political and economic factors to the gross neglect of the psychological factor. It cannot be overemphasised that, in the ultimate analysis, a nation is not a congeries of political, social or economic forces; it is a community of human beings who behave as reasonably or unreasonably as other human beings do. If we understood their character and appreciated their motives, we would be able to predict, with reasonable certainty how they would behave in a given set of circumstances. The study of economics and politics will enlighten the circumstances; only the study of national psychology will give us the clue to national behaviour.

If this is true generally, nowhere is it more true than of the German people. The German character has its roots in

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history. The German is a sentimental person to whom race, blood, language, common sufferings and common triumphs mean much more than they do to the average European. Only in Germany has the concept of the German *Volk* been invested with a mystic glamour, and the heroes of the Germanic past mean much more to the German youth than does Alfred or Nelson to the English school-boy. The tendency of German youth is to look backwards for inspiration, and to attempt to emulate in the present the doughty deeds of the past. Time and again have dictators, gaining easy ascendency over a people with an instinct for obedience and lacking the highly-developed individuality of the Englishman, exploited this sentimental and romantic quality to the full. The world will not soon forget the Siegfried Line, with the memories of the *Nibelungenlied,* the Pagan movement of Baldur von Shirach with its munbo-jumbo resuscitated from Tacitus' *Germania,* and the Sieg Heil choruses of Black Guards marching under the Brandenburg Tor. There is nothing strange about all this, though it is a little comical, if not pathetic, that the most highly endowed people in Europe should be afflicted by such childishness.

Three recent books* throw much light on German character, and may be commended not only to the expert in foreign affairs, but also to the general reader. Prof. G. P. Gooch's *Frederick the Great* is a new study of the Patron Saint of Germany and the Father of Prussian militarism, if a saint can beget such offspring. It is not a substitute for Koser's great work, but largely through extracts from the talented rulers' writings, which were, incidentally, all in French, we get a vivid idea of his tastes and outlook, his self-dedication to the cause of his nation, his zeal and capacity for unremitting toil. In the hour of anxiety the modern German has turned to those inspiring words, written at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, in which he said that if he was killed the war should go on as if nothing had happened; if he was taken captive the slightest attention should not be paid to what he wrote from prison. From extracts such as these we can understand why he was adored by his people and why they need some of his great qualities today. But the hysterical nationalist should also remember that the king said to Thiebault, "You do not know German?". "No, Sir," replied the man who was to be in charge of Frederick's Academy, "but I hope soon to master it". "You are fortunate in your ignorance", rejoined Frederick, "Give me your word of honour that you will not learn our language".* Frederick laid the foundations of that tradition of hard work, of efficiency, of identification with a cause and of discipline which are the well-merited glories of the German people. Unfortunately, however, his seizure of Silesia from the Austrian domains gave rise to the impression that aggression pays, and the doctrine, that might is right, has infected German thought ever since. Not a single German historian of repute has cordemned the Silesian outrage; many have sought to condone it.

* Frederick the Great, the Ruler, the Writer, the Man. By G. P. Gooch, D. Litt., F. B. A., Longmans, Diplomatic Prelude, 1938-1939. By L. B. Namier, F. B. A., Macmillans,

* 1948. pp 503; The Course of German History, a Survey of the Development of Germany since 1815. By A. J. P. Taylor, Hamish Hamilton, 1946.

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Prof. Namier's book deals with just one year, the most pregnant year within recent memory. It is a highly documented work which quotes at length from the blue (or other coloured) books published by the governments of the countries that took part in what Taylor calls the Four Years war. Chamberlain and the appeasers are held up to ridicule and Churchill treated as the one prophetic voice of the century. As a documentary of the hectic events that preceded the outbreak of the Second World War, and as a study of the unreliability of the most noted German of modern times, Namier's book is invaluable. But Taylor breaks entirely new ground in his brilliant and provocative study of the German phenomenon. The book bristles with dicta, any one of which is sufficient to produce a violent tempest in the academic teacups. One example must suffice: "In Luther, German sentiment first asserted itself and it asserted itself against reason, against civilisation, against the West. In the rest of Europe religious reform implied going forward; with Luther it meant going back, repudiating everything which was carrying civilised life beyond barbarism". Taylor regrets that the Germans, "the people of the middle", have never known the middle way of life. They have known only the extremes, and it is not uncommon to find in one and the same German the extremes of humanity and ruthlessness, of religious piety and class scepticism. There are, according to this authority, two problems—that of keeping Germany at peace with her neighbours, and that of giving the people a good and stable government. For the first his solution is simple if cruel—keep Germany weak and her neighbours strong. For the second and more difficult question he cannot give a quick answer. Perhaps the revival of the old autonomous states, on modern democratic lines, and training in local self-government, will do the trick. Something of this sort is happening now with Germany broken up into British, American and Soviet zones.

It may, however, be doubted whether these remedies will be effective. An ancient and vigorous people, with a strong sense of racial and national unity, cannot be subdued by such methods. Perhaps the slow but sure way of political education and enlightenment, such as was inaugurated in President Ebert's republic, will enable Germany to take her rightful place in the world family, without shame and without offence.

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FOOD DEFICIT

BY MR. JAGAT JYOTI PAL, B.A.

INDIA'S food deficit is 6 to 7 per cent. It is a tragedy of facts that nearly 70 per cent. of her population being engaged in Agriculture, she cannot meet her own demands and is being dependent on foreign imports. If you look to the distribution of occupation of people in advanced countries, you will find that 50 per cent. of the population a country being engaged in Agriculture are able to meet their demands, whereas in India 70 per cent. of her population is engaged in Agriculture, yet she is not self-sufficient and her food problem has been the problem of problems.

To rectify this present state of affairs, the Government have been directing their attention to the development of Agriculture, from different fronts, such as reclamation of land, introduction of tractors, construction of fertilizer factories, improvement of animal husbandry etc. But the Government are not fully aware of other sourcs of food. Land is not the only sources of food. There is the sea where there is almost unlimited supply of protein food—I mean fish. A large section of Indian people are prejudicial to fish eating. People are to be educated in respect of fish. Protein value of fish is unquestionable and fish and rice together forms an ideal diet. Mahatma Gandhi though himself a vegetarian, while discussing food problems advocated the procurement of fish from sea. He also suggested introduction of dried fish as a rationed food. It is not known what his closest followers are doing in this respect and translating his ideas into action is in their power.

India has a vast sea coast, and India's climate is favourable to sea fishing. If Government pay greater attention to sea fishing, I have no doubt that she will be self-sufficient in her food consumption. A liberal supply of fish along with rice will make the people healthier. I can say that the Government will insure the health of the people if they can make arrangements for a liberal supply of fish in their diet.

But fish is a very perishable item of food. It cannot be harvested at a time and stocked for future use like agricultural products. But steps can be taken to stock it to some extent for future use by such methods as drying it and tinning it. In these days of air-traffic fish can be transported by air and its perishableness will not stand much in the way of the development of this important commodity. The deterioted or rotten fish is an important manure which can be utilized for the development of agriculture. For the development of fish industry, cold storage is to be provided at sea coast as well as drying and tinning methods are to be greatly resorted to. To solve India's food problems by development of agriculture, will require a long time Its development requires all long terms plans and no short term plan can be adopted for its improvement, moreover our disease in the agricultural department has been a chronic one which can be remedied by a long term treatment. For fishing industry you have to purchase some trawlers from abroad and engage people in it. You will have simply to carry on. Sea is such a vast source of fish that you have not worry much for its supply. In agriculture you have to recoup and resusciate the land to maintain its productivity, in case of sea no such question arises. Fish not only contains highly assi

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milable protein, its oil is physiologically superior to many oils of vegetable origin and is rich in Vitamins A and D. Some fish oils from fish of Indian origin have proved to be superior to imported Norweign Cod Liver oil.

If India's food potentiality is fully developed she will not only be self-sufficiant herself but she will be a creditor country in the world in respect of food. During the last world war a large amount of sterling balance had accumulated to India's credit but a large section of it has dwindled to meet her food shortage and she has not been able to make any headway in the industrialization of the country. Not only this, she has been negotiating for a loan from the World bank for the development of her Agriculture. What is wanted in the present context is a more rational outlook on the items of food.

THE NORTH EAST FRONTIER

BY MR. P. S. CHAUHAN

——(O)——

VARIOUS new provinces have been created lately. While the creation of some has been forced by the pressure of popular demand on the Indian Union based on linguistic and cultural considerations, others have been neccessitated by the merging in of several Princely States, that had remained away as the Indian-India. Formation of the provinces with an eye on Defence should have mertied the foremost attention of our Communist-complexed leaders; who will do well to realize, that it will not be statesmanship to defer it any longer; since times are bad and Communism is on the march, challenging established forms and constitutions all over the world—China, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and now we hear them knocking at the gate of Assam, since the pest of Communism has been observed to thrive and flourish astoundingly fast in the neglected regions, where illiteracy, sloth and poverty lend nourishment. Communist select for their activity, areas wherein the people are discontent and have a grudge against their rulers for certain reasons.

One such region well worth the attention of our administrators, is the belt at the foothill of the Himalyas adjacent to E. Nepal, and running through Sikkim, Darjeeling, Dooars, Bhutan, up to the borders of Assam. This may turn out to be the most dangerous spot, if the Central Government. do not pay any heed to the tide of discontent growing among the hill folks inhabiting this belt. Due to Radcliffe having driven a wedge of strip in demarcating the Bengal; geo-politically, this region is now altogether cut off from the West-Bengal of which it is still claimed to be a part. What is still worse, the relation between the Bengalis and the hillfolks is much strained, specailly after the Independance Day, when the outlook of the Bengali Officers and local Congressites suddenly changed and they took up a domineering attitude. This assertion of racial superiority antogonised the hill folks.

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If the Central Government. cannot retain their confidence and create a formidable wall of Defence on the borders, the enemy at home watching for an opportunity, will certainly plunge the country into chaos. Nepalese or the stocky Gorkhas, Bhutias, Lepchas, Sikkimese, Coches, Meches and Mundas who speak more or less the same language and follow the same custom, usage by intermarrying freely among themselves, inhabit this strategic part. A typical Pardesh forming one homogeneous unit of administration which is the cherished ideal of the Congress is thus a possibility.

Since theoretical propositions are hardly satisfactory, the practical side of it must first show the economical possibilty, thus convincing our high priests of Economical sell sufficency, and that the Centre in no case would be burdened. A thorough study of the economy of this unit is therefore indispensible by those who claim to be the Authorities; since to a casual observer, it appears to be in perfect order.

Sikkim, Bhutan and Coochbehar are all solvent States. Dooars is a rich revenue-yielding tract. Darjeeling may be slightly deficent, but this can be made up by developing a big tourist trade. Should this proposition stand the economic test, I feel, that food, clothes, fuel, rice, maize and pastoral products will be in abundant supply. Hydro-electricity can be easily generated, and being next door to Assam, transport of kerosine and petrol will be simple. Texitiles certainly will have to come from Bombay, but it will be cheaper if it is brought to the 'Pradesh' via Cawnpore-Katihar-Silguri; than via Calcutta, after fattening the big trade intrest of the city.

The 'Pradesh' is advantageously placed for the Rail and Road communications, forming a link as she does between Assam and Behar. Thus our powerful neighbours in Burma and China can be sure of the maxim, that 'the price of freedom is eternal vigilance', so far the interest of India is concerened. Without making Assam into a mighty arsenal, troops can certainly be rushed and kept in reserve, in time of emergency; and the 'Pradesh' will never betray as being the potential reserve for the Military strength of the Indian Dominion. With one landing Ground already existing at Bagdora, this 'Pradesh' can have the facilities of fast modern transport also.

DR. KESKAR ON "UNKNOWN" BRITISH PLAN

As the above article was in the Press Dr. B. V. Keskar, India's Deputy Minister for External Affairs in the course of a recorded broadcast stated that the North-eastern Frontier of India might become a very important factor in the over-all defence of the country.

Dr. Keskar said that it was the policy of Government of India to do everything possible to help the tribal areas of Assam to develop socially, educationally and otherwise. Government wanted these areas to come on a par with other parts of India and to make the tribal people feel one with the rest of the country.

At the same time, Government wanted to guard the tribal people's cultural autonomy as far as possible.

The recent events in China and Burma made it clear that this frontier of India might possibly become in the near future, a very important factor in the overall defence of the country.

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A Central Institute for Drug Research

By Dr. JIVRAJ N. MEHTA

IN any scheme of medical relief to the nation, drugs which are the chief weapons in our attack against mal-nutrition, diseases and epidemics, would naturally form an important item for consideration. Next to the supply of food, the provision of drugs of good and dependable quality, at a price within the reach of the poorest masses of India is an urgent and imperative necessity. The question of drug supply is again intimately related with drug research on scientific lines, as only on the basis of up-to-date scientific knowledge, the medical profession would be able to utilize to the maximum the abundant sources of drugs that exist in this country. It is quite clear today that without research, the drug Industry in India cannot be improved and brought to the level of that existing in foreign countries. India today is still very largely an importing country in the matter of her present-day medical and surgical needs—spending from 3 to 4 crores each year on such imports—and it has been felt for a long time that attempts should be made to establish a National Institute for drug research, so that various enquiries in this direction could be studied and met. It is a pleasure to state that after all, this objective has now been fulfilled and we are able to initiate the establishment of a Central Drug Research Institute at Lucknow;* thanks to the generosity of U. P. Government in handing over this imposing and historical building—Chattar Manzil Palace—with its spacious ground to the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research for the purpose.

A fair amount of research on indigenous drugs has been carried out in India during the last 30 years under the auspices of the Indian Research Fund Association and in such institutions as the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, the Central Drugs Laboratory, Calcutta, the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, the Central Research Institute, Kasauli, the Chemical Laboratories of the various Indian Universities, some medical Colleges and lately under the auspices of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. These investigations, which have yielded valuable results, have indicated also the need for a central organisation for carrying on intensive research on drugs and for providing facilities for work between pure science and applied science and also between scientists and industrialists engaged in drug manufacture. Unlike researches in other fields of science, drug research is essentially a collaborative research between botanists, agriculturists, chemists, pharmacologists, micro-biologists and clinicians. There are very few, if any, individual workers who possess all the technical skill and the theoretical information required for the development of the whole field of drug and pharmaceutical research. This fact was realised in Germany in the first decade of this century and the German scientists were the first to develop drug research by this method of collaborative work. Later, the same method of collaborative research has been adopted in countries such as Great Britain, Switzerland and America, with the result that some pheno-

* From an address delivered on the occasion of opening of the Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow.

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menal discoveries (discovery of antimalarials, *e.g.* Plasmochin, Atebrin, Paludrine; discovery of anti-bacterials *e.g.*, Sulpha drugs; discovery of insecticides, *e.g.*, D D.T. and Gammexane; discovery of antibiotics, *e.g.* Penicillin and Streptomycin, etc.) have been made in the field of therapeutics during the last 15 years, which was not possible in over 3,000 years, *i.e.* from 1500 B.C. to 1900 A.D. One of the major factors which has been responsible for the present unsatisfactory position of drug research and drug industry in India is this lack of collaborative work between different groups of scientists and between the various scientific groups of workers within the industries. The Central Drug Research Institute will be the first Institute of its kind, where this collaborative work would be brought in towards the development of drug resources of this country.

THE SCOPE OF WORK

The scope for research in drugs and pharmaceuticals in India is wide—ranging from systematic study of the crude drugs used in indigenous systems of medicine to the highly developed field of synthetics and antibiotics. Nearly 75 per cent. of the vegetable drugs listed in the British Pharmacopoeia are native to India and substitutes for a large number of others can be found among the rich and varied resources in this country. These resources have not been exhaustively explored or exploited. Researches in the fields of synthetics and antibiotics will have to be intensified, but in the immediate future special stress will have to be laid down on the *natural drugs*.

THE FUNCTIONS

The functions of the Institute will be;

1. Promotion of drug research in general, including botanical (pharmacognostical), chemical, pharmaceutical, pharmacological (standardisation, chamotherapy and texicology,) bacteriological, microbiological and clinical aspects.

2. Testing and standardization of drugs according to approved methods and giving expert opinion thereon as a guide for further research, development and production. The Institute will naturally confine itself in this regard to testing and standardization in so far as they relate to the work of the Institute.

3. Offering facilities to and helping scientists in universities, special institutions industrial concerns and others who may not be in a position to carry out investigations by themselves.

4. Providing controlled clinical trials in hospitsls, clinics etc., and

5. Dissemination of scientic knowledge and statistical information relating to drugs.

The ultimate object of the Institute would be to stimulate progress in the control and treatment of disease through facilitating investigations to establish the usefulness and limitations of diagnostic, preventive and therapeutic agents. This will involve not only the promotion of critical clinical investigations of new therapeutic agents but also the consideration of possibile new uses for the old ones according to varying factors.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE INSTITUTE.

The Institute will consist of a number of chief Divisions, to begin with (1) Division of Chemistry, (2) Division of Pharmacology, (3) Division of Bio-chemistry and Microbiology and (4) Division of Clinical scinence and (5) Division of Pharmaceutical

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Botany and Pharmacognosy. It has been recently decided at the January meeting of the Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Committee that it may be necessary to have a 6th Division from the very beginning—Division of Pharmaceutical Botany and Pharmacognosy which was otherwise formerly decided to be placed under the Division of Chemistry. In addition, there will be *(i)* a Central Library, *(ii)* an Information Service and *(iii)* a workshop for fabrication of instruments, special glass apparatus and pilot plants.

The work of the various divisions would be under the overrall supervision and guidance of a Director, who may be a specialist in any of the branches comprising the Divisions of the Institute and who could have leadership to integrate and correlate the work of the various divisions.

RADIO ON THE TUBE

V.H.F. (Very High Frequency) radio is extensively used by London Transport Executive engineers during their work in bringing new signalling installations into services on the railways and for reporting back to H.Q. during breakdowns. This radio communication is used between the signalling cabin and the points or signals for checking their correct operation. Previously the reports were made *via* the nearest telephone which caused considerable delay. It is proving highly valuable in cases of breakdowns, for the high intensity of the London Transport Services demands the minimum of time for repairs and the radio on the spot reports progress or calls for reinforcements, equipment, etc. A portable radio set used for reporting to a similar set in the Signal Cabin, on the operation of points.

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FINE PRINT AS AN AID TO EYESIGHT

A NEW DISCOVERY

BY DR. R. S. AGARWAL

—:o:—

ASK a doctor and he will tell you that reading fine print is bad for the eyes. It causes shortsight and other eye discomforts. If you put a question, why? there is no satisfactory reply. Everyone knows that Chinese and Japanese use very large print and suffer most from shortsight (myopia) and I think there is no nation in the world that has so much myopia. Children and adults who read big print in the books or persons who do not know reading often suffer from shortsight. These facts puzzle one.

Recently a patient visited Dr. Agarwal's Eye Institute at Delhi and complained of great eye strain. The use of glasses, instead of relieving the strain, had aggravated the trouble the moment he used them. He had several pairs of spectacles with him and was advised by the eye specialists to give up reading which was neither possible nor practical for him. His eyesight was fairly good. While he was just reading in the book 'Eye Troubles in Old Age' in the visitors' room, the following sentence, he was simply surprised :

FINE PRINT IS A BENEFIT TO THE EYE,
LARGE PRINT IS A MENACE.

For a long time he was afraid of reading thin type and always preferred to read large type.

The doctor, after a careful examination, told him to read fine print, as close to the eyes as comfortably possible, several times a day, and that this was his real remedy. The doctor's advice was a shock to him at first but as he had heard much about the efficacy of his novel methods, he submitted himself completely to follow his instructions. When he began to read the booklet of fine print, he felt a sensation of discomfort at first but after a little encrouragement and palming exercise it became quite comfortable for him to read the fine print at various distances, from 12 inches to 6 inches.

By palming is meant to close the eyes and cover them with the palms of the hands, avoiding any pressure on the eyeballs. In this way the outer light is shut and one sees a black field before the eyes because the retina of the eye is sensitive to light which is shut by palms. But when the mind and eyes are under strain one does not see black but some other colours or the black is faint. To see perfect black like that of printer's ink, is an indication of relaxation of the eyes and mind. If one can recall, the memory of a familiar black object or some other colour, or a sensation of touch, or a bar of music, while palming the blackness before the eyes, improves. There should be no effort to recall the memory of some object. A pillow may be put below the elbows so as to make the posture comfortable. Palming may be for about five minutes or more.

TOO LATE

The day after McFadzean's funeral, David McAllister called on the widow, and, after some hesitation, asked for her hand.

"I'm sorry, Dauvit,', said she, "for I like ye well enough ; but ye're late. If you'd really wanted me ye could have spoke long ago ; ye ken it was common knowledge in the village three weeks ago that McFadzean couldna get better again."

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OUR PLANS FOR INDUSTRIALISATION

By Mr. K. G. MENON, I.C.S.

——:o:——

[Mr. K. G. Menon, I.C.S., in the course of a talk broadcast from A. I. R. Madras, recounted the steps taken by the Government of Madras to prosecute their plans for industrialisation. He indicated some of the main lines which have engaged Government's attention but he did not hesitate to point out "that most industries can develop only on the basis of private initiative." Government, however, could render financial assistance to deserving industries and otherwise help them with expert advice where necessary. Ed. *I.R.*]

TOWARDS the end of the war, the Government of India decided to work out a post-war development scheme, under which there would be an orderly and co-ordinated development of industries right through the country. Such co-ordination is essential to ensure rational and strategic regionalisation and the proper distribution of finished products. It is also essential to facilitate the import of capital goods, which are scarce all over the world. This scheme, as modified from time to time in the light of requirements, forms the basis of our development programme.

Now I am concerned only with our industrial development. Before any industry is established, we must have the power to set the machines in motion. Our production of of electric power is of the order of 178,000 K. W. This is by no means sufficient and our programme contemplates both stepping up production in existing stations as also new production. New thermal stations will be put up at Nellore, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Mathurai producing 24,000 K. W. and new hydro-electric stations at Machkund, Nilgiris (Moyar Project) and expansion is contemplated at Pykara and Papanasam producing 112,000 K. W. Another source of power is coal. We know coal exists in the Godavery Valley, but intensive work has not been undertaken in this area so far to recover the coal. But the Geological Survey of India will soon undertake this work. There are also known deposits of lignite or brown coal in South Arcot and Malabar. The South Arcot Deposits are now under active investigation and can be used not only for production of electric power, but also for fuel gas and many organic compounds like benzene, phenol, dyes etc. These deposits cover an area of over 100 square miles and vary in thickness from 25 to 90 feet.

Next we will consider some of our mineral resources. We are fortunate in this respect. We have extensive and excellent deposits of high quality haematite in Sandur. At the same site occurs good manganese ore. In the neighbourhood occur all the minerals like limestone, refractories and chrome ore required for the steel industry. The picture will be complete if suitable coal is available in the Province or near it. Even if we can use electricity for smelting—and that means a large block of cheap electricity—we would require considerable quantities of coal for reduction. The Government are in contact with foreign experts to evolve a sound and economic proposal for utilising their iron resources.

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In Salem, bauxite or aluminium ore and magnesite occur in large quantities. This bauxite is reported to be eminently suitable for the manufacture of aluminium. On aluminium can be based a number of industries, The latest we know is of its increasing use for electric transmission lines. Magnesite is essential in the manufacture of refractories, which will be required in increasing quantities when our industrial expansion proceeds apace. It is also valuable for making light alloys. Proposals for utlising these minerals are being discussed with experts.

Other important strategic minerals known to exist in this Province are antimony, copper and lead ores, ilmenite and monozite, barytes, asbestos, China clay, gypsum, mica, phosphatic nodules and soapstone. These have important industrial uses, Thus lead, ilmenite and barytes are essential for paints. Ilmenite and Monozite are associated with radio active elements, which are in great demand in certain parts of the World for atomic power. Ilmenite is the source of Titanium dioxide, which is claimed to be a better white paint than other known white pigments. The commercial manufacture of titanium metal, recently announced in the United States of America, may put at the disposal of the Chemical and Process engineer, a metal of great value. Gypsum is one of the basic requirements of the Fertilizer Factory at Alwaye. Fused phosphate from the nodules in Tiruchirapalli District will give a good phosphatic manure. Our mica has gone all over the world and a factory for the production of micanite has been put up in Gudur. China clay is an essential ingredient of ceramics and the Government Ceramic Factory at Gudur is using it extensively.

Now we must turn to the chemical industry. We have some production of Sulphuric acid and Caustic soda, but have to depend largely on imports for our requirements. We have programmed to increase the production of both these basic compounds. Three new soda-ash plants have also been approved. Two superphosphate plants are likely to come into production before long. A large scale paint factory is about to start production. Along with a Caustic soda plant, there is scope for manufacturing many much-needed chlorine compounds including hydrochloric acid. Proposals for power alcohol production are also complete. A large glue factory is being set up. We may expect, as a result of these ventures, substantial increases in the production of pulp and paper, fertilisers and insecticides, paints and varnishes, soap, textiles and rayon, chemicals and drugs, glass and ceramics and tanned leather.

Some other industries included in our programme and worth mentioning should now be briefly examined. The textile industry had a spindleage in this Province of 1,311,125 when war broke out. The post-war development allotment is 352,000 spindles. One half of the yarn produced is to be reserved for the handloom industry. The sugar industry now produces 52,000 tons of sugar a year, which is less than 50 of our requirements. New allotments will produce about 96,000 tons more a year. 3,79,200 tons of cement were

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produced annually until recently. A new factory of 150,000 tons is likely to commence operations in Tirunelveli in a month or two. Two more new plants with a total capacity of 1½ lakhs of tons will be located at Kurnool and South Arcot. Existing plants have had their capacity increased. The total additional production will be 4,20,000 tons a year. Ten new hydrogenation plants have been sanctioned and they would not only facilitate the production of edible oils, but would help the soap industry and enable us to keep the valuable nitrogenous oil cake in the country. To facilitate studies of oils, the Government are setting up a hydrogenation factory and Oil Technological Institutes at Calicut and Anantapur. Arrangements are also being made to start a concern to supply fuel gas to Madras City.

Madras is one of the few Provinces in India where Sericulture has been developed on a large scale. This Province possesses many natural advantages and with effective organisation, the industry can thrive. The acreage under mulberry cultivation is about 21,000. During the war, the raw silk manufactured in the Government Silk Filature, Kollegal was supplied to the Government of India for war purposes. After the war, due to the loss of that demand, the industry is trying to readjust itself. Competition from cheap foreign silk is making this difficult.

A five-year scheme for the development of sericulture on the lines of the recommendations made by the panel on silk set up by the Government of India is under the active consideration of Government. These proposals are intended to improve the quality and yield of cocoons and ultimately to place this Province in a position to resist foreign competition successfully. A considerable improvement in the general economic condition of the sericulturists is also anticipated. The total cost of the Scheme will be about Rs. 26·6 lakhs in a Five Year period.

Attempts are also being made to facilitate the industrialisation of agriculture. Substantial allotments of steel are given to factories producing agricultural implements. The two automobile assembly plants coming up near Madras can produce tractors, the demand for which exceeds supply.

To train up the men required in these enterprises, the Government have started eight Polytechnics. The Government of India and the Government of Madras have, with the munificent assistance of the industry and philanthropists, also embarked on a Leather and an Electrochemical Research Institutes. A Textile Research Institute is also contemplated. I should also mention here the Alagappa College of Technology and the Madras Institute of Technology which will turn out highly qualified technicians.

CHRIST PREFERRED TO WALK

A Scotman visiting the Holy Places asked for a boat to take him to the Sea of Galilee.

The boatman demanded 12 shilings for the trip.

"But that's too much," said the Scot. "In Edinburgh you can have it for a shilling or two."

"True," said the boatman. "But this is the Sea of Galilee on which Christ walked."

"No wonder," exclaimed the Scot, "Christ preferred to walk."

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THE LEGACY THAT TOLSTOY LEFT

By NIKOLAI RODINOV

LEO TOLSTOY was born on September 9, 1828.

In his will, the great Russian writer, renounced all author's rights in the publication of his works and bequeathed them for the use of the people in general.

Tolstoy's friend Chertkov endeavoured to carry into effect the publication of a complete edition of Leo Tolstoy's writings, for a long time without success; no one would undertake this prodigious task in Tsarist Russia.

In the years 1910-1917 editions of some of the writer's works appeared separately, but did not form a complete edition.

After the October Revolution, Chertkov was received in 1918 by Vladimir Lenin, who pointed out the necessity for publishing all that Tolstoy had written. His initiative received practical realization in 1925, when the Council of People's Commissars issued a decision on the publication of a complete academic edition of Leo Tolstoy's works.

89 VOLUMES PLANNED

The legacy of manuscripts left by Leo Tolstoy comprised 1,500 authors' signatures. By the outbreak of the war 38 volumes of this edition, which was to be in 89 volumes, had been published. At the moment of writing, almost the entire edition has been prepared for the press. After the inevitable interruption caused by the war, the State Literary Publishing House of the USSR resumed work on the edition.

According to the evidence of the textologists, a task of such dimensions, both as regards its bulk and the amount of research required, has never been known.

The State Editorial Committee of the edition includes the well-known writers Mikhail Sholokhov, Alexander Fadevev, and A. Pankratove, corresponding-member of the Academy of Sciences.

The academic edition of Tolsty is intended in the first place for philologists and those specializing in kindred branches, but it has also immense significance as a scholarly text of the writer's works. On the basis of this text the mass editions of separate books and of his selected works will be printed.

A Russian writer of genius, his books are popular and well-loved by the Soviet people. In Soviet years many editions have been brought out. In the first place it is necessary to point to several complete editions of his novels; for example, a 12-volume edition of fiction was published by the "Ogoniek" Publishing House, Moscow, in 1928, and 15 volumes were published in Leningrad the same year.

Printings of his works have increased year by year; the 12-volume edition that came from the Orgoniek Publishing House this year was printed in 75,000 copies. It should be mentioned that they have been bought up and it has been decided to increase the edition to 300,000 copies.

FOLLOW THE HUSBAND!

"You must love, honour, and obey your husband", said the parson advising the bride on her marital duties. "And you must follow him wherever he goes."

The wife looked aghast. "Fancy", she exclaimed. "and Jim a deepsea diver."

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

BUDDHA AND SUPRIYA

"Who among you will take up the duty of feeding the hungry?" Lord Buddha asked his followers when famine raged at Shravasti.

Ratnakar, the banker, hung his head and said, "Much more is needed than all my wealth to feed the hungry."

Jaysen, the Chief of the King's army, said, "I would glady give my life's blood, but there is not enough food in my house."

Dharmapal, who owned broad acres of land, said with a sigh: "The drought demon has sucked my fields dry. I know not how to pay the King's dues."

Then rose Supriya, the mendicant's daughter.

She bowed to all and meekly said, "I will feed the hungry."

"How!" they cried in surprise. "How can you hope to fulfil that vow?"

"I am the poorest of you all," said Supriya, "that is my strength, I have my coffer and my store at each of your houses." —*Rabindranath Tagore.*

. . . .

TREASURERS
(For G.E.M.)

These are my treasures: just a word, a look,
A chiming sentence from his favourite book,
A large, blue, scented blossom that he found,
And plucked for me in some enchanted ground,
A joy he planned for us, a verse he made
Upon a birthday, the increasing shade
Of trees he planted by the waterside,
The echo of a laugh, his tender pride
In those he loved, his hand upon my hair,
The dear voice lifted in his evening prayer.

How safe they must be kept! So dear, so few,
And all I have to last my whole life through.
A silver mesh of loving words entwining,
At every crossing thread of brittle words, I'll make
A safer, humble hiding-place apart,
And lock them in the fastness of my heart.

—*Mary Webb.* (Jonathan Cape Ltd.)

LIFT UP YOUR HEARTS

"I have seen cyclones in which thrones toppled over like ninepins, and sublime heads rolled in the dust like apples in an orchard. I have seen eclipses that seemed eternal, and the rivers, as in Egypt, turned to blood. I have seen life and death and glory chasing each other like shadows on a summer sea, and all has seemed to be vanity. But I remain in the conviction that, though individuals may suffer, when we take stock of a century at its end, we shall find that the world is better and happier than it was at the beginning. *Sursum corda.* Lift up your hearts, for the world is moving onward. Its chariot-wheel may crush for the moment, but it does not move to evil. It is guided from above, and guided we may be sure with wisdom and goodness which will not abandon us. That is the comfort which even in blackest darkness must afford light." —*Lord Rosebery* (Address at St. Andrews' University, 1911).

. . . .

CHLOE

Tell me no more I am deceived,
That Chloe's false and common,
I always knew, (at least believed),
She was a very woman:
As such I liked, as such caress'd,
She could do more for no man.

But Oh! her thoughts on others ran;
And that you think a hard thing!
Perhaps she fancied you the man:
And what care I one farthing?
You think she's false, I'm sure she's kind,
I take her body, you her mind,—
Who has the better bargain?

—*William Congreve.*

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LAMB'S GIFT OF REPARTEE

Readiness and skill in retort form a part of Charles Lamb's fame. Some affected person was once boring Elia with praises of the English public schools and sneers at and deprecation of ordinary education. Every good thing came from the great schools. There was the case of the poets. Byron was a Harrow boy—"Yes," interrupted Lamb, with a pun that was a derisive repartee, "and Burns was a plough-boy." On another occasion a retired cheese-monger who had an intense and absurd dislike to any mention in his hearing of the source of his competence vexed Lamb by a harsh speech about the Poor Law and outcast men and women. "You must bear in mind, sir," he pompously observed, "that I have got rid of all that stuff which you poets call 'the milk of human kindness.'" Lamb looked at him blandly and steadily. "Yes, sir," he said, "I am aware of it. You turned it all into cheese several years ago."

. . . .

SUCCESS AND FAILURE

Your worldly failure, if you have failed is to your credit rather than to your blame. Remember that the best and greatest among mankind are those who do themselves no worldly good. Every successful man is more or less a selfish man. The devoted fail . . . "charity seeketh not her own."

—*Thomas Hardy* (JUDE THE OBSCURE.)

. . . .

THE USE OF ABILITIES

The knack of making good use of moderate abilities secures the esteem of men, and often raises to higher fame than real merit.

—*La Roehefoucauld*

EVENING

It is a beauteous Evening, calm and free;
The holy time is quiet as a Nun
Breathless with adoration; the broad sun
Is sinking down in its tranquillity;
The gentleness of heaven is on the Sea:
Listen! the mighty Being is awake,
And doth with his eternal motion make
A sound like thunder—everlastingly.

—*Wordsworth.*

. . . .

MAN

Man, so far as natural science by itself is able to teach us, is no longer the final cause of the Universe, the Heaven-descended heir of all the ages. His very existence is an accident, his story a brief and transitory episode in the life of one of the meanest of the planets. Of the combination of causes which converted a dead organic compound into the living progenitors of humanity, science indeed as yet knows nothing. It is enough that from such beginnings—famine, disease, and mutual slaughter, fit nurses of the future lords of creation—has gradually evolved, after infinite travail, a race with conscience enough to face that it is vile, and intelligent enough to know that it is insignificant.

A. J. Balfour.

. . . . . .

THE AGES OF MAN

At thirty man suspects himself a fool;
Knows it at forty, and reforms his plan;
At fifty chides his infamous delay;
Pushes his prudent purpose to resolve,
Resolves and re-resolves, then dies the same.

—*Shakespeare.*

THE GAME OF POLITICS

No politician can make a situation. His skill consists in his well playing the game dealt to him by fortune, and following the indications given him by nature, times, and circumstances. —*Burke.*

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THE USE OF GOLD

[Lenin had no illusions about the necessity for capitalism of an objective money commodity such as gold. But he wrote:]

When we conquer on a world scale we shall, I think, use gold for making public lavatories in the streets of the great cities of the world. That would be the most "just" and graphically edifying use of gold for the generations which have not forgotten that for gold ten million people were massacred and thirty million crippled in the "great liberation" war of 1914-'18.

. . . . .

THE TIDE OF CONQUEST

Here, while the tide of conquest rolls
Against the distant golden shore,
The starved and stunted human souls
Are with us more and more.

Vain is your Science, vain your Art,
Your triumphs and your glories vain,
To feed the hunger of their heart
And famine of their brain.

—*William Watson*

. . . . .

SOLDIER'S SONG

[British patriotism is at bottom so sound that it can afford to be frivolous. This sort of gaiety comes of the very strength of British Character.]

Send for the boys of the girls' brigade
To set old England free:—
Send for my mother, and my sister and my brother
But for heaven's sake don't send me.

AND REST IN THEE

And when thy death comes, Master let us bear it
As if thy will, however hard to go;
Thy cross is infinite for us to share it
Thy help is infinite for us to know.
And when the long-trumpets of the judgment blow
May our poor souls be glad and meet again
And rest in Thee.

—*Masefield*

. . . . .

YOUTH AND AGE

It is good to have been young in youth and, as years go on to grow older. Time changes, opinions vary to their opposite, and still this world appears a brave gymnasium, full of sea-bathing and horse exercise, and bracing manly virtues·····our affections and beliefs are wiser than we; the best that is in us is better than we can understand; for it is grounded beyond experience, and guides us, blindfold but safe, from one age to another.

—*R. L. S.*

. . . . .

THE MIRACLE OF SPRING

Come, sweet-heart, listen, for I have a thing
Most wonderful to tell you—news of spring

Albeit winter still is in the air,
And the earth troubled, and the branches bare,

Yet down the fields to-day I saw her pass—
The spring—her feet went shining through the grass.

John Drinkwater.

. . . . .

EXPECT NOTHING IN RETURN

I ask little from most men; I try to render them much, and to expect nothing in return, and I get on very well out of the bargain.

—*Fenelon.*

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THE INFANT STATE OF INDONESIA

By Prof. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Principal, R D. M College, Sivaganga

IV

THE draft of the Cheribon (or Linggadjati) Agreement was initialled by both the parties (the Dutch Commission-General and the Indonesian Delegation) in November 1946; but unfortunately it was neither signed, nor implemented immediately. It stipulated that the King of the Netherlands should be the Head of the Netherlands and the Indonesian Union; and that the Government of the Republic of Indonesia should be recognised as the *de facto* Government over Java, Sumatra and Madura. The component States of the United States of Indonesia were Borneo and the Great East besides the Republic of Indonesia.

The constitution of the proposed Union was to be drafted by a Conference of the representatives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and of the future United States of Indonesia; and till that constitution should be framed, the Netherlands Government was to initiate and implement measures for adjusting the constitutional and international position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the new situation. Within five days after the initialling of the Draft Agreement, disputes began about the meaning and scope of the above article. Sjahrir desired that the Republic should have its own accredited representatives with foreign powers. To this demand the Dutch vigorously objected. Soekarno, with his usual determination, would not accept the headship of the Netherlands Indonesian Union as stipulated by Article 8. Sjahrir could never convert Soekarno to his position; and his endeavour to do so, only ended in his resignation of the Premiership; and the Dutch chose to begin Police Action and what was, in substance a colonial civil war, began.

To outward appearances, Sjahrir was wholeheartedly for the Linggadjati Agreement; but soon he went over to the side of Soekarno when the latter's unwavering stand made the Linggadjati Agreement impossible.

Many of the intellectuals in Holland were not for accepting the Agreement, including Calvinists and University Professors. Some were for a summary rejection of it; while a few others, particularly the head of the National Union of Trade Unions, were for ratifying it. This manifestation of growing opposition in Holland made the Indonesian leaders lose confidence in the sincerity of Dutch promise of implementation of the Agreement. This attitude made it further difficult to win the confidence of Soekarno, Hatta and other Indonesian leaders who gave out that whatever the Dutch might assert, there was no trusting their *bona fides*. Soekarno would never agree to allow his Republic to remain in the proposed Union, except as a sovereign State voluntarily entering into association with the Netherlands.

V

Meanwhile Dutch effort actively encouraged the assertion of claims of autonomy and separate statehood by several other regions in the Archipelago. At a conference held in the Island of Bali, the State

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of East Indonesia (or the Great East) was placed on a footing of full equality with the Republic of Indonesia. This new State was to comprise Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas, all the islands between Celebes and New Guinea, and the Sunda Islands, and to have a President; and a preliminary Parliament was also to be summoned of whose members 75 per cent were elected, whereas, in the Indonesian Republic, there had never been any elections at all and all the cabinets that had functioned had been nominated by the President.

Sjahrir who went as Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia before the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation for demanding the recognition of the complete sovereignty of his Republic, argued that East Indonesia was merely a puppet State set up by the Dutch to serve as a handy factor for bargaining for unfair advantages for the Dutch in open violation of the Linggadjati Agreement.

Soon West Borneo was also declared an autonomous State within the framework of the Union and recognised as such by the Netherlands Government. The four Sultans in East Borneo agreed to form a separate State, while South and Central Borneo, with a scanty population of less than one-third million, was to form yet another State with the ridiculous name of Great Siak. Several islands of the Archipelago like Timor, now demanded self-government and a status of independence, alike of the Republic of Indonesia and of the United Nations of Indonesia, while they expressed a willingness to remain within the framework of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

In West Java the Soendanese who had a separate racial and linguistic heritage, were now induced to claim autonomy as a separate State under the name of *Pasoendan*. The Dutch openly encouraged this move, the seriousness and sincerity of which were hotly denied by Sjahrir and other Indonesian leaders, because the entire island of Java was to be one and an indivisible State, and even Sumatra was to be only a province of Indonesia. Soon the Bataks, a proto-Malay people of Sumatra, were clamouring for the recognition of their own independence, raising the cry "Batak Land for the Bataks."

But Soekarno was not at all shaken by all these Dutch intrigues in creating the new States. Sjahrir characterised the Soendanese State as "a foolish and silly adventure"; and he condemned, in the strongest terms, the Dutch recognition of West Borneo as being an open violation of the Linggadjati Agreement. While atrocities continued on both sides, the Dutch troops in Java steadily increased and came to be concentrated in Batavia and Soerabaya; and Van Mook threatened to use force on those who refused to listen to reason.

In May 1947 Sjahrir declared that the fundamental questions to be solved by the Dutch were the following:

1. The withdrawal of all their troops from Indonesia;
2. The settlement of the procedure to be followed for incorporating the territories occupied then by the Dutch into the Republic; and
3. The incorporation of the whole of Indonesia into the United States of Indonesia.

Thus Sjahrir was, in spite of recent happenings, still willing to co-operate with the Dutch, and the rest of the Indies. The Republic's claim to the entire islands

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of Java and Madura and Sumatra would make it not only a vastly bigger unit than the other States, but possessed of resources considerably more than those of the rest of the Archipelago; and in case the Republic opted out of the United States of Indonesia, the latter would become a mere symbolical unit of statehood and a shadow state. The Dutch Commission-General also held that the sovereignty of the Kingdom of the Netherlands should be maintained over all Indonesia *de jure*, during the period of transition and this condition was most essential to any implementation of the Linggadjati Agreement. Sjahrir held that the Dutch Note could only be regarded as an *ultimatum*, a negative reply to which could only mean war.

By this time (June 1947) the Dutch had as many as 90,000 armed troops in Sumatra and Java, much more than was necessary to put down terrorists and extremist elements and maintain internal security. The counter-proposals of Sjahrir were not acceptable to the Dutch. According to the proposals, the Union Government was to be composed exclusively of representatives of the Republic of East Indonesia and of Borneo in which the Republic should have one-half of the share in the composition of the Ministry and the decision was to be by a majority vote and the Representative of the Crown of the Netherlands should have only the right to refuse assent to any resolution of the Ministry which conflicted with the interests of the Netherlands, while representatives of the Republic were to be accredited on a basis of full sovereignty to Foreign Powers. These counter-proposals eliminated every kind of Dutch influence, except the merest shadow and practically established the Republic as the Paramount Power in Indonesia. Further explanations and clarifications continued for a time between Sjahrir and Van Mook. But Soekarno and the solid Indonesian opinion behind him were not for any conciliation at all; and Sjahrir quietly resigned from his Premiership and from the the Chairmanship of the Indonesian Delegation.

A new Indonesian Ministry was formed under the alternative leader, Sjariffoedin. Perhaps the Dutch might, by their military action, have easily split Java into two halves and also occupied all the important places in Sumatra, where, in reality, there were no effective rallying centres for the Republicans.

Dutch Military action in 1947 in Indonesia caused a flutter in many a foreign office; and Pandit Nehru at Delhi vigorously condemned it as "an astounding thing which the new spirit of Asia will not tolerate" and declared that if the U. N. O. tolerated such action, it would cease to be." It was only the persistant and vigorous calls to action and unyielding resistance from the Jogjokarta radio that gave a fillip to the resistance of the Republic.

Australian public opinion condemned Duch action in the strongest terms. Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, openly regretted in Parliament the renewal of military operations by the Netherlands Government. Dutch air power was often misused in bombing non-military targets. From the U. S. A., and from Russia, voices issued condemning the Dutch action. Thus the Dutch found world opinion arrayed

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against them and saw that any attempt on their part to settle the Indonesian question at their own discretion was effectively precluded.

In the course of the discussions in the Security Council of U. N. O the Dutch Ambassador declared that his government had accepted an offer of mediation made by the U.S.A., but the Russian and Polish representatives called for an immediate cessation of hostilities. The British representative, Mr. Lawford, took his stand on an article of the Charter of the U N O. (Art. II, para 7) according to which the Council was not empowered to interfere in the domestic affairs of member-states, and any interference in Indonesia should be preceded by a pronouncement that the whole question was not a domestic issue. Finally, the Council decided by a good majority, that both the parties should be asked to cease hostilities forthwith and to settle their dispute by arbitration or by some other peaceful means. Russia even went so far as to call both sides to withdraw into the positions that they had occupied respectively before the beginning of hostilities.

The Dutch stopped their Military Action at midnight on the 4th of August 1947. The Indonesian Government announced that they would make every effort to obey the Security Council's order, but they were not certain whether they could straightway control all the extremist elements on their side and also whether the Dutch troops would abstain completely from provocations to such elements.

Thus the Dutch failed in this 1947 move of theirs and world opinion had clearly gone against them. Indonesia had gained a notable victory. The Security Council of U. N. O. upheld the contention of Sjahrir that the States of West Borneo and East Indonesia had no right to be represented before the Council. And thus Soekarno won the last round in the critical two-year's struggle for his State's recognition (August 1945 to August 1947.) He had never wavered in his attitude nor given way even one inch from his stand, nor expressed any kind of difference in his own cause, and he openly cast aside the Linggadjati Agreement and demanded the complete withdrawal of the Dutch Troops from the entire Archipelago, claiming all Indonesia for his State. The battle is being fought over again.

(Concluded.)

ALONE

BY MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

—o—

Alone, O Love! I tread the blossoming glades
The bright, accustomed alleys of delight,
Pomegranate-gardens of the mellowing dawn,
Serene and sumptuous orchards of the night.

Alone, O Love! I breast the glimmering [waves,
The lustrous tides of life's familiar streams,
The seas of hope, the rivers of desire,
The moon-enchanted estuaries of dreams.

But no compassionate wind or comforting [star
Brings me sweet word of thine abiding-[place.....
In what predestined hour of joy or tears
Shall I attain the sanctuary of thy face?

—*The Indian Review, May, 1912.*

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British Justice in Theory and Practice

[Viscount Jowitt, Lord Chancellor of England recently spoke of British Justice in Theory and Practice at the School of Oriental and African Studies on February 12. Addressing the members of the Indian Students' Union, London, he drew attention to the traditions of British legal methods which Free India has inherited: "The time is coming" said the Lord Chancellor, "when Indian appeals will no longer be heard by the Privy Council. But one legacy has been handed down to you, and I know you will guard it jealously and improve it: that is, our system of administration of justice. I have no fear at all that you in India in the future will preserve, maintain, and uphold our system of justice which is the best legacy we can give you in your new start in life."—ED. *I.R.*]

LOOKING back over a life which has become uncomfortably long, I regret I have never had the opportunity of visiting India. In 1930 I had the honour of being a a member of the original Round Table Conference. I had the duty of presiding over all of the committees and everyone of them, at at any rate, I succeeded in achieving a unanimous report—which was no mean achievement!

One of the consolations for losing the office I now hold, if such an event is at all possible, is that I shall then have the opportunity of visiting India. Whatever the future relationship in the form of legalties, may or may not be between India and Britain, there will ever be a sentimental affection and regard for the one people to the other, and it is quite certain we shall watch your destiny with profound interest, and we believe our own destiny will not be without its interest to you.

We shall do all we can to help you in the terrific experiment you are making, and you in your turn will do what you can to help us in the very real difficulties that beset us.

You are starting upon your constitution. Talleyrand used to say "A constitution should be short and obscure." We have got on rather well without one. There was once a distinguished French writer, Rousseau, who started writing a book on the British Constitution. After having studied the matter very carefully, he came to the conclusion that there was no such thing. That, broadly speaking is true.

ENGLISHMEN LACK LOGICAL SENSE

English people are deficient in one quality, and that is, a logical sense. Our institutions do not bear the test of the most elementary logic. When an Englishman strives to become logical, he almost always becomes slightly ridiculous. The reason is not far to seek. We have never had, in our long history, such a complete upheaval as has taken place with other nations. We have never had to start again and to think out our institutions afresh.

We take an old institution handed down by our forefathers—we do not bother whether it is logical—and we say, Does it work? If it does not we alter and amend it and make it work. We have never pulled our institutions up by the roots and tried to reconstruct them on logical grounds. Always remember that the English approach to those problems is not, "Is it not logical? but, Does it work?"

If you want a simple illustration, you can have no better one than the office that I have the honour to hold. Who the first Lord Chancellor was, no one now knows for certain. Campbell, who used to write the lives of the Lord Chancellors (and is supposed by Lord Chancellors to have added a new

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terror to death!) gives the distinction to Saint Augustine, who came here in the year 614 A.D. to preach the gospel and reform the laws, and although I do not do much in the way of preaching the gospel, I do what I can to reform the laws.

That was rather a long time ago. It is certainly a fact the Lord Cnancellor's office existed before the Norman Conquest in 1066 (the one date and the only date that all Englishmen know!). Therefore, my office is second only in antiquity to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the only one which derives from Anglo-Saxon times, untouched by the logic which the French endeavoured to bring in, without much success.

JUDGES' INDEPENDENCE

My position is peculiar. I firmly believe that in any constitution which you are going to have in India, you must see that your judges are absolutely independent, free to expresa themselves as they like, and independent of the executive. Yet here am I, the head of the Judiciary, and also at the same time a member of the Executive and the Legislature.

When Mr. Bevin, who takes the same view as I do about the fundamental importance of the freedom of the Judiciary, sends me abroad to speak about it, they, point the finger of scorn at me and say, You are all three? I am Speaker in the House of Lords, Keeper of the King's Conscience (which is much easier to keep than my own!) and the performer of all sorts of odd jobs.

But I have tried, since I have been Lord Chancellor, to see that any question of judicial patronage should be exercised absolutely without regard to politics at all: Never mind what a man's politics are—if you want to get a judge, you want the best possible judge you can get. That is what I have tried to do. If you are going to have judges doing their work without interference from the Executive you must also have a free Bar—perfectly fearless in expressing opinions and doing the best for their clients, and letting nothing interfere except the rules of the game.

When we see some of these trials which go on in certain foreign countries, where the accused person can only have a nominated counsel who will get into frightful trouble with the authorities unless he is very careful, you see what impossible conditions arise.

The freedom of the citizens of Britain depends on a free judiciary which, in turn, depends on a free Bar, and that, as a last resort, depends on twelve good men and true, summoned into the jury box to try the case.

HARMONY AMID CONFLICTS

A great problem of the day which besets us, and which will beset you in India very much, is how to harmonise two conflicting ideas: first, the preservation of the freedom of the individual to say, to do, and to think what he likes and to work at what he prefers; and second, the difficulty that if we in this country or you in India, are going to get out of the perils which manifestly confront us, we have to have a planned economy, and and society has to be arranged accordingly.

I do not think we are going to maintain a population of 50 million people in this

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country producing only one-third of the food we consume unless we do a great deal of thinking and planning, and ensuring that the right jobs are taken by our people in order that the food we eat can be produced. I do not think that can be achieved by haphazard methods which might have been good enough in the past.

But if you embark on a planned economy to get out of your economic difficulties, you are going to sacrifice individual freedom and make the workers of your country not independent and free but like a lot of ants obeying orders from a Fuehrer or a Commissar. In those circumstances, everything which Britain has stood for and will stand for will go down the drain.

That is our colossal problem. That is why it is of fundamental importance that you should take the greatest care in your administration of justice to see that your courts are free. I wish some of you could see the working of the ordinary judicial machine, and have the opportunity to hear what a trial is like. If you only get your impressions from the films, then God help you!

AMOROUS SCENE IN COURT

I went to see a film showing a trial at the Old Bailey. I became so angered that I wanted to leave the cinema, but my wife restrained me. Everybody in the film was amorous. The judge caught hold of the hand of the counsel's wife, the defending counsel was accompanied by his wife wherever he went and eventually fell in love with his client and his conduct was so ridiculous that I could not believe he has ever passed his examinations. As a climax we saw the judge sitting down to dinner, his wife dressed in an elaborate costume which must have come from Paris; the judge wearing dress clothes and smoking a cigar, obviously Havana, and drinking brandy. The truth, of course, would be that when the judge came back from the trial he and his wife would be sitting in the kitchen sharing a glass of beer and after dinner he would be doing the washing up?

So do not take your ideas of justice from the films.

It is essential, too, that trials must take place in public. I would not trust any judge I knew well enough to conduct cases in private. There is nothing like the full glare of publicity. There are very exceptional cases involving Official Secrets, where you must hold the case in camera, but these are very rare exceptions.

PRIVY COUNCIL

I preside over the Privy Council, a very great institution. It is quite wrong to think of it as a court of the United Kingdom. It has on it representatives of the various parts of the King's territories overseas.

The time is coming when Indian appeals will no longer be heard by the Privy Council. But one legacy has been handed down to you, and I know you will guard it jealously and improve it: that is, our system of administration of justice. I have no fear at all that you in India in the future will preserve, maintain and uphold our system of justice which is the best legacy we can give you in your new start in life.

I have also to appoint judges. I cannot remove a judge. He can only be removed by an Address of both Houses. No judge

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has been removed in this fashion for over the past 200 years.

In additon, we have the County Court Judges of whom there are sixty in England. I appoint them and have the power to remove them. That power has never been exercised within living memory. You will see that in practice, if not in theory, our judges are completely free.

INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHT TO SUE

In regard to the Legal Aid Bill which has been introduced by the Government, I have felt there is no doubt that the possession of ample means has given people an advantage that others less well off do not possess in regard to litigation. That is wrong. A distinguished judge once said, "The courts are open to everybody. So is the Ritz Hotel". We must see that people are not precluded through lack of money from going to the courts in proper cases. Therefore, I have evolved a scheme to enable people, if they have a good case, to bring it at the public expense if they have not enough money to do it themselves.

Who will judge whether the case is good? Not the executive, not me—the Law Society, an absolutely independent body. Against whom can an action be brought? I was very happy recently to do away with the ancient rule, "The King can do no wrong." Now you can sue any Minister, any State Department just as you can sue Gamages Stores. In future we shall actually be allowing people who have a case against a minister or his Department to go to the Law Society and obtain public money in order to bring a case against a Minister of the Crown.

I think there is a danger to-day of these great Departments and institutions riding roughshod over the little man like a juggernaut. Let us see that the little man has the right of redress and can bring an action in the courts.

This is a good practical illustration of what I mean when I say we must preserve the right of the individual. If I have done nothing else, I shall be thought not altogether unworthy because I have done away with the old rule that you cannot sue the Crown and have introduced the scheme under which a rich man shall have no undue legal advantage over the poor man.

There is a great deal to be done to reform our Law. It is highly skilled work. It cannot be done without experience. If I had sufficient number of experts I could very soon reduce our Law to more manageable proportions.

HOUSE OF LORDS

Finally, I have, in conjunction with my colleagues, my ordinary duties as a member of the Cabinet. I am first adviser to the Cabinet on all legal questions There are very few questions to-day which do not involve some legal consideration. In addition I am speaker of the House of Lords. Unlike the Speaker in the House of Commons, the Speaker in the House of Lords is not king of the situation. In the Lords we have no rules of order at all. If some-one misbehaves himself and talks in an unseemly way, I cannot call him to order. Someone may raise a question that the member who is speaking "be no longer heard." After that, he can continue to speak!

In consequence of this absence of rules, we are by far the best behaved assembly in the world, which shows you what an awful lot there is to be said for free institutions. With all its rules and regulations, the House of Commons to-day bahaves in a way we would never dream of behaving.

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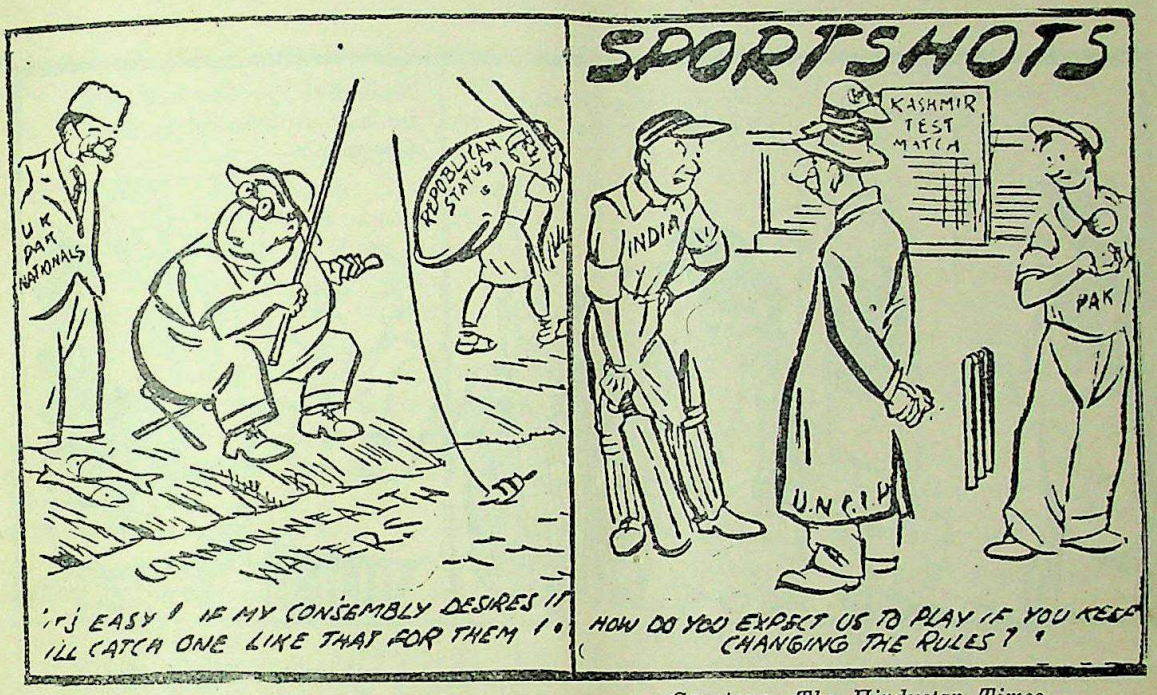

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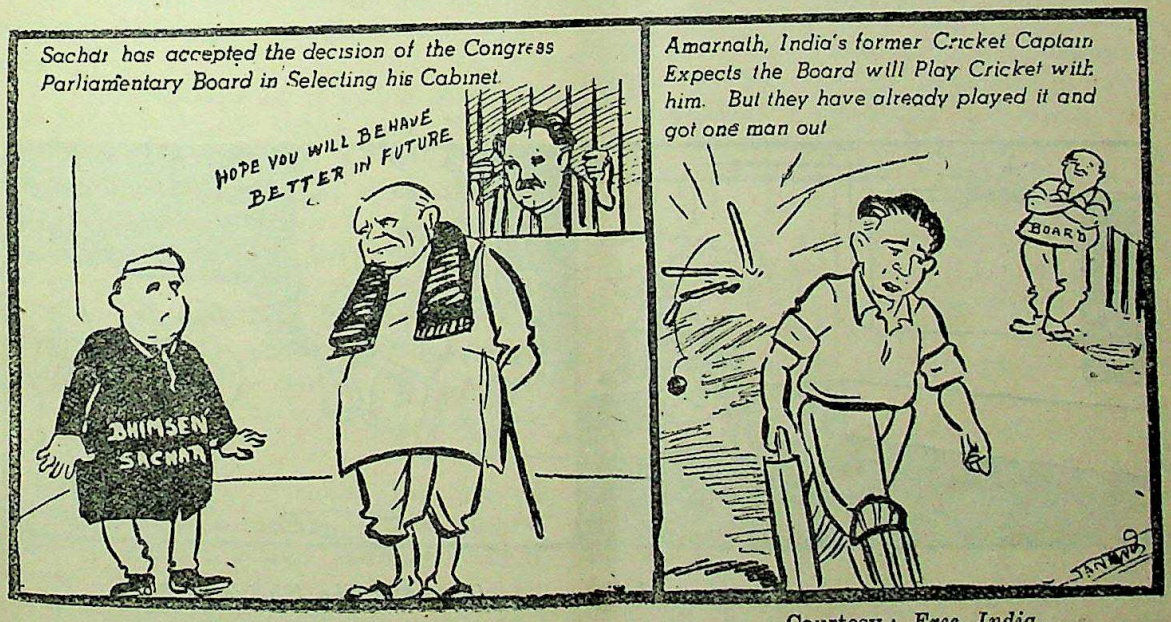

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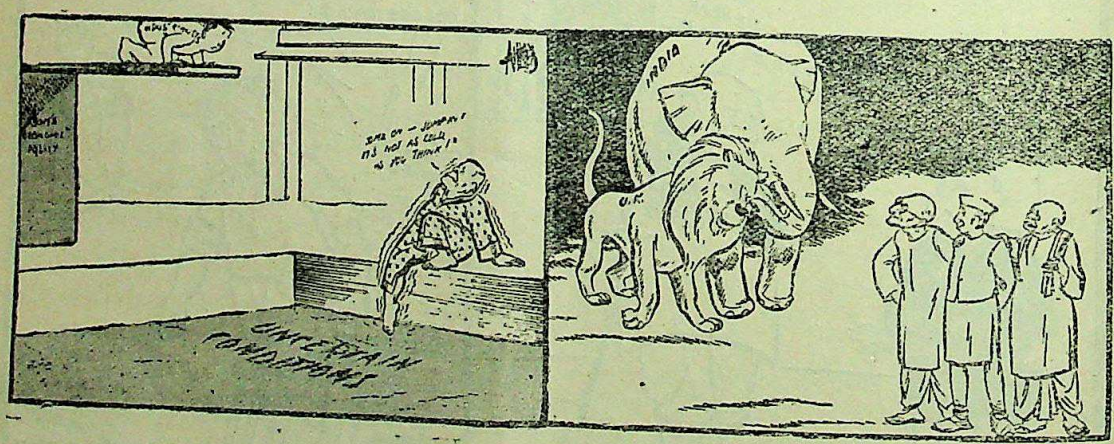

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Consambly and the London Decision

SINCE his return from the Commonwealth Conference in London, Pandit Nehru, India's Prime Minister, has had more than one occasion to speak out his mind in regard to India's position in the Commonwealth. He and his colleagues in the Government of India are convinced that the final decision as agreed to at the conference is one fully in accord with India's status and intentions since Independence Day. But even that agreement was subject to ratification by the Constituent Assembly.

Commending the London decision to the Constituent Assembly, the Prime Minister said that the declaration was in conformity with "our old pledges" and in no way limited India's freedom of sovereignty. He added that if India dissociated herself from the Commonwealth for the moment, she would be completely isolated and she could not remain like that. "The Commonwealth," he added, "does not come in the way of our co-operation and friendship with other countries."

Referring to social discrimination practised against Indians, Pandit Nehru said: "When we have an alliance with a nation or a group of nations, it does not mean that we accept their other policies." He said it was a dangerous thing to bring such issues within the purview of the Commonwealth because we would then be treating the Commonwealth as a superior body, which principle, if accepted, would have meant diminution in our independence.

Aid to Burma

It will be recalled that on the eve of the Commonwealth Conference in London, Thakin Nu the Burmese Premier visited Delhi and Karachi with a view to seek Commonwealth help in restoring peace and order in Burma. As a result of the talks Britain, India, Pakistan and Ceylon which are closely allied to Burma, as near neighbours and friends agreed to supply money and munitions. Steps are immediately taken to implement that decision and we are glad that Burma is in a fair way to get supplies in meeting the emergency. Experts in Rangoon will, it seems, work out details of the amount and scope of such assistance and the allocation of the respective contributions in cash and kind among the four Commonwealth Powers. The British Foreign Secretary made this position "perfectly clear" by stating that the British Government believed that

> it was essential for South-East Asia that steps be taken to get order restored in the whole of that territory by a co-ordinated effort.

India's interest in seeing peace and order restored in her borders, is of course, paramount. It is hoped that Thakin Nu's Government would be able to put the aid to the best use.

Fall of Shanghai

With the fall of Shanghai the greatest city in China and the East, the victorious troops of Mao Tse-tung, the Communist leader may be said to have swept away all Nationalist opposition. Militarily, the collapse of the Kuomintang forces was a forgone conclusion. The advancing Reds have had a good prize. But even more than the present success is the possible repercussion of this victory over the future of China. It is clear the victory is as much due to the superiority of the Red army in morale and numbers as to defections from the Government forces. Chiang's Government has definitely lost the people's support and much depends on the statesmanship of the Red leader in rallying together all Chinese elements and in facing the world with the united voice of China. Communist or Kuomintang, if China is one and indivisible its voice will prevail in the counsels of the world. The big powers will be forced to recognise the inevitable.

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Editors in Conference

It was a happy choice they made when the A. I. N. Editors elected Mr. C. R. Srinivasan of the *Swadeshamitran* to preside over their deliberations at Bangalore. For, Mr. Srinivasan is undoubtedly the doyen of the vernacular press in India having been connected with his paper for over five and thirty years. Nationalist papers in India, irrespective of the language they employed, have always been the spearhead of Indian freedom, and it is quite in the fitness of things that this well known Editor of a popular newspaper with the reputation and traditions of the *Swadeshamitran* should have been unanimously chosen to guide the Conference at a time when more than ever, the press has need to reorientate its policy and method of work in free India. For apart from being a working journalist with a flair for news and popular writing, he has business acumen and tact which have abundantly been proved in the way he negotiated many a big deal, particularly in connection with the launching of the Press Trust of India—the great achievement of our time in the field of news service. Journalism was comparatively easy work in British India, though by no means less important, for the Indian Nationalist Press in those days, always patriotic and working with a mission, was mainly concerned with attacking and resisting the alien rule. Dexterity in evading 124A was the main thing in successful journalism. In a way it was irresponsible, though necessary, work in those days. But now the situation is different. The Government is ours and we cheerfully share with it the responsibility for the well being of the State. Hence Mr. Srinivasan in his speech dealt exhaustively with the problems confronting the newspaper profession and in particular referred to the relations of the Press with the Government. He said:

> We shall stand behind the Government in all their efforts to control disruptive forces, establish peace and order and redeem national economy. Government, however, should not presume therefrom that whatever they do we shall always support them. That will cut at the very root of the responsibility we are expected to exercise in public interest. Where we feel that a particular policy is misconceived or a particular action misdirected it is our duty to strike a note of caution. I am constrained to say this because I find in some quarters impatience and even intolerance of criticism.
>
> It is no pleasure to criticise people who by their services and sacrifices have earned our respect; but many who hold high offices to-day are new to administrative responsibilities and if they err in ignorance or prejudice, it is our duty to pull them up. The absence of an effective opposition in the Assemblies to-day makes this task doubly necessary.

These are wise words and well conceived, as they express in a nutshell sober and responsible criticism which is as sensitive to the claims of the State as it is vigilant and watchful of the interests of the free Press in a free State.

As if to mark and emphasise the significance of the new change that has come over the press in India the Editors' Conference was inaugurated by the Governor-General himself—a thing that could not have been thought of under the old regime.

Four Freedoms of Information

Four freedoms of information have been set down in the proposed International Convention on Freedom of Information, drafted by the General Assembly's Social Committee.

The Committee approved by twenty-eight votes to six, with seven abstentions, a British article which in effect, guarantees everyone, the freedom to listen and to speak, the freedom to hear and to read; the freedom to seek information without Government interference; and the freedom of movement for those who are engaged in seeking the truth.

Maurice Maeterlinck

Maurice Maeterlinck of Belgium whose death was reported the other day is rated as one of the foremost dramatists of Europe. One of his finest works, a fantasia, "Bluebird," was rendered on the screen by Hollywood.

Maeterlinck touched life with the harp of an Ariel and had a few but fit audience among the intellectuals in the East and West. Poetic minds in India found a strange fascination for the cobwebs he wove in words.

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The Minorities

What the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru described as "a historic turn in our destiny" was taken by the Constituent Assembly the other day when it passed with acclamation Sardar Patel's motion for the abolition of reservation for all minorities except the Scheduled Castes, as modified by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava's amendment suggesting that reservation for Scheduled Castes should be only for a period of 10 years.

The House rejected by an overwhelming majority two other amendments, one moved by Mr. Mahomed Ismail (Madras) seeking to retain reservation. and the other by Mr. Z. H. Lari (U P.) suggesting the introduction of the system of cumulative voting.

This is the welcome end of a disastrous experiment the lessons of which we have learnt at a terrble cost. The highlights of the occasion were the moving speech of the veteran Christian leader Dr. H. C. Mukherji and the Sardar's spirited reply to the debate.

The Sardar uttered a warning against continuance of separatist tendencies and said he would "respectfully appeal" to all those who still believed in the two-nation theory to go "and enjoy the fruits of their freedom and leave us in peace," There was no place in this country for people who claimed separate representation.

Pandit Krishna Ram

A link with the Old Guards of Journalism has snapped in the death of Pandit Krishna Ram Mehta of Allahabad. Only four years ago he retired from the *Leader* after having the served the paper for five and thirty years in various capacities. He joined the *Leader* at the instance of Sir C. Y. Chintamani, the founder Editor, whom he served loyally to the end. Doubtles Chintamani's personality dominated the paper but the *Leader* owed not a little to the perseverance and devotion of Krishna Ram. His work was efficient and unostentatious.

Pak-India Relations

Sir Mahomed Zafrullah's attempt to dig up the Hyderabad issue in the U. N. and Pakistan's truce violation in Kashmir are evidences of the fruitlessness of India's one way traffic in good-will. As if these were not enough the true story of Liaquat Ali's outburst at the Commonwealth Conference in London reveals the mentality of men whose hearts are set on doing injury to India. It is reported that the Pak Prime Minister did his best to shut India out of the Commonwealth on the ground of her declaration of sovereign independence but was promptly pulled up by Mr. Attlee who is alive to the strength and value of India to the Commonwealth. It would be interesting to watch the kind of polity that Pakistan proposes to evolve to retain her place in the Commonwealth. India, it must be remembered, decided on the Republican status irrespective of the Commonwealth formula and she sticks to it, whether in or outside the Commonwealth.

Batavia Agreement

Dutch-Indonesian relationship has seen such frequent vicissitudes that it is perhaps premature to enthuse over the latest agreement entered into between the Dutch delegation headed by Van Royen and the Indonesian delegation headed by Muhammad Roem at Batavia. At any rate, this has been enough to impress the United Nations as proof of good faith on either side and on the motion of India and Australia the Indonesian question which was on the agenda for the current session has been postponed till the next. The Soviet delegate, Jacob Malik, opposing postponement declared characteristically enough that the Batavia Agreement was a manœuvre of the Netherlands Government and "its two protectors the United States and the United Kingdom."

Israel Admitted to U. N.

At long last Israel has become the 59th member of the United Nations. By a vote of 37 to 12, with nine abstentions, the General Assembly on May 11 decided to admit Israel immediately.

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. By William A. Robson. Published for the British Council by Longmans, Green & Co.

This is a short outline of the British Governmental Institutions and describes the functions and status of the King, the Parliament, Political Parties, and the main functions of Parliament. The process of delegating the work of legislation from Parliament to Government Departments and other public institutions is noted. Parliament's efficiency, as an instrument of debate is stressed and the combination of power, leadership and responsibility in the Cabinet is explained. The formation of public Corporations, the traditional efficiency of Civil Service and the close connection between Local Self-Government and Democracy are all pointed out. The peculiar manner in which the citizen is guaranteed his liberties, and the temper which sustains the entire working of British Democracy are outlined in brief, but clear narrative.

COMPLETE INCOME-TAX READY RECKONER 1949. By Rusi C. Doodhmal, JP., GDARA, FISA, A.I.C.W.A., F T.I.I (Lond.) "Empire Terrace," Lamington Road, Bombay-7. Price Rs. 5.

This is the tenth edition of the ready-reckoner brought out to conform to the changes introduced into the income-tax structure of this country by the New Finance Act of 1949. The tables provided are comprehensive and have been prepared with reference to the needs of all varieties of income-tax payers. The book is therefore of value to all income-tax assessers, officers, practitioners, auditors and the like. But for the price, the book should be more popular.

THE FACTORIES ACT—1948 By P. Patwari. Indian Legal Publications, near Khadia Chowky, Ahmedabad.

One of the first Acts of the Nehru Government after August 1947, was to make Factory Legislation in India comprehensive. Since the passing of the previous Factory Act of 1934, the U. K. passed two subsequent legislations one in 1937 and another in 1948. The Government of India decided to keep pace and the Factory Act of 1948 is the result.

The latter containing nearly 120 sections has introduced many new features in the sphere of factory administration and therefore a complete knowledge of the Act, its provision and explanation of the latter is necessary for these concerned. Mr. Patwari's book is an annotation of the Act of 1948 and therefore fulfils this need.

The book contains useful references to case law, points of difference from previous legislation and a very useful subject index. Mr. Justice K. C. Sen, President, Industrial Court, Bombay has written a Foreword for the book.

THREE FAMOUS TALES. By A. S. P. Aiyar G. V. K. Swamy & Co., Price annas ten.

In Three Famous Tales we have the story of Harischandra and his promise to sacrifice to God Varuna a substitute boy Sunahasepa in the place of his own son. The moral taught is the wickedness and barbarity of human sacrifice. The second story is about Nala and Damayanti; and the last is about Bimbisara, the Saisunaga King of Maghada and his slow starvation by his own son Ajatasatru who was stung into penitence for his parricide action before the Buddha.

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HINDU CULTURE IN GREATER INDIA: By Swami Sadananda (All India Arya Dharma Seva Sangha.) Price Rs. 2.

It is now fairly well known that Indian culture had flourished in many neighbouring countries during many centuries about the Christian era. Remains of varioua kinds found in Ceylon and Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Siam, Java, Sumatra and other islands show the high level of the varied forms of Indian culture that prevailed there. In various Indian books the cultural activities of these regime have found a place though they are referred to by other forms of their name, as Yava for Java, Suvarnadwipa for Sumatra, Champa for Annam, and Varunadwipa for Borneo. The magnificent architectural works of Borobudur are well known examples of Hindu religious art. The temples, the image of various gods, customs like swayamvara, stories of all kinds and a hundred other things attest the thorough way in which Hindu culture had permeated the life of all those Eastern countries.

But as yet there is only a vague notion of this in the mind of even educated people. Swami Sadananda's book is very necessary and helpful for giving not only scholars but also general readers an excellent idea of the extent to which Hindu culture had spread into the neighbouring countries.

DISCOURSES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BHAGAVAD GITA. By the late Mangal Charan. With a foreword by S. Radhakrishnan, Publisher, Awadhesh Kumar Tewarui, Patna.

The book under notice is the summary of the lectures of the author on the Gita. The author has not merely studied the Gita from the traditional point of view but has also reflected on it from the modern scientific standpoint. At places the interpretation is strained and ingenious. The book could have been compressed with profit to the reader.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—:z:—

LETTERS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA. Advaita Ashram Mayavati, Almora.

THUS SPAKE THE MAHATMA. By M. K. Krishnan, Asoka Betel Nut Factory, Coimbatore.

AN EXPERIMENT IN SOCIAL EDUCATION. By K. G. Saiyidain, Educational Adviser to Bombay Government, Bombay.

A COMMUNITY AT THE CROSS-ROAD. By S. F. Desai. With Foreward by Sir H. P. Mody Kt, and introduction by Prof J. J. Asana. M. A. New Book Co, Ltd., Bombay.

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL AND ITS RESULTS. By S. Gopal, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

HANDBOOK OF INDO-AUSTRALIAN TRADE. Compiled by E. V. S. Maniam and M. C. Gupta. The Bureau of Economic Research, P. B. 45, Cawnpore.

THE BUDGET 1949-50 AND ITS ECOKOMIC BACK GROUND. By The Sydenham College Group, Nalanda Publications, Bombay.

GIRESH GHORE AND HIS DRAMAS. By Swami Jagadiswarananda, The Book House, 15, College Square, Calcutta.

BUILDING, CIVIL ENGINEERING AND PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE. International Labour Office, Geneva Indian Branch, Delhi.

Mr. GANDHI THE MAN. By Milli Graham Polak, with Foreward by C. F. Andrews, Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay.

NEWSLETTERS OF THE MUGHAL COURT. Edited by Prof. B. D. Verma. M. A., Govt. Central Press, Bombay.

STUDIES IN RAMAYANA. By Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Deptt. of Education Baroda, Rs. 7-8.

HINDU CULTURE IN GREATER INDIA. By Swami Sadananda All India Arya Dhasma Seva Sangha P.O. Birla Lines, Sabzi Mandi, Delhi.

THE UNIVERSITY OF RAJPUTANA By Dr. G S, Mahajain (Jaipur Pamphlets on Public Affairs) The Information Bureau, Jaipur.

THE UNIVERSITY: ITS FOUR PILLARS. By Dr. G. S. Mahajain, Vice Chancellor, Rajputana University. The Information Bureau, Jaipur.

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRIES. International Labour Office, Geneva.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

May 1. Bombay Govt. takes over Baroda.

May 2. Central Govt. to take over Bhopal.

May 3. Exchange Bank suspends payment.

May 4. Big Four, meeting in New York, agree to end the German blockade.

May 5. Pandit Nehru returns to India.

May 6. INTUC meets at Indore.

May 7. Dutch-Republican talks at Batavia.

May 8. Conference of Governors at Delhi.

May 9. S. A. Indian question debated in U. N. Political Committee.

May 10. Smty. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's Ambassador arrives in Washington.

May 11. U. N. Political Committee rejects S. African resolution on India.

May 12. Batavia pact endorsed by the Dutch.

May 13. Reds close in on Shanghai.

May 14. H. E. Rajaji opens the Patalalinga Temple at Tiruvannamalai.

May 15. U. N. Assembly votes for R. T. C. in Indo-S. A. dispute.

May 16. All India Newspaper Editors' Conference meets at Bangalore.

May 17. India Govt. take over Rampur.

May 18. U. N. Assembly rejects Anglo-Italian proposal for Italy's former colonies.

May 19. Seige of Shanghai.

May 20. Karens proclaim new State.

May 21. A. I. C. C. meet at Dehra Dun.

May 22. Nehru condemns Pak violations.

May 23. West German constitution formally proclaimed at Bonn.

May 24. Foreign Ministers meet at Paris.

May 25. Fall of Shanghai to the Reds.

May 26. Kashmir to have four representatives in the Constituent Assembly.

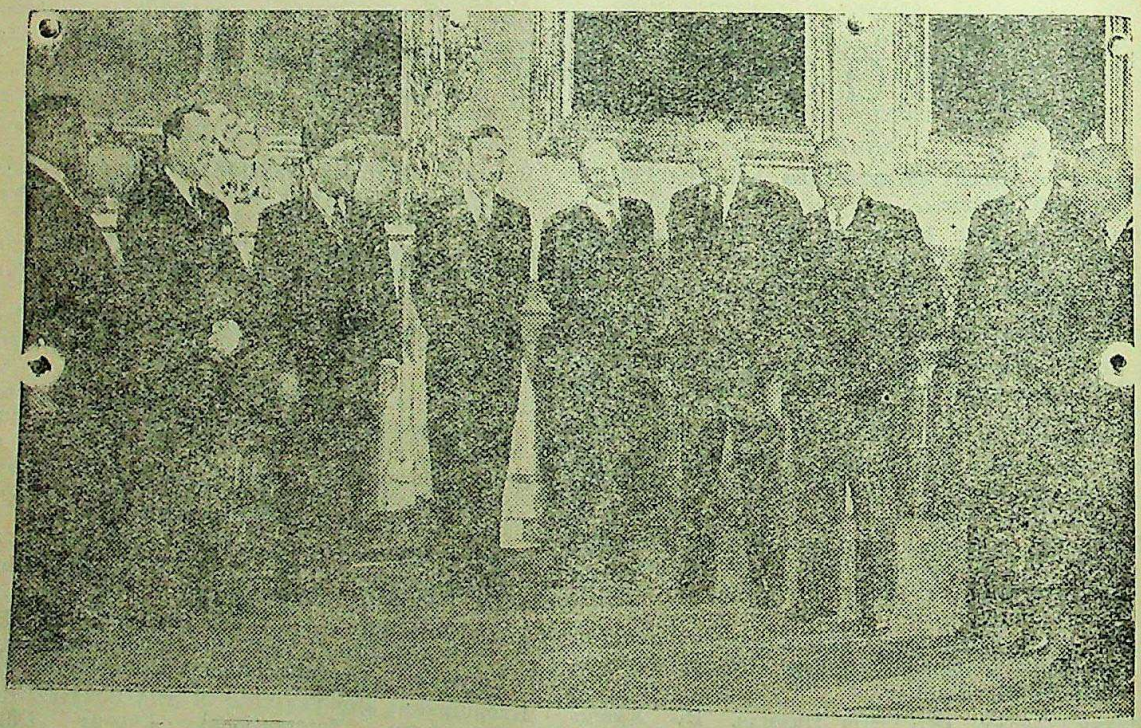
May 27. Travancore Maharaja signs Covenant.

May 28. Cochin ruler gives assent.

May 29. Pandit Nehru, speaking at Srinagar, gives assurance to Kashmir.

May 30. 17 S. A Indians under Bonus Scheme arrive in Bombay.

May 31. Constituent Assembly favours nomination of Governors.



THE KING AND THE PRIME MINISTERS

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

THE WORLD OF THE FREE

One hundred years hence the third Assembly of the United Nations will be remembered for the adoption of two documents, the Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention outlawing genocide. According to Louis Dolivet, International Editor of the *U. N. World* these two documents are such titanic achievements that they outweigh all the innumerable weaknesses of the United Nations.

What the UN has done is to provide for the extirpation of that which is the most evil in man and the exaltation of that which is noblest. The UN has dared to reach deep into the darkest recesses of bestial and homicidal instincts. It has taken into account all the horrible crimes committed throughout the centuries—in particular by the Axis powers in World War II—and proclaimed them to be what they always have been: crimes incompatible with the spirit of justice.

Had such a convention outlawing genocide been in existence and ratified by most of the governments of the earth, many of the unspeakable acts of torture and mass murder committed by the Nazis and Fascists would never have taken place. For had such a convention existed, every member of the Axis hierarchy—from the prime minister to the gauleiter, from concentration camp guard to intellectual accomplice or writer glorifying the Nazi concept—would have known that he was committing a crime against humanity and that he would be punished for it by an international court.

The important thing about the genocide convention is that it specifically puts the responsibility for the crime on the individual, and that once the convention is ratified, no one will be able to hide behind the pretext of "higher orders."

The Declaration of Human Rtghts contains the highest precepts of all religions and the common qualities of the great political bills of rights—written into the Magna Carta and into the basic law of the United States and France. It is now transformed into a universal proclamation of the immortal dignity of man.

The Assembly knew that it was setting such high standards of human behaviour that enforcement alone would not be sufficient. Therefore the declaration proclaims that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance.

Enlarging upon the Charter and widening its scope, the Assembly has added to rights and freedoms due to every man without distinction as to race, color, sex, language and religion, the words "political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

The declaration, not satisfied with proclaiming the right of every one to life, establishes the rights without which life is not worth living. In the same breath in which it states the right to live, it establishes the right to liberty and security of person. It forbids slavery in any form, torture, and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 13 of the declaration sets new standards for human dignity when it proclaims:

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

The remnants of discrimination and prejudice in the U.S. and the colonial territories of the earth, the limitations on individual freedom in the Soviet Union and adjacent countries, and all the other remaining obstacles in the hearts and minds of almost every human being henceforth will become not only a violation of the human status, and of national constitutions, but crimes against the international community itself.

The Editor says in conclusion that new era is dawning upon mankind—an era so full of promise and so nearly within the reach of the world, because of the decision of the General Assembly, that every human being who wants to act in the interest of mankind has a task before him.

Make the convention against genocide and the Declaration of Human Rights a binding law within your countries, your communities, your homes. Only so will it become the law of all mankind.

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CHINA'S COLLAPSE

The collapse of China's Nationalist regime is a long and sordid story of intrigue, treachery, bad leadership and corruption, writes W. M. Towler in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*.

After coming to power with Communist co-operation, Chiang Kai-shek struck at his temporary allies in 1927 and imprisoned and executed many of them. By doing so, he created a wave of bitterness that has never since subsided.

The survivors at first went underground; then they reorganized and from various strongholds in remote parts of the country waged guerilla war against the Government for ten years. Suddenly there came the remarkable episode when Chiang was kidnapped at Siam by one of his own generals and was persuaded or forced to call off the campaign against the Communists. This was in 1937.

Chiang then agreed to the formation of a united front in which all Chinese forces—Nationalist and Communist—would act together to resist Japanese aggression. This uneasy truce lasted until a few months before the end of the second World War, when it became obvious that Japan would soon go down in utter defeat under the blows delivered against her by the armed forces of the United Nations.

Soviet Russia played a big part in the background of all these moves—and played an even bigger one in the early days after Japan's downfall.

The Chinese Nationalist-Communist united front of 1937 came soon after the signing of the anti-Comintern pact by Germany and Japan. To ward off the Japanese threat to herself, Russia pushed the Chinese Communists into their bargain with Chiang. With the civil war (temporarily) ended and Chinese forces united Japan was then kept busy enough in China, leaving the Russians unhindered in their task of building up the Far Eastern Army.

During the Second World War, the Chinese Communists infiltrated behind the Japanese lines in North China and the Japs were defeated. The Communists were able immediately to take control of a very large area. Very soon they ignored all orders from the Nationalist Government and set up their own administration. The uneasy alliance was ended. As the Japanese left, the scramble began between the Communists and the Nationalists for the principal cities of North China.

With the help of American transport and supplies, Nationalist troops were able to take over Peiping, Tientsin and other cities, but they were unable to control much of the countryside. In no time at all the old civil war had broken out once more. The Russians, who, in the last few days of the war, had been able to march into Manchuria, now came into the picture again. As they left Manchuria they made sure that the Chinese Communist forces took over from them. And they handed over to them at the same time the vast quantities of arms and ammunition abandoned there by the Japanese.

With these Mao Tse-tung's armies have brought the American-trained, well-armed Nationalist forces to their knees. Only in recent months—after the fall of Peiping, Tientsin and Suchow to the Communists—did the Americans become tired of sending money and materials to help those who proved unable to help themselves.

In a two years' campaign the Communists crept slowly downwards from the North. The spectacular collapse of Chiang's forces came since the launching of the autumn offence in October. More than military causes have contributed, however, to the present defeat of the Nationalists.

A large section of Chiang's troops was in a very low state of morale. Pay was negligible, food and clothing poor, and general living and medical conditions deplorable. Many soldiers saw their officers living in comfort or even luxury. Some generals were known to boost the size of their armies by thousands of non-existent men, to draw pay and other supplies for them from the capital

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and keep them for themselves. In spite of the execution of a number of officers found guilty of this charge, it is known that the evil was by no means eradicated.

Among the troops there has grown a general war weariness, emphasised by the fact that many of the men have been fighting far from their homes. These conditions have led to wholesale desertions to the Communists. Armies melted away and their excellent American equipment fell into the hands of their opponents.

In the territory at present held by the Communists, different areas are held by different Communist generals, independent of each other. Some have their own economic and military laws, their own currencies, their own brand of Communism.

So far, Mao Tse-tung has only a loose control over many of his generals and their untamed forces. It remains to be seen whether, in the end, he can really get their full co-operation if he tries to set up a firm Central Communist Government.

Mao has a rigid programme of reforms, many of which the country urgently needs. Some of these have been put into force ruthlessly in the provinces already under his domination. Opponents have been liquidated in the usual Communist manner. The familiar denunciatory "People's Courts", with their verdicts well known in advance, are in full operation. But the right family group system is such an age-old institution in China that it does not fit easily into the Marxist line.

Then, too, the Chinese are strong individualists and have always resented foreign interference or tutelage. Only time will show if Mao is prepared to go on knuckling under to Moscow, when and if he gets real power in his own hands.

FRIENDS EVERYWHERE

When asked his opinion of heaven and hell, Mark Twain remarked, "My dear lady, I can't say a word; I have friends in both places."

THE FAR EAST TURMOIL

United Asia is an international magazine of Asian affairs published in Bombay. The Special Chinese number which is on our table has many attractive features, all touching the life and history of China and the Chinese people, their country, politics, culture and art. In a survey of the Far East turmoil Mr. MacMahon Ball reviews the rise of Asian nationalism, and the resulting polilico-economic problems.

The success of nationalism in East Asia, he says, has created new political problems.

Parties which were able to unite in resistance to outside control find it harder to unite on a positive programme. It is useless to exchange foreign tyrants for your own tyrants, for no war is so bitter as civil war. Much has been written of the inhumanity of Europeans to Asians, but I doubt if it has ever matched the inhumanity of Asians to Asians.

The first thing needed by the new national States of East Asia is internal political unity: governments whose authority is firmly based on the popular will and who do not need to exhaust their limited resources on the suppression of rebel groups. The second thing is economic progress. Most Asians live lives obsessed with the struggle for food. National independence does not automatically produce more rice, more bamboo and more tin.

These things need administrative experience and technical skill, both of which the new nations sorely lack through no fault of their own.

They will have to depend for a long time on the help of Western Powers who have achieved a much higher degree of economic development and are alone able to provide East Asia with indispensable help.

EXPLAINED

The reason why women make the most careful drivers is because they have so much practice at keeping under thirty.

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BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

The real aim of basic education is to bring education as close to creative activity and real production as is possible, writes Mr. S. P. Shome in *Careers To-day*. It does not run counter to the growth and organization of industry. If properly directed, it can give as practical a turn to the learner's mind as would enable him to pick up the mechanism of industry easily. In any case, technical training of the most modern type has to be provided in the highest stages of secondary education. As to the undue stress on hand-work, the scheme regards hand-work and brain-work as aspects of the same process of learning.

Basic education is the foundation upon which the job-training methods for boys and girls should be built up. It takes into account the most up-to-date educational theory of learning in terms of experience and activity rather than in those of facts to be stored and knowledge to be acquired. It is also in direct relation to life and its needs, and is therefore sociologically sound in principle. It aims at co-ordinating mental with manual labour and adds dignity to labour. Moreover, it stands for a complete reorganization of educational ideals in India which will solve the acute problem of unemployment of the masses with a corresponding increase in the social evils that have their roots in the human failing of trying to get something on the material side of life.

"Why do you refuse to let me marry your daughter ?"
"Because you have no money."
"But I have intelligene."
"I doubt it."
"Why ?"
"Because you want to marry my daughter."

AMERICAN METHODS IN INDIA

America has six per cent of the world's population and one-fifth of the cropland of the world whereas India, with its limited land, has to feed one fifth of the world's population.

This and other telling facts are contained in an article in the *Gramudyog Patrika* by Mr. J. C. Kumarappa wherein he points out the utter unsuitability of U. S. farming methods for Indian conditions. He writes:

> In India, our land is considerably limited. It has to feed nearly one-fifth of the world in population. Hence we cannot afford to be wasteful in our methods. The recuperative power of land becomes a very important factor in our calculations. When we cultivate a piece of land, we are taking certain elements out of it and those elements go to enervate us. The land recuperates itself through various means within a certain time. We have to allow that time as well as rotate the crops grown, so as to fit into this cycle. This is a highly technical proposition, as this recuperation conditions the pace of our production from land. If we produce larger crops by more intensive cultivation we shall be reaching the stage of exhaustion sooner, after which the land will become fit only for jungle growth or will remain a desert. Hence it will be necessary for us to draw on our resources with considerable thought.

In some respects, says Mr. Kumarappa, America is in the position of a rich man's son who draws on his capital in addition to his income for his current requirements, while India is like a self-made person who is to equate his expenditure with his income.

> Therefore, the rate of production in India has to be well balanced with the possibilities of the soil conditions. In America they are constantly converting cultivable land into grass land and forests with the deplating fertility, and drawing on better lands by reclamation. Lands that have been dislodged are open to the menace of erosion which washes away the cultivable soil. Because of their constantly drawing on virgin soil, it becomes increasingly important to use tractors. While they use tractors they also have access to the necessary fuel in their land. If we produce food on the basis of mechanization while the needed fuel for the motive power is not available in India, we shall be in a precarious condition. Our bullocks would have died out and at a time when fuel—crude oil and karosene—is not available, we shall have to die like flies, as bullocks, for the needed power cannot be grown overnight.

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EDUCATION IN SOVIET UNION

Despite exaggerated claims to the contrary there has been a marked decline in education throughout the whole of the Soviet Union. So serious has it become that pressure from the highest level is being brought to bear on those whose task it was to bring literacy to the masses under Communist rule. Reviewing the position, American educationalist, Dr. Benjamin Fine, writing in *The New York Times*, says, a scarcity of teachers, high rate of truancy and an inadequate number of school buildings are some of the reasons for the grave deterioration of the whole educational scheme of the Soviet Union.

Several recent editorials in *Pravada*, official Soviet newspaper, have sharply attacked the breakdown in school conditions. In some areas they say children do not go to school at all. Under Soviet law, seven years of schoolings is compulsory in the cities, and four years in the towns and rural areas.

Children start school at the age of 7. Between one-third and one-half of all Soviet children do not go beyond the fourth grade, although there are ten grades. The classes are arranged into three divisions: the lower, or primary, consists of four grades, attended by children from 7 to 11; the intermediary consists of classes from the fifth to the seventh grade, and the secondary, making up the grades from the eight to the tenth.

At present, the Soviet reports show that primary and secondary schools have 32,000,000 pupils in 198,000 schools, taught by 1,250 000 teachers. There are about 700,000 students in the 800 higher educational establishments.

A detailed *Pravda* editorial assails the poor operation of the Soviet school system. It holds that too many children are not attending school; that the rate of school building construction is far behind schedule and that the supply of clothes and shoes for school children is significantly below the plan. The editorial condemns the neglect of the schools in many areas.

GANDHIJI IN HIS LAST DAYS

An account of the last interview he had with Gandhiji twenty days before the assasination is given by Sriman Narayan Agarwal in the *Modern Review*.

Sriman Agarwal reports Gandhiji as saying to him during the interview:

"You do not know, Sriman, what deep agony my soul is passing through!" exclaimed Bapu looking towards me. "Each day hangs heavy on me now!"

Gandhiji paused for a while and then continued in a low voice:

"Delhi to-day is burning with communal hatred and violence. The Hindus and Sikhs seem to have lost all balance. My appeals to them are of no avail. There was a time when my voice wielded magic with the masses; to-day it appears to have lost all its power!"

We had been talking for about thirty minutes in the room, continues Sriman Agarwal. I had never intended to take so much of his valuable time. But that day Gandhiji poured out his agony in a tone which was altogether unfamiliar. Exactly at seven, Pandit Nehru entered

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the room; this was his daily programme. So I hurried to take Bapu's leave and went into an adjoining room.

As I left Birla House that dark night, these words of Bapu continued to ring in my ears:

"You do not know, Sriman, what deep agony my soul is passing through! Each day hangs heavy on me now!"

I had been in close contact with Gandhiji for the last twelve years. But I had never found Bapu in such a pensive mood. Nevertheless, I could not even dream that the "heavy days" would end so suddenly and soon, only twenty days after my last meeting with Bapu.

Gandhiji was undoubtedly great in life. He is even greater in his death. But the world will remain poorer in his death for a thousand years.

VAISHNAVA LYRICISM

"The rich poetic output by the devotees of Medieval India, for all its influence in this country, has been comparatively little known outside," says Shri Lalmohan Mookerjea writing in the *Aryan Path* for April on Vaishnava lyricism. A proper study of the Vaishnava poet reveals a poetic sensibility drenched deep in mysticism.

Poetic mysticism can be interpreted as that tendency to bore deep into the world of Infinitude, a disposition to prostrate the Mind before the Eternal Will and to bring the mysteries of faith close to the simplest facts of daily life. Inseparable from this was the creed of longing and of loss, which sought to spring from earth and to create its own heaven. The longing to have this sweet pulsation of feeling ever coursing through the human nature, constitutes the "lyrical cry." Again, as in Shelley, an intellectualised aspect of that desire shaped an eclectic idealism which recoils from everything unattractive—a love of beauty which excludes the attribute of strength. So it was possible for the Vaishnava mind to conceive of Brindaban, an ideal world where "music and moonlight and feeling are one."

Now about the most inimitable loveliness of verse-music. Some of these poets at least, by instinct of verbal selection and charm of sound, come nearest to expressing the half-inexpressible—the secret harmonies of beauty.

We may define poetry as "the most intense expression of the dominant emotions and the higher ideals of an age"; yet we fail to convey any idea of the æsthetic bliss associated with the memories of the Vaishnava lyrics. These were actually sung. Their ineffable charm lies in the changing intonations and only awakes in the style of music which is wonderfully soft and melodious. And they were for the heart; so their exquisite lyric, charm and musical appeal filter down to the masses. Herein lies the secret of their popularity. Through the centuries they have claimed the sympathies and thrilled the imagination; they awaken a spirit of joyous abandon and tender sympathies in the masses wholly unconscious of the higher ideals of the age.

Yet this is not all. In these lyrics the thinker penetrates to knowledge through the reciter. At every instant, a calculated word which seems involuntary, opens up, beyond the veils of tradition, glimpses of philosophy.

"INDIAN AFFAIRS"

Indian Affairs is an attractive new monthly published by the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress. The April and May numbers that have been received are packed with notes and news of all-India interest. Every Province and all the States (such of those that have survived) are considered, while the position of our countrymen abroad is surveyed periodically in these pages. We welcome this informative journal and trust that it will serve as a handy journal of reference on all matters of Indian interest.

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

S. A. INDIAN QUESTION

The U. N General Assembly on May 14, adopted the French-Mexican resolution by more than two-thirds majority, calling on India, Pakistan and South Africa to meet in conference to discuss the Indian S African dispute. The voting was 47 in favour, one (S Africa) against and 10 abstentions including Britain, Soviet Union, Argentina and Yugoslavia.

Earlier, India had announced that she would not press her own resolution, suggesting the setting up of a Commission to enquire into the position of South African Indians, and would support the French-Mexican resolution which found more favour among the members.

This is the second time in four years the General Assembly passed by the necessary two-thirds majority a resolution calling upon South Africa to settle its difference with India over the treatment of its Indian minority, writes P.T.I. Representative at U. N. Headquarters.

On the first occasion, in December 1946, when a similar resolution was passed, India had obtained a bare two-thirds majority, but the new resolution won an overwhelming majority of 47 to one, the sole dissenting country being South Africa.

Another important change from the previous procedure was that Pakistan was associated with the talks the Assembly asked South Africa to hold with India.

Burma

BURMA REBELS AND INDIANS

The Indian Embassy in Rangoon broadcast a warning to the Burmese rebels on May 12 that any harm done to Indians in their hands would be considered a breach of International Law. The broadcast asked that Indians held captive anywhere in Burma should be released immediately.

The broadcast was particularly addressed to rebels in the Tharrawaddy area, 30 miles north of Rangoon, where according to the broadcast, Indian officials employed by the Burma Government are "being threatened with punishment because of the execution of their duties."

The broadcast said Indians were foreign nationals and were being discharged as such by the Burma Government.

INDIANS THROWN OUT OF EMPLOYMENT

Some 750 Indian industrial workers have been thrown out of employment in recent weeks and another 5,000 are faced with a similar prospect as a result of large-scale disruption of Burmese economy due to country-wide fighting.

Those already retrenched include the employees of a dockyard and of a saw-mill which closed down outside Rangoon during April due to lack of materials.

Other Indians facing the possibility of being rendered idle include 2,700 workers in the petroleum industry, 1,000 in the mining industry, and another 600 in the river transport industry near Rangoon,

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Madagascar

INDIAN TRADERS EXPELLED

Mr. Fiddaly Kaderbhai, an Indian merchant from the French colony of Madagascar, interviewed by the A.P.I. in Poona, stated that the Madagascar authorities were following "a systematic policy of expelling Indians from the island." He said:

> The campaign of expelling Indians is now in full swing and during the last four months about 20 Indian traders have been compelled to leave the island for good.

Mr. Kaderbhai said that persons deported from the island were not told the reasons for this action. The deportees were also deprived of their valuables and property and compelled to leave by the first boat available with their families. They were not allowed to take more than a twelve to thirteen hundred rupees.

Appealing to the Government of India to safeguard the interests of Indians settled in the island—many of them for over 50 years—Mr. Kaderbhai, who arrived in India last month said he had already written to the Prime Minister on the matter.

Ceylon

CITIZENSHIP ACTS

The Ceylon Indian Congress meeting at Hatton recently rejected the Ceylon Citizenship Act and the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act, and asked Indians to ignore these Acts, and boycott registration under them.

The resolution characterised the provisions of these Acts as "humiliating, discriminatory, anti-social, impracticable, and ridiculous.

It demanded that full citizenship rights without any distinction between citizens by registration and citizens by descent, should be conferred on all Indians in Ceylon on their compliance of a simple and easily ascertainable factual test of residence, and a declaration of intention to settle permanently in Ceylon to acquire citizenship.

The resolution directed the Working Committee and the Ceylon Indian Congress Committee to take all the necessary or expedient steps in this connexion.

Malaya

INDIANS SENTENCED

If Mr. Ganapathy's execution under the Malayan Emergency Regulations has been denounced as a monstrous miscarriage of justice, the sentence of death passed on Sambasivan in Johore is, according to a contemporary, deliberate outrage on Indian sentiment. We are told that the British Colonial Secretary's justification for non-intervention is that the British Government as such have no jurisdiction over Johore, the latter being a protected State, and the Sultan being the final authority in the matter. Commenting on this a contemporary reminds us that "the British Government did not view it so recently when an American national was involved in an incident; which shows that while the Sultan of Johore might be the final authority in matters concerning Malays the ultimate jurisdiction in the case of non-Malays is the British Government's. Otherwise, why should the Indian representative be accredited to the Government of Federated Malay States alone and not concurrently to the constituent States as well?

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MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS ✱ DEPARTMENTAL ✱ NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

CONSAMBLY RATIFIES LONDON DECLARATION

The Constituent Assembly on May 17 ratified the London declaration on India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of nations by an over-whelming majority. Of the two amendments under discussion, Mr. Lakshminarayan Sahu withdrew his, while Mr. Shibbanlal Saxena pressed his amendment which was rejected by the House. The only solitary voice heard in support of Mr. Shibbanlal Saxena's amendment was that of Maulana Hasrat Mohani. Of the 15 speakers only two, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Professor K. T. Shah opposed india's continued membership of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar congratulated the Prime Minister on having solved one of the most knotty problems that faced India and the Dominions. He emphasised that the status and the position of the President of the Republic of India would remain entirely unaffected whether inside India or in any international gathering by reason of her accepting the King of England as the symbolic Head of the Commonwealth. It was a voluntary association which could be severed by India at will at any time.

Pandit Nehru in his brief reply reiterated his earlier observation that the London decision did not bind India for all time to come and that India could cut herself away from the Commonwealth if she found it impossible to pursue a policy consistent with her own ideas or disadvantages from the economic point of view.

THE FUTURE OF KASHMIR

Sheikh Abdullah, Premier of Kashmir State, has issued a statement clearing certain misunderstandings created by an interview he gave to a British correspondent some time ago. It may be expected that Sheikh Abdullah's statement would dispel all doubts created by the publication of the interview, first in a few British newspapers and then in a section of the Indian Press.

"The alliance between India and Kashmir," Sheikh Abdullah said "is not artificial nor based on any arbitrary consideration or on sentimental factors. It is the community of ideologies and the goal of having secular democracy established in our country and fighting with grim resolve exploitation of man by man that constitutes the corner-stone of our friend-ship and alliance with the people of India.

The steadfast adherence to our ideal always urged us to fight the Muslim League ideology and to stand up against Pakistan which represents a theocratic State. . . .

Again, at the time of the Pakistan engineered attack on Kashmir, when the administration there had completely collapsed and when no power on earth could have stopped Kashmir's accession to Pakistan, if it so desired the National Conference resisted the attack, refused to go to Pakistan, and not only saved Kashmir from physical extermination and ideological suicide, but also vindicated the great ideal for which Mahatma Gandhi stood.

In view of what I have said before, it is absurd to say that Kashmir still thinks of any other alternative, so far as the question of accession is concerned. What we want is peace and prosperity for our people. Independence may be and is a charming idea. But, as I have said before is it practical too ? Has it got the necessary sanctions and guarantees, and can a small country like Kashmir, with its limited resources, maintain it ? Or are the countries concerned in a proper political temper at the present moment, to give their willing assent to it ? By only a formal declaration of independence, shall we not be making Kashmir a victim of some unscrupulous and powerful country ? That will be gruesome betrayal of the cause we have stood for, for all these years, and therefore, these and similar other considerations make the alternative of independence, not only theoretical and academic but also meaningless,"

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THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE COMMONWEALTH ISSUE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, replying to the two-day debate in the Constituent Assembly on May 17 on the Commonwealth issue, appealed to his critics not to view the question in a party spirit.

"I think," said Pandit Nehru, "it should be possible for people who differ considerably in regard to internal policy to have more or less a unified foreign policy. It is exceedingly difficult to have any common approach about anything with those individuals or groups who think in terms of other countries and not of India at all as the primary thing. But with people who think in terms of India's independence and progress, there should be a great difference in our foreign policy."

Pandit Nehru said that the London decision fulfilled and did not go against "any pledges of ours." That is to say, it did not come in the way of India going forward to her natural destiny of a Sovereign Independent Republic.

Indian freedom and independence were in no way affected. The Republic that the House had decided upon would come into existence without any commitment which might tie it down in any way.

"We would have achieved that, of course, in any event," said Pandit Nehru, "but we have achieved that with the goodwill of many others. To achieve it with the goodwill of others who perhaps are hit by it is some achievement. It shows that the manner of doing things is a manner which does not leave a trace of evil, hatred, bitterness or ill-will behind. On the other hand, it starts with a fund of goodwill and goodwill is always precious from any quarter. Therefore, I had the sensation, when I was considering this matter in London, that in a small measure perhaps I had done something that would have met with the approval of Gandhiji. I am thinking more of the manner of it than of the thing done."

"MUST MAKE GOOD ECONOMICALLY"

One of the tests by which the decision should be judged was whether it helped or hindered India in making rapid progress. India had in a sense solved the political problem but was faced by many economic difficulties. They were her domestic concern, no doubt, but the world could help or hinder any policy that she might adopt.

"I am prepared to go ahead even without external help," he went on "but obviously it will be a far more difficult task and it will take a much longer time. During these critical years that face us, it is important that made good economically, as we have done politically. We have to see whether this (the London decision) generally helps us to gain strength and to build ourselves up in the near future or not."

Another test Pandit Nehru said, was whether in the world as it was to-day, it helped in the promotion of peace and the avoidance of war. No Government dare allow its country to be unprepared for contingencies. "We have to prepare ourselves unfortunately." he added,

unless we are brave enough to follow completely the policy that the Mahatma laid down. But it is not so much a question of my being brave or your being brave, but of the country being brave enough to follow and understand that policy. I do not think we have been brought up to that level of understanding and behaviour and, indeed, we talk about that great level when, in the last year and a half, we have seen the lowest depths of behaviour in this country. So let us not invoke his name in vain in this connection.

"FUTURE NOT BOUND DOWN"

Pandit Nehru pointed out that the London decision in no way bound this or any other country. It was open to the present House or the next Parliament at any time to break the link if it chose—not that he wanted that link to be broken, but he was merely pointing out that the future had not been bound down in the slightest degree.

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POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

THE HINDU MAHASABHA

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at its two prolonged sitting held at New Dolhi in the second week of May, adopted an eight-point political and economic programme of nationalisation of land and all key industries in India.

In a number of resolutions, the Working Committee disapproved India's entry into the Commonwealth, and urged the Government of India to withdraw all restrictions on opposition parties and allow them full scope for free expression and free association.

The Committee held that there was no longer any justification for holding a plebiscite in the Jammu and Kashmir state.

The Working Committee reiterated that the Mahasabha would function as a political party on its platform and with its own programme.

The political and economic programme which the Working Committee adopted after three hours discussion covered subjects including land, industries, labour, administration, defence and education.

A.I.C.C. MEETING

By an overwhelming majority, the All-India Congress Committee, meeting at Dehra Dun in the 3rd week of May, ratified the London declaration of India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and declared that the London decision was entirely in accordance with the directive contained in the foreign policy resolution of the Jaipur Congress.

While the A-I C.C's endorsement of the London agreement was a foregone conclusion the absence of any effective opposition to the resolution was unexpected.

I.N.T.U.C. SESSION

The three-day Session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress concluded at Indore after a five-hour sitting on May 8 during which it passed seventeen resolutions, including one expressing gratification at the agreement reached at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, which made it possible to India to become an independent Sovereign Republic, and yet remaining in the Commonwealth.

Another resolution on "Objectives" stated that it was

> a special mission of the I.N.T.U.C. to help in building up a new life in India on the basis of Gandhiji's ideology, which seeks to create a just and happy social order, in which exploitation in any form and anti-social concentration of power or wealth will not exist.

The I. N. T. U. C. therefore recommended to the affiliated Unions to take up activities for raising the character, intelligence and capacity of the working class, instilling in them devotion to work and a sense of responsibility for the social group, and consideration for dependents and those weaker, especially women and children.

DR. MANOHAR LAL

We deeply regret to record the death of Dr. Manohar Lal, former Finance Minister of the united Punjab and a well-known economist, at Ambala. He was aged 70.

In his death, as the Punjab Premier Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar said, India has lost one of her foremost economists. He had a deep knowledge of economics and financial problems. He was undoubtedly a man of versatile ability and his passion for knowledge was amongst his outstanding traits of character.

He tried to serve his province to the best of his ability first as Education Minister and later as Finance Minister for a number of years.

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EDUCATIONAL

ACHARYA BHAVE ON BASIC EDUCATION

Inaugurating the All-India Basic Education Conference at Perinaickenpalayam on May 8, Acharya Bhave said that basic education must be made self-supporting.

India is a poor country and unless education becomes self-sufficient, it is not possible to make it universal. The paper schemes will not help it. Our Governments have not enough money to make education universal and we have got to see it is self-sufficient. If worked out properly, the basic scheme of education would not be costly and could be made self-supporting.

Only through basic education, Acharya Bhave said, could a Sarvodaya Samaj be created. Appealing to provinces, who have not done so to pay attention to the scheme, Acharya Bhave said he had one fear that the scheme when taken up by the Government might change its original form and prove quite contrary to expectations. Opposing the suggestion that the settlement should be made a four or five year course, instead of the seven year course as proposed by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Acharya Bhave said, "education was a perfect thing in itself and could not be cut into pieces like that."

ENGLISH IN SCHOOLS

English will be taught in all Secondary schools in the Madras Province from Form I, instead of Form II as at present, from the next school year commencing in June, 1949.

This decision was taken by the Government last month, in response to representations by several Teachers' Association and public and parents' organisations.

KERALA UNIVERSITY

With the integration of Cochin and Travancore, the Travancore University will be developed into a Kerala University and all colleges in Cochin will have to be affiliated to it. This question was considered at length at a meeting of the representatives of Cochin and Travancore held recently at Trivandrum. There is a strong section of opinion in Cochin that no hasty step should be taken in this direction and that it will be prudent to wait for the report of the University Commission appointed by the Government of India before any change is effected in the existing relationship of the colleges there with the Madras University.

HINDI IN OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

The Academic Council of the Osmania University has approved a proposal that the University should henceforth be an affiliating University and should recognise private colleges under certain rules and conditions. The proposal is subject to the approval of the University Council.

The Academic Council also accorded sanction to the opening of a new department of Hindi in the Faculty of Arts, and approved the courses of studies proposed for it.

FINE ARTS COLLEGE IN MYSORE

The question of starting a College of Fine Arts in Mysore is under the active consideration of the Mysore Government and a Committee has been constituted to work out details, it is authoritatively learnt.

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SYDNEY COTTON'S GUN-RUNNING EXPLOITS

Frederick Sidney Cotton, Chairman of the Aeronautical and Industrial Research Corporation of London, was fined £200 at Bow Street Magistrate's Court on a charge of gun-running to Hyderabad last year. He was further ordered to pay £ 300 costs.

The Corporation was also fined £ 200 with £300 costs on a similar summons.

The summonses alleged contravention of Air Navigation Orders relating to the carrying of arms and ammunition. Both Cotton and the firm pleaded guilty. Two similar summonses adjourned from January 12 were withdrawn on application by Mr. Stephenson on behalf of the Ministry of Civil Aviation.

INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

Sir B. N. Rau and Mr. V. Koretzky (U.S.S.R.) have been elected Vice-Chairmen of the International Law Commission. The Chairman of the Commission is Mr. Manley Hudson (America).

India has been elected to the eleven-man sub-committee which was formed to scrutinise the representative character of organisations or parties in the former Italian colonies requesting a hearing.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF ASSAM

The Governor-General has been pleased to appoint Mr. Justice Thakurdas Vasanmal Thadani, a Judge of the Assam High Cout, to act, until further orders, as Chief Justice of that Court in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Mr. Justice R. F. Lodge.

FEDERAL COURT'S REPORT

The Governor-General Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, accepting a report of the Federal Court, has ordered the removal of Mr. Shiva Prasad Sinha from his office of a Judge of the Allahabad High Court.

The Federal Court to whom a reference was made by the Governor-General at the instance of the United Provinces Government in respect of certain charges made against Mr. Sinha held that the charge of judicial misconduct against him was established in respect of his decision and conduct in what are known as the Padruana Case and Murarilal's case.

There were four other charges against Mr. Sinha, namely improper exercise of judicial functions: judicial indiscretion, indecorum and impropriety, and incorrect declaration of his birth date.

The Federal Court held that these four charges had not been established and much of the court's time was unnecessarily spent in investigating them.

THE NEW ADVOCATE-GENERAL

The Gazette of India announces the appointment of Mr. M. C. Setalvad, leader of the Indian delegation to the U. N. Assembly, as Advocate-General for the Dominion, *viee* Sir N. P. Engineer granted leave.

Mr. Setalvad, a well-known advocate of Bombay, who took office on May 29, would be allowed private chamber practice and he would not stay in Delhi.

Besides appearing for Government before the Federal Court, the Advocate General gives legal opinion on many knotty problems facing the Central Government and its Ministries.

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PROVINCIAL FINANCES

A suggestion that the Government of India should have exclusive control on all import duties levied on commodities of all-India importance like food-grains and industrial raw materials has been made by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

It suggests that a percentage of the taxes levied by the Central Government on goods of all-India importance should be handed over to the Provinces on the basis of their production and consumption.

Entitled "Trends of provincial finance," the memorandum draws attention to "the overlapping and conflicting taxation measures and the fissiparous and even anarchic tendencies that are developing in the field of provincial finance."

A CENTRAL TRIBUNAL

An ordinance giving powers to the Government of India to refer all industrial disputes concerning banking and insurance companies having branches or other establishments in more than one province in India to Industrial Tribunal constituted under the Industrial Tribunal Act was promulgated by the Governor-General Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, last month. The Ordinance came into force at once.

The ordinance, which is called, the Industrial Disputes (Banking and Insurance Companies) Ordinance 1949, also prohibits references by Provincial Governments of industrial disputes concerning banking and insurance companies to any tribunal or other authority for adjudication, inquiry or settlement.

INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE UNION

The eighth All-India Co-operative Conference, which met at Bangalore on May 15, has decided to form an Indian Co-operative Union which will in future control and guide the co-operative movement in the country. The general body of the Union will devote its attention to the promotion and propagation of the co-operative movement in the Indian Union including the acceding States. It will organise co-operative education and training and conduct researches in the field of Co-operation. All future All-India Co-operative Conferences will be held under its auspices.

INDIA'S DOLLAR CREDIT

India has exhausted, at least temporarily, its Dollar purchasing authority with the International Monetary Fund.

It is learned that it drew a further 75,00,000 Dollars in exchange for rupees in March, leaving a mere 20,000 Dollars of the 100 million Dollars originally available to it.

India's was the only currency transaction with the Fund in March, and the country thus sustained its reputation as the most consistent operator of all members.

3 P. C. LOAN TO BE REPAID

The Government of India have decided to repay the whole of the three per cent rupee loan 1949-52, at par on August 1, 1949, with all interest due up-to-date, according to a notification issued by the Finance Ministry. Interest will not accrue on the loan after August, 1.

GUJERAT COMMERCE CHAMBER

Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai has been unanimously elected President of the newly formed Gujerat Chamber of Commerce.

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WOMEN'S PAGE

MRS. V. L. PANDIT ON INDIA'S POLICY

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's Ambassador to the United States, at Washington reaffirmed that India intends to "steer clear of any alignment with any Power Bloc."

Mrs. Pandit in her first Press Conference since assuming her office, expressed the firm belief that it would be possible for India to live together with the Eastern and Western worlds. It was demonstrated in the face of mutual danger in the second world war, she declared. "I believe it could be demonstrated again."

Mrs. Pandit said she regarded the U. S. and Russia as the world's "two Power blocs."

Asked whether she would not include Britain, she declared: "It is inevitable that the U. S. and Russia should be regarded as the two Power Blocs. The power resided in the U. S. Europe counts for little, because the U. S. gives backing even to Britain."

India, she added, looked upon herself as an advocate of world peace. She strongly opposed to racial discrimination and the subjugation of peoples.

WOMEN POLICE OFFICERS

Calcutta's first batch of women police officers, numbering 24, received their appointments on May 14. They include seven graduates and one M.A. Seven of the new recruits have been appointed Sub-Inspectors and the others, Assistant Sub-Inspectors. They will undergo a year's training, commencing from June 1 this year.

Sixty-one posts for women have been sanctioned in the Calcutta Police. There were about 130 applicants out of which 24 were selected.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

The women of the world decided that women should get equal pay for equal work, but could not decide who should urge their claim. The decision was taken by the United Nations Commission on the Status of women.

Three separate regulations tabled by the United States, Russia and China, were merged into one urging equal pay for equal work, which was adopted paragraph by paragraph without an overall vote.

Miss Mary Sutherland (Britain) wanted the demand for "the rate for the job" to go to the International Labour Office, but Dr. Cecilia Sieu Ling Zung (China) protested, and said it was a matter for the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation. Then Miss Dorothy Henyon (United States) backed up the British plan.

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon (India) said reference to the ILO. would weaken the resolution. Then the Chinese delegate changed her mind and agreed to the British American suggestion of referring it to the ILO.

The Soviet delegate then advised Dr. Sieu Ling "not to listen to the advice of others since it might lead you into trouble". The Chinese delegate retorted that she was "not being ordered about," "I take my orders from no one" she said spiritedly.

Peace was restored with a compromise addressing the resolution to both UNESCO and ILO.

WOMEN CONVICTS IN U. P.

The United Provinces Government is transferring all women convicts of the province to one jail, it being considered desirable to keep them together, watch their psychological reactions in jail.

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C. R. AT THIRUVANNAMALAI

Declaring open the Patalalingam Temple, consecrating the spot where the well-known saint Shri Ramana Maharshi performed his "tapas" in his early days, the Governor-General of India, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, said that Shri Ramana Maharshi had kept "India's spiritual glory alive in our generation."

"He has in his own way made the name of India respected by wise and enlightened men spread all over the world, even as Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and other saints did it in former times," Mr. Rajagopalachari added.

"Ramana Maharshi's meditation took early shape in this temple. Let us tender our tribute of reverence and homage to the enlightened soul, and may his prayers on our behalf bear fruit. Let us be worthy of him."

The Governor-General thanked at the outset Mrs. Feroza Taleyarkhan, kinswoman of the late Justice Taleyarkhan, who took the initiative in constructing the temple, and in organising the opening ceremony.

NEHRU STADIUM

A magnificent sports stadium, befitting the grandeur of the capital of India, and named after the Prime Minister, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, is to come into being in New Delhi before November 1950. This was one of the decisions reached at a recent meeting of the Working Committee of the National Sports Club of India.

It will be recalled that the National Sports Club of India had decided to construct a Nehru stadium in New Delhi and a Vallabhai Patel stadium at Bombay. At the first meeting of the Working Committee of the club held on April 19, it was decided to give priority to the Delhi stadium so that it might be ready before the Asian Olympic meet in 1950.

At its last meeting the Working Committee decided to build the stadium on the Ferozeshan Kotla site, providing for cricket, football, hockey and tennis. The Olympic section to accommodate athletics and cycling and swimming is to be in the Irwin Amphitheatre, which will be located inside the Nehru Park.

MILLION HOMELESS IN BOMBAY

About one and a half million people in Bombay are either homeless or ill-housed and nearly half a million of them live on the pavements, according to a team of A. P. I. staff reporters who have just concluded a study of the city's housing problem.

In this connection it is learnt that the Government of India is negotiating with a Swedish firm to set up a factory at Thana in Bombay to build timber houses on a large scale to supplement Government's housing programme, it is learnt. The Houses which this factory will manufacture will be constructed to suit the climate and habits of the people of India.

FOOD SUBSIDY

A subsidy of Rs. 26,52,00,000 is estimated to be paid by the Government of India during the financial year 1948-49, for providing the sale of imported food grains to the public at rates lower than cost price.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

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MEN AND MATERIALS

BY DR. GILBERT J. FOWLER, D.SC., F.R.I.C., F.R.SAN.I., HON. F.I.S.E., F.N.I.

MORE than one responsible economist has expressed the impotant opinion that if sufficient men and materials are available the carrying out of any important project should not be hindered by **finance.**

The truth of this statement was explained to me by the late Sir Daniel Hamilton when I had the privilege of meeting him just after the Editor of *Capital* had accepted my article on "The ERN a new medium of Exchange". Much interesting discussion took place and I remember Sir Daniel carefully drawing my attention to the following passage in Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations":

> Labour alone, therefore, never varying in its own value is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared. It is their real price, money is their nominal price only.

In those days and for the rest of his life Sir Daniel was actively interested in his highly successful Gosaba Colony in the Sunderbans, 50 miles from Calcutta. At Gosaba, on land which at one time had been jungle and mud stood a large number of smiling villages with co-operative societies, schools and other institutions. The best agricultural practices were employed and in particular the cultivators were encouraged to grow all kinds of vegetables. The settlement at Gosaba was a sign of deep and constructive thinking. In the beginning Sir Daniel told me of the help he had received from Mahatma Gandhi in signing some hundreds of cards each inscribed with the injunction: "Be Honest". At Gosaba Sir Daniel had successfully made use of his own rupee currency. His manager kept a reserve of Government ten-rupee notes which could be turned into silver rupees if wanted but nobody ever wanted silver rupees. Sir Daniel told me that in this way he was demonstrating to the Government of India that if they would spend a few rupees in the printing of the necessary rupee notes he would give them the equivalent in rice or other products derived from his capital investment of the **Labour** of the dwellers in his colony. Sir George Schuster was then Finance Minister and supported the idea. For some years I myself maintained an interesting correspondence with Sir George.

From those days the subject developed through numerous public addresses and letters to the press and the importance of "monetary reform" in general became evident through the foundation of the Economic Reform Club and Institute in London which continues to be the centre for the issue of regular and important literature on the general problem. The

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following are among their general published Principles:

The national control of monetary policy under which the State shall issue debt-free money for national purposes whenever the existing volume of money is insufficient to create an effective demand for the supply of goods and services which the nation is able and willing to produce.

The permanent discontinuance of the use of gold as a measure of value and a basis for the issue of currency and credit.

The fundamental error was seen to be the confusion between **money** and **wealth** from which arises a fundamentally false concept of **profit.** Through this false concept profit was held to be dependent on **scarcity** whereas its real origin is **increase.** Hence the miserable unemployment in the early twenties and the sad memory of the destruction of valuable food and shipping which took place in those days of "poverty in the midst of plenty", as it appears now in the days of real and dangerous **scarcity.** In those unfortunate days money reformers pointed out vainly that money must cease to be a commodity. Nevertheless President Coolidge made his famous remark: "They hired the money, didn't they?" and Winston Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer went back to the "Gold Standard". Later experience accumulating through World War II has caused responsible writers in economics to smile at the innocence of Coolidge, and Winston has confessed that he was badly advised.

Norman Angell has written "Steep Places," and has stated his opinion that the financial errors of the Treaty of Versailles might have been avoided if the statesmen concerned had understood as much of real economics as could have been explained to an intelligent schoolboy in a few hours' instruction.

There appears to be a fundamental basic error in thinking. The conceptions of the "financial" world are largely "static" whereas the conceptions of the truly scientific world in which we now assume we are living is based on "cyclic" conceptions. The scientist does not say that because much water was drunk from the river last year, you must be sparing now, knowing as he does that the river supply will endure so long as the sun shines and the sea remains. In the absence of this truly scientific "cyclic" understanding, the cyclic changes which are essential but which have not an unchanging base, like the river and the sea have been neglected, and the real crisis is now facing the world--the crisis of decreasing arable land and increasing population. The banker perhaps now realizes that **"You can't eat gold."**

India is well aware of this world problem but here unfortunately the confusion between money and wealth is only too apparent. For too long, as Sir Daniel stated in an address on "The Soul of India" at a meeting held under the auspices of the All-India Co-operative Institutes' Association, in Calcutta, "the disease from which the soul and body of India is suffering is pernicious financial anaemia". He goes on to say that "India is perishing not for want of politics but for want of pice. India's problem is where to find the pie to feed both soul and body. She will find it nowhere else than in the co-operatively organized and monetized labour of her people."

It has been stated in the press that during recent years some 8000 young students have proceeded to Great Britain,

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Europe and America for training but on returning to India have been unable to find employment. Among the "Bevin Boys" in the engineering world it is possible that they expected too high remuneration for their limited if admirable experience. Among chemical students instances have come within my personal knowledge. One youth of whose valuable ability as a biochemist I was personally well aware and who had been through the best schools in the U.S.A. said he had been two years without employment. Another personally unknown to me spoke of his studies in European schools of botany and of his failure to get employment in India. This experience had so unfortunately affected his general attitude that he actually expressed to me his wish to leave the country and asked if I could find employment for him *e.g.*, among my friends in Ceylon. These cases unfortunately would seem to be typical. In the current issue of *Science and Culture* the subject of biological science is dealt with both editorially and in a professional discourse.

We read much of vast projects actually under way, as *e.g.*, the Ammonium Sulphate factory at Sindri and river irrigation projects said to exceed in extent the TVA. Apart from these there are many minor possibilities in chemical industry which have been pointed out by more than one writer.

Another trouble occurs even for the employed student. Any opportunity of his improving his own experience to the benefit both of himself and his employer is checked apparently through fear that the student through his superior technical knowledge may reap an unshared benefit and anyway the **cost** cannot be afforded.

Throughout runs a wrong sense of values. The student may think he is more qualified than is really the case forgetful that with most scientific students many years elapse before their academic training is really of commercial value, forgetful of the fact that it was 16 years before the original W.H. Perkin was able to leave the business side of "mauveine" to retun to his beloved research laboratory.

Government and the Capitalist shrink from serious initial capital expenditure, oblivious of the fact that modern United States' enormous technological "know-how" is based on unlimited capital expenditure in the early stages of development. To my own personal knowledge the liberal outpouring of money by Ludwig Mond in the early days caused much concern to the original Brunner Mond authorities.

In the case of the unemployed student personnel, the foundation error is the failure to realise that these young men are **living capital.** Equivalent bars of gold have merely their **static** value. If thrown into the sea, only this would be lost. If the young men were got rid of in like manner, not only their present static value would be lost but also their unknown future with its infinite possibilities.

As Daniel Hamilton explained in a like problem, the question of financial stringency does not arise as the credit required to maintain any of the many preliminary schemes which might be started to keep these students **actively working** can be found not by borrowing or by taxation but by monetizing their trained brain power. The possible alternative of useless unemployment holds unfortunately serious possibilities in these days of the apparently ever active Communist.

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NATURE OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

By Prof. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

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THERE is a curious admixture of standpoints in man's knowledge of his surroundings. It is only a very small portion of the world that is open to his view; and, of this portion, each one grasps only what is apprehensible from his personal point of view. Thus human knowledge is, in its origin, quite partial. And what is worse, even this doubly fragmentary knowledge carries with it no certainty regarding the being of the external things to which it refers. For, if any one denies their reality, there is no way of *demonstrating* to him that he is wrong, because the so-called "external" things may, as in a dream, be merely the projections of one's own mind. That is, every man's experience may, in the last analysis, be wholly subjective. But yet, in ordinary intercourse, we often think and speak of the whole world, and refer to things belonging to it not as they appear to us but as we suppose them to be in themselves. None of us, for instance, has seen the other side of the moon, all that we observe of it being a flat round surface. But we do not hesitate to take it to be spherical in shape, as many other heavenly bodies are. This example shows how our experience, though strictly private to each one of us, is in practice, extended to cover a good deal that goes beyond it. This wider knowledge, because it is shared by others, may be described as 'public'; and we have it in its best form in science which aims at being as impersonal as it is possible to be. The purpose of the book* under review is to consider whether there is any logical justification for this leap from private experience to public knowledge.

The author admits the theoretical correctness of the contention that every man lives in his own world cut off from that of every one else. But he points out, at the same time, that such a subjectivistic view necessarily ends by reducing the many private experiences, which it grants, to *but one, viz.* the experience of the particular individual who happens to be arguing for it at the moment. For we have no more evidence that other persons exist than we have that external objects do, both alike being knowable by us only through sense-perception. This is 'solipsism' (literally 'myself alone'), as it is described; and it is a self-stultifying position for any one to adopt, because in the absence of any one else, the attempt of the solipsist to convince others becomes utterly meaningless. On such practical considerations, Lord Russell concludes that the possibility of transcending individual experience and arriving at collective or group knowledge should be accepted. There is thus, as common sense has always maintained, not only a subject that knows but also a world that is known, which endures and is the same for all. The means by which we advance from private experience to public knowledge is two-fold, *viz.* inference and verbal testimony.

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* *Human Knowledge: Its Scope and Limits* by Bertrand Russell. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London). 1948. pp. 538. Price 18 Sh. net.

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Broadly speaking, the one enables us to pass from facts known to those unknown; and the second helps us to "externalise and publicise" our thoughts which would otherwise remain private.

But it is necessary to refer to a very important deficiency in the knowledge thus reached. Its validity is only probable. While different portions of it may possess different degrees of certainty according to their respective character, no part of it can be taken to be certain beyond any doubt. This is the natural consequence of the intrinsic character of inference which, at best, leads only to probable truth, since the inductive principle on which it is eventually based, can never be shown to be absolutely true. There are other circumstances, too, such as the possibility of error in human reasoning, which preclude our being quite positive about our knowledge. Thus the final conclusion is that, though man may be well warranted in speaking of the world as a whole on the basis of individual experience, his knowledge of it can never claim to be absolutely true. Hence the familiar saying that "probability is the guide of life."

The book is divided into six parts. Three of them are devoted to a characterisation of the two types of knowledge referred to above. Of the remaining three parts, two deal with reference and verbal testimony; and the third is concerned with a discussion of the important question of probability, which is an inevitable feature of all human knowledge. It is written in the author's simple and attractive style; and, as readers of his previous works are aware, there is no place in it for any dogma or statements based entirely on tradition. It contains an account of the most important results of recent science—a feature which those who are not professed students of that subject will greatly value. The exposition in certain parts of this *resume*, however, is somewhat technical; and the general reader, for whom the book is chiefly intended, may find it hard to understand. But there are several portions of it which he can easily follow, and which he is sure to appreciate.

POLITICS AND PARTIES

BY PROF. G. D. PARIKH

THE idea that no political activity is possible without the instrument of a political party seems to condition greatly the response of many to contemporary political life. It is argued that any endeavour to conduct political activity without a party is futile and doomed to fail. The argument often makes many aware of the defects and dangers of partisan politics and retire into complete passivity.

On occasions, it also leads some, inspite of their awareness, to enter the camp of one or the other political party. It may be worthwhile therefore to carefully examine the pattern of political life and activity in the form which it acquired due to the existence of political parties in order to test the validity of the argument.

It may be made clear at the outset that the argument has hardly any historical

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justification. Parties are relatively a recent phenomenon peculiar to the past hundred years and more, while politics on the other hand is as old as organised social life. Even assuming that modern politics commenced with the French Revolution, it is difficult to find in that historical event any trace of organised political parties. It should therefore be realised that politics and parties are not invariably related to each other, nor have they always been together. Given that significant fact of history, it is idle to deny the possibility of political activity without a party. Its desirability may be doubted and also perhaps its efficacy. That is why, this question has to be explored carefully.

It will be obviously seen that the question pertaining to political parties is relevant only in the context of democratic politics. Modern totalitarianism also implies a party government, but there is no place in it for parties. In a totalitarian country, one party holds the field and has as its objective the elimination of all others in case they are existent, or the creation of conditions in which no other party can arise.

It is this which has led to the simple criterion, so commonly used in political life that the existence of a single party signifies a dictatorship, while that of more than one party implies democracy. It is true that the advocates of a multi-party system also sometimes recognise that too many parties may easily mean a danger to political peace and stability. But it is generally insisted that democracy must mean the existence of more than one party, while two are regarded as the sign of political maturity. An investigation of the political pattern arising out of the existence of parties is therefore essentially concerned with politics in a democracy.

The basis of the party system is the idea that political change is the essential precondition of all social, economic or cultural transformations, that all structural changes regarded as essential must be imposed from above as a consequence of a group of people coming to power. All parties therefore have the common objective of gaining political power. There may be organisations, not formally called or designated as parties, striving for power, and thus sharing the objective; but there is no case of a political party which did not or does not aspire for power.

Parties may have their respective and sometimes widely divergent social, economic and other programmes. But it is a common ground between them all to view political power as the essential means for the realisation of these. Power perhaps is aspired for by all of them only as a means; it may be difficult to find a party which wants power for its own sake. A party is an organisation of a part of the people. And party politics may be regarded as the product of the endeavours of such groups, organised and differing from each other on the basis of economic interests, social and cultural differences or political principles, to gain the control of the political machinery.

The endeavour of parties to gain power presupposes a political apparatus which facilitates the domination by a section of society. It goes without saying that in the absence of such an apparatus, there would be no scope for the activities, the kind of which are usually undertaken by political

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parties. Their methods of gaining power may generally be of two types, the insurrectionary and the constitutional. While the former has obviously no place in the democratic context, the latter has been regarded as a legitimate democratic practice. The result is that the existence of parties implies a struggle for leadership in a democracy. Since parties invariably aim at power, and since further the precondition for their gaining power is their ability to mobilise the support of a majority in their favour, gaining such support and popularity becomes the end of party activities. That sets in motion a competition between parties to go to the level of the mass of people whose support is coveted by them, to make concessions one after another to their backwardness, prejudices and sentiments, with a view to attaining the objective of support by a majority. Parties begin to view with each other in this respect and the usual result is a scramble for power, involving the degeneration of the entire public life.

Power being the objective of political parties, it is but natural that all emphasis should be placed by them on organisational integration on functional efficiency. The objective of gaining power reduces the party to a means and the need for making it strong and effective leads to the reduction of its individual constituents to a similar position. The individuals composing the party are thus expected to submerge their existence into that of the collectivity, which on the other hand comes to exist independently of them. Parties usually take only a functional view of the men who compose them, and value is attached to them to the extent to which they have identified themselves with the organisation. That gives them a feeling of security which accounts for their being often quite aggressive in their dealings with those outside the ranks of the party, while they may be entirely submissive in their behaviour inside the party. This applies in varying degrees to almost all the political parties.

The idea that a political change is the essential precondition of all other kinds of transformations is closely linked up with the view that regards the state as merely a means of coercion. And both the notions are inconsistent with democracy. Democracy is bound to remain an empty and meaningless idea unless the existence of political organisations of society can be reconciled with the claims of individual freedom and respect for human personality. Hence it would be inconsistent with democracy for any organised section in society to look upon the state as an apparatus with the aid of which it can impose its will on the rest of society. It is the aforementioned view of the state which is perhaps responsible for democracy being tagged on to political parties instead of being based on the individual. It has thus come to mean party rule rather than self-rule or rule by the people.

It may be possible to trace yet another factor responsible for increasing importance being attached to parties; and that is the increasing power of the state. An individual faced with the mighty organised state in our times often naturally feels helpless, thoroughly incapable of influencing its conduct with the result that he becomes prone to surrender himself to

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a collectivity. If the confidence of the individual in himself is the basis of democracy, party politics not only makes it impossible for such confidence to be developed but actually thrives on its absence.

Party propaganda arises from its desire to be popular, with the object of eventually coming into power. Its pleas and emphasis therefore are determined by the concern for immediate success and effectiveness rather than being guided by any of the abiding values such as truth and justice. That is why parties cannot serve the purpose of educative institutions, nor can education be fitted into the scheme of party politics.

Even granting that political power constitutes the sanction of economic or social institutions, a backward and unintelligent public "opinion", based on a mass that can be easily swept off its feet, comes to constitute the sanction of political authority. A public passionately voting for the abolition of Capitalism, for example, may not be quite prepared to accept the values of justice and equality. To transform the mass into rational, discriminating, moral men is hardly a function reconcilable with the working of political parties. The result often is that a political change comes to signify nothing more than a change "from the frying pan into the fire".

The political apparatus in the traditional concept of democracy implies centralisation of power, even though it is composed of representative institutions. It thus provides scope for the activity of particular sections to dominate it. Centralised power on the other hand makes the state something remote and immensely powerful for the average citizen. The very idea of participation in the task of governance in such a context sounds ludicrous to him and in the absence of participation, no amount of formal education can ensure the sustenance of political interest.

The party appears as the intermediary between the powerful organised state on the one hand and the unintelligent and often disinterested citizen, devoid of any confidence in himself. It seeks to capture the state machinery with his help, and on being successful, seeks to monopolise and perpetuate its hold on it instead of diffusing the power among the people as a whole. Given this tendency on the part of the successful parties, which is a deduction from history, it is difficult to imagine the average citizen realising freedom in increasing measures through party politics.

The problem of party politics may be viewed from yet another angle. The danger to the political apparatus hitherto came from the possibility of a minority throwing the democratic method to the winds against duly constituted authority. Given the enormously increased might of the modern state, that danger no longer appears to be serious. On the other hand, contemporary political experience has exposed the weakness of the identification of democracy with the rule of the majority. It is this experience which goes to show that the rule by political parties contains no guarantee for safeguarding democracy. Packed majorities may on the other hand, despite their representative character, be the surest instruments of tyranny.

The institutional apparatus of the democratic state, of the nineteenth century, is now increasingly being found inadequate for realisation of the values of democracy. The reconstruction of that apparatus along new and different lines, as will rule out the possibility of a part of society dominating over the whole, is the foremost problem of institutional reconstruction in our times.

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REDISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES

By Mr. P. S. NAIR

No problem is agitating the mind of the people at the present day so much as the formation of linguistic provinces, which they consider as the panacea for all the evils that prevail in the country. The problem, in its complete analysis, amounts to the creation of or adjustment of new boundaries for our provinces. Our provinces are not based on any scientific principle but were created by the Britishers to suit the circumstances that prevailed in a particular area at the time of its conquest and annexation. Such unscientific units can never be efficient administratively and any commission for the redistribution of provinces should have three aspects of paramount importance in view—Administrative convenience, Financial stability and National Unity. The very fact that in the achievement of this paramount idea some people have stooped to narrow provincialism and petty parochialism proves that linguistic provinces contain seeds of potential mischief and danger to the body politic and adequate safeguards must be provided against them.

As Punjab and Bengal have been partitioned, the portions that are allotted to the Indian Union have become sufficiently small to become units of efficient intensive administration. But the provinces of Bombay, United Provinces and Madras are so big, bigger than some of the States of Europe, that efficient administration cannot percolate to its remotest parts, with the result that some parts became highly developed at the expense of others. The Administrator's hand could not reach places like Rayalaseema because of the immensity of the province and the lack of local initiative to compel the attention of the authorities. As decentralisation is the keynote of Federation, the redistribution of these provinces into smaller units becomes indispensable.

It is feared that smaller provinces will not be able to have sufficient finance for efficient administration. A Free India cannot copy the standard of pay fixed by the Britishers on Imperial interests. In a Government of the people, by the people and for the people, every citizen, as in the Golden days of Athens, should consider it his duty, to give his best to the country. Public service should be an end in itself. Public servants are paid less in free countries like the United Kingdom and the United States of America than others like India on the basis that the honour which it brings will be the compensation for the pecuniary sacrifice.

The distribution of provinces should be carried out on the basis of some sort of equality in extension and population of provinces. Federation is a Union of equals and not the sway of one powerful province over others. Under linguistic provinces there will be small units like Kerala, Orissa, by the side of big ones like Andhra, Mahratta and Hindusthani. In the case of U.S.A. its 48 provinces are so small and equal to each other that no state can monopolise the Congress. U.S.A. had so many other favourable features which are conspicuous by their absence in India. Its geographical and linguistic unity which made inter State migration possible and mutual jealousy to its minimum, their substantial uniformity in their faith in liberty and democracy, lack of religious dissensions and conflicts in economic interests, all these helped to make U.S.A. a united whole, although divided into many States. In India even now there is a lurking suspicion that Northern Indians are monopolising the Central Government at the expense of the South leading to such fantastic cries as Dravidasthan. The advocates of linguistic provinces should know that language belongs to the cultural field and administration to the political field and the former can apply to the latter only under certain limitation. If they cannot work in harmony, the former will have to give way to the latter. The limitation of language is evident from the example of U.P. and C.P. where Hindi is the predominant language, and still they

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do not clamour for union into one province.

The movement for linguistic provinces is not exactly like the Pakistan movement; at least it is equal to the demand for separate electorate. It is only an extension of the principle of separate electorates to the province. Both of them depend upon exclusiveness and desire to shut out the neighbours. Just as the former was followed by further demand for separate schools, separate culture, separate nationality and finally separate homeland, so also the latter has the power within itself to retrench reaction in the shape of vested interests of provinces which may strangulate our national movement. A similar problem faced the Athenians in her early days. There were many clans, indulging in feudatory struggles. As a remedy to this Athenian statesmen established constituencies cutting across these clans so that each unit had people of all clans and necessity made them unite and make democracy a practical proposition. The example of Russia is often cited in support of linguistic provinces. There the provinces were created by separate treaties with the different nationalities. In India we are now one and linguistic provinces will have to be created by division. Secondly, two factors have played a prominent part for the successful working of Russian constitution. The Russian Socialistic Frederal Soviet which wields maximum influence in the running of the State, has proved a stabilising factor in her politics. H. R. G. Greaves writes about the second factor, the Communist party; "The fact that this is the guiding, if not the controlling influence in all the constituent units, is obviously of major importance; if only because it established a constant unifying force to work through all the complicated political mechanism that constitutes the formal machine for governing the union as a whole—a force for welding together in unity its many diversities". In India there is no such dynamic force working behind for unity.

Now that States becoming extinct they are merged with the neighbouring provinces, making them unwieldy and cumbersome. The total population of India at present will be 300 millions and to load 13 linguistic provinces with such an immense population will be ruinous to administrative efficiency. There is scope in India for at least 30 provinces, each containing one crore of the population. These smaller provinces will be able to maintain cultural relationship between language units with as much ease and freedom as they exist together.

It is calculated that there are more than 2000 dialects in India. As these cannot exist separately in future, they have to merge with the neighbouring languages. The same force will link up our thirteen languages into one common language—Hindi. Some people from the South, out of their zeal for their mother tongue and due to ignorance of the Hindi, even go to the extent of considering Hindi as foreign. These very people consider Sanskrit as the language of Gods and worship it as the voice of Saraswathi. Hindi has got the same *lipi* as Sanskrit, its vocabulary is mainly Sanskrit purged of its scholarliness. Hindi is nothing but simplified basic Sanskrit. We can call it the Sanskrit of the common man. Those who know Sanskrit know Hindi. These awe-stricken people predict that it will take years and centuries for Hindi to become our common language and lament over the hardship of the South Indians to learn it. South India is noted for Sanskrit scholars and pundits and it is strange that that part of India which produced Shri Sankaracharya should complain that it will take centuries to learn simplified Sanskrit. When the false notion about Hindi is removed, the people will welcome it with open hands rather than consider it as a "cultural usurper." When this takes place, the way becomes clear for linguistic consolidation by accepting a common *lipi* for our provincial languages. There is nothing new or novel in this suggestion, as people in the Army know how the Roman script is used for Hindustani to create the Roman Urdu of the Army. But this can be accomplished only when the Nagari

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script is made the purest and the most scientific script. Extensive research is needed by our linguists to achieve this idea of paramount importance. This will do away with our separateness and make us a homogeneous nation. Given efficient leadership, the time is not far off when linguistic provinces will become as much an anachronism as the existence of 550 States under autocratic rulers.

Linguistic provinces, however desirable, are impossible of total achievement under the prevailing circumstances. Our people are so much mixed up that separating them now is nationally suicidal and culturally retrogressive. The two big cities of India, Madras and Bombay, not to speak of Delhi the capital and Calcutta a mainly Bengali City, are built up and their importance linked up with the association of Tamils, Telugus and Malayalees for the former and Gujrathis, Mahrattas and Parsees for the latter. If these cosmopolitan cities are kept in one linguistic province which will manifestly be an injustice to the others, rival seaports are bound to rise up, in the neighbouring provinces and these centres of culture and commerce will lose their present importance. The people who talk in terms of aggression to get these cities are short-sighted and trying to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. They are major harbours, prospective naval centres of great strategic importance and they are best kept separately from the other provinces. The people of Madras who are living in a fool's paradise of impregnable security and who complacently find fault with the people of Northern India for riots and disorders, should know that the first city to taste the horrors of bombardment was Madras during the first Great War long before Calcutta dreamed of it. In the new alignment of War strategy, Bombay and Madras are more vulnerable to attacks than the cities of Northern India. If the Mighty Himalayas can give some shelter to Northern India, there is nothing like that in the south to shield us from naval aircrafts and invasions. Whereas it is sufficient to secure the passes to protect India from invasions from the North, South India will have an extensive coast line of thousands of miles to guard without sleep or rest in times of war. Indian unity is more essential for the safety of South India than to the people of the North and the tall talk of Dravidasthan is a first class absurdity. With their martial traditions and constant experience in warfare, North Indians are more capable of defending themselves than the people of the South, habituated to a life of security and peace.

Past history has shown that linguistic provinces without taking into consideration the other factors will be detrimental to our national existence. Like ancient Greece, the chief bane of India has been her parochialism which kept all-India nationalism a matter of second rate importance. "India First" is still a distant cry. Great Emperor-statesmen like Chandra Gupta Maurya, Asoka, Samudra Gupta, Harsha, Kanishka and Akbar successfully tried to bring the whole of India under one umbrella" but when their strong and vigorous rule was removed, parochialism reasserted and the powerful provinces declared independence. It is because of the same factor that Mahrattas were not able to bring the whole of India under their ascendency. The rival Mahratta chieftains set at naught the rule of the Peishwa and fell an easy prey to the crafty Britishers. Had the Mahrattas combined together and established a strong rule, the course of the 19th and the 20th centuries would have been totally different. This can be remedied in future only by a strong Central Government with smaller provinces for internal administration. The fire with which the agitation for linguistic provinces is carried on makes one pessimistic about our future united existence.

TRAVELLERS' HINDUSTHANI

By M. Ismail Khan. The book gives short colloquial lessons, a skeleton grammar, an English-Hindusthani vocabulary, and three lessons for Army, Navy and Air Force. Travellers will find the book very useful.

Price Rs. 1-12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, G. T., Madras.

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THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

By Prof. KAMALAKSHA BHATTACHARYYA, M.A. (Cal.)

Sibsagar College, Assam

THANKS to the resourcefulness of the West European statesmen, the statute for the council is signed with broad aims as 'achieving greater European unity.' The movement despite its occasional setbacks continued on the economic plane of work as discussed in the unofficial Congress at The Hague in May 1948 and in the Brussels Meeting in February.

The New European entity notwithstanding its historical background is the positive by-product of hard realities. The setting up of an International Parliament of West European nations is significant. The birth of the council in the convalescent Europe is fraught with seriousness. The progress of the council will, doubtless, be watched over with keen interest.

WHY THIS COUNCIL AT ALL ?

The need for such a council in the context of a series of political developments since the end of the war is widely questioned. This year which bears so many fine pieces of work in matters relating to defence, strategy and diplomacy is certainly the *annus mirabilis*.

To-day Europe asserts once more. And the agreement reached at St. James' palace, London is a pure political recognition of the economic and social questions of the war-devastated Europe. The initial difficulties along with internal divisions amongst the foundation-members were many. They had been somehow or other won over, the spirit of European life is re-affirmed. Europe is Europe. She likes her own way, and she safeguards her heritage. In the words of Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, 'something new and hopeful in European life is given shape for the first time.'

OPTIMISM NOT ENOUGH

The signing of the Atlantic pact and the ending of 10-month old Berlin blockade were no proofs to safety and mutual understanding.

THE MOTIVE FACTORS

The radical economic transformation in the map of the Eastern Europe through Russian penetration on the one hand and the suspicion over the U.S. economic policy on the other paved the way for European Unification.

RUSSIAN OBJECTIVE

With victory attending the Russian arms the world has seen the emergence of a new pattern of plans for the economic organisation of the regions. The movement for the economic and political unification under Russian paramountcy had revolutionised the relations between the traditionally industrial nations and the nations formerly dependent on their industrial exports. As evident from the League of Nations' Publication "The net work of World Trade" (Geneva 1942) the share of the East European countries in the export of the industrial countries of the European continent rose from 15% in 1928 to 18% in 1938.

On the face of bilateral pacts like Moscow-Warsaw, Moscow-Prague, Moscow-Belgrade and so on, it would seem that Russia's main objective is the creation of a vast economic unit which will be equal to or exceed the power of America or combined Western Europe and Britain.

THE U.S. ECONOMIC POLICY

A study of the press suggests that Europe's granaries depleted during the war are being filled up and its repercussions are felt everywhere. The E.R.P. aided countries have been placing large orders with the U.S.A. even by cancelling those placed with their neighbours.

Mr. L. S. Amery speaking at the Empire Industries Association characterised the U. S. economic policy as completely out of date having no relation to the modern world conditions, economic or political.

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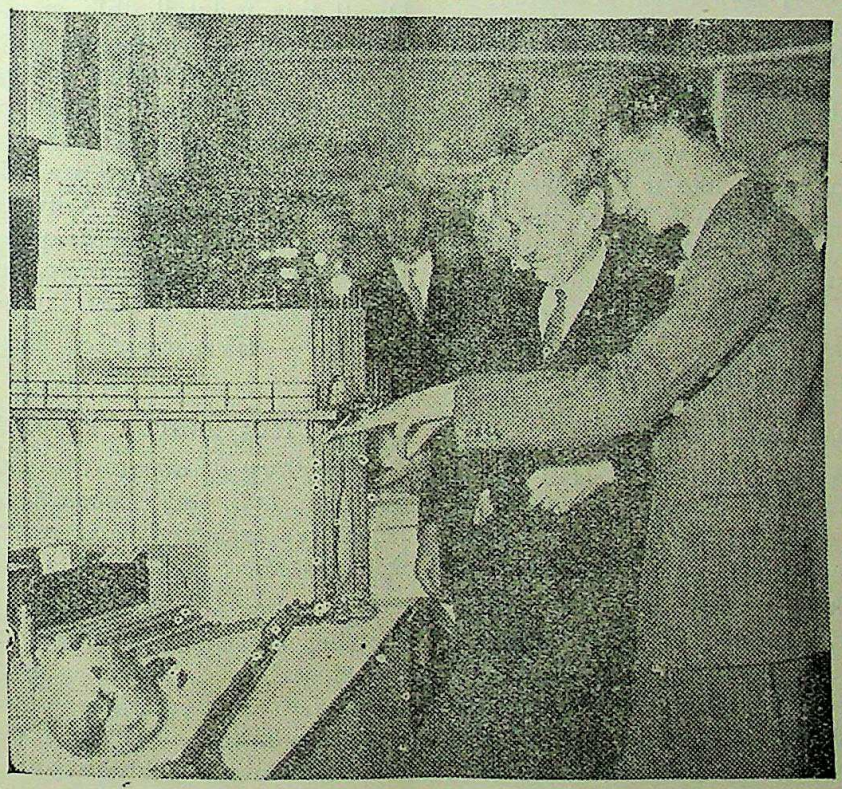
"For that policy is one which under the plausible title of non-discrimination in fact imposes a veto on all fruitful and expansionist economic co-operation between individual nations or within regional or political nation groups."

THE MUTUAL SUSPICION

While the devaluation of France in 1945 and in 1948 passed off, the present rumour of sterling-devaluation meant a tremendous difference to the U.S.A. Britain's need to increase sales in the dollar market has led to a further spate of misgivings in the minds of U.S. bankers and businessmen. The rumour is rooted in the belief that with declining U.S. domestic prices U.K. prices simply un-aided by devaluation cannot be competitive in the world market. The U.S. fear is that if the early sterling devaluation is contemplated as part of a wide European currency adjustment (the question of currency convertibility within the Marshall-Countries would) it will cause serious price upsets.

THE WARNING

The London *Economist* warns that the combination of American political intervention and Economic inaction "is likely to turn the European nations from grateful partners into sour clients and to intensify at every turn the irrational anti-Americanism already disastrously widespread."



BRITAIN'S PRIME MINISTER AT ATOMIC ENERGY DISPLAY

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Attlee who paid a visit to the Olympia Section of the British Industries Fair held recently in London and Birmingham showed great interest in the atomic stand at the Fair, where for the first time, the production and use of radio-isotopes was shown to the public. Mr. Attlee examining some of the atomic exhibits.

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

WAR

WHAT, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purpose and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil in the British village of Dumdrudge usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "natural enemies" of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say, thirty able-bodied men. Dumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away, at the public charge, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain; and fed there till wanted. And now to that same spot in the south of Spain, are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending, till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxta-position; and Thirty stand fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire" is given; and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anon shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest. They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a universe, there was even, unconsciously, by commerce some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! Their governors had fallen out; and instead of shooting one another had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot.

—*Carlyle.*

FOR THOSE THAT CANNOT PRAY

But for the foolish, those that cannot pray,
What else remains of their dark horoscope
But a tall tree and courage and a rope?

—*W. S. Blunt.*

THAT BLESSED MOOD

These beauteous forms,
Through a long absence, have not been to me
As is a landscape to a blind man's eye,
But oft, in lonely rooms, and 'mid the din
Of towns and cities, I have owed to them
In hours of weariness, sensations sweet
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart;
And passing even into my purer mind,
With tranquil restoration:—feelings too
Of unremembered pleasure: such, perhaps,
As have no slight or trivial influence
On *that best portion of a good man's life,*
His little, nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love Nor less, I trust,
To these I may have owed another gift
Of aspect more sublime; that blessed mood,
In which the burthen of the mystery,
The heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lightened:—that serene and blessed mood
In which the affections gently lead us on,
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul:
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.

—*Wordsworth*: Tintern Abbey.

. . . . .

THE MASTER, Dr. JENKYNS

This story of about Calverley is akin to the one told of Labouchere. For sheer schoolboy mischief and resourcefulness this is unbeatable:

One day, legend declares, he was showing a friend over the college. When the chapel and other objects of interest had been visited, he paused under a certain window. "That," he said, "is the Master's room. Perhaps you would like to see Dr. Jenkyns?" He thereupon picked up a stone and sent it crashing through the glass. The Doctor's head appeared, with the expected promptness, at the window. "And that," added Calverley, "is the Master."

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MIDDLE LIFE & OLD AGE

The danger of middle life is just the danger of 'settling down' An Old Testament prophet speaks of 'the men that have settled on their lees.' The sins of middle age are the sins of the mind—the desire for money, for power, and, above all, for security. A kind of fatty degeneration of the conscience often sets in about fifty. We are less inclined to fight about anything, least of all against our own faults. Middle-aged men are often happier than the young, but it does not follow that they ought to be.

Our middle-aged citizen has formed habits. Life has no more adventures for him. He can see the remainder of the dusty road lying straight and even before him. He has ceased to worry about himself. Too often he has come to a working compromise with the world, the flesh and the devil. And then sometimes he unexpectedly gives way to some degrading temptation, to the surprise of his friends and perhaps of himself. This is the history of many of the moral tragedies of middle life.

What shall we say of old age, which the Greeks, who had no spectacles and false teeth, dreaded so much? No, it is not or should not be an unhappy time. We have had our innings; the game of life is nearly over. We live a good deal in the past, letting our minds wander over that strange mist-covered tract, much of which is lost to us, though peaks rise here and there, quite clearly, out of the fog—our earliest years often the clearest.

We can remember hundreds of things that make us very much ashamed, opportunities missed, faults of temper, idleness and frivolity, sins of self-indulgence; and what really hurts us most, offences against the law of love, neglect, misunderstanding, ingratitude, in return for affection; and those whom we treated so unworthily are now beyond our reach; we can do nothing to make it up to them.

And yet perhaps we feel that we have not made a mess of our lives as a whole, that we have, with many falls, tried to do our duty to God and our neighbour. We know that we cannot judge ourselves, nor anticipate what the verdict of the Judge will be on our lives. We are content to leave it to Him, and hope that He who knows the weakness and flaws in our make-up, for which we are not wholly responsible, will be merciful to us.

—*Dean Inge* (University Sermon at cambridge, Jan. 1912).

. . . . .

THE FALLEN

They shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old,
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn,
At the going down of the sun, and in the morning
We will remember them.

—*Lawrence Binyon.*

. . . . .

BEARDS FOR SAILORS

Lytton Strachey's treatment of the character of Queen Victoria is one of sympathy and ironic detachment We know the queen well enough in all her pompous solemnity. In the following passage she becomes a comic figure with her wonted solemnity over trifles. She discusses the question of permitting beards in the Navy.

In the midst of this crisis, when the future of the Irish Church was hanging in the balance, Victoria's attention was drawn to another proposed reform. It was suggested the sailors in the Navy should henceforward be allowed to wear beards. "Has Mr. Childers ascertained anything on the subject of the beards?" the Queen wrote anxiously to the First Lord of the Admiralty. On the whole, Her Majesty was in favour of the change. "Her own personal feeling," she wrote, "would be for the beards without the moustaches; as the latter have rather a soldierlike appearance; but then the object in view would not be obtained, viz., to prevent the necessity of shaving. Therefore it had better be as proposed, the entire beard, only it should be kept short and very clean." After thinking over the question for another week, the Queen wrote a final letter. She wished, she said, "to make one additional observation respecting the beards, *viz.*, that on no account should moustaches be allowed without beards. That must be clearly understood."

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GIBBON'S "DECLINE AND FALL"

Gibbon, in writing the Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire, was fully conscious of the greatness of the task he had undertaken He refers with amorous exactitude to the beginning and ending of his great work.

"It was at Rome on the 15th of October, 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing Vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind."

Later he records the ending of the immense task on which he had been engaged for 23 years.

"It was on the day, or rather night, of the 27th of June, 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve, that I wrote the last lines of the last page in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down my pen, I took several turns in a covered walk of acacias, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all Nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on the recovery of my freedom, and perhaps the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind, by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion."

. . . . . .

THE MAN WORTH WHILE

It is easy enough to be pleasant
When life flows by like a song,
But the man worth while
Is the one who will smile,
When everything goes dead wrong.

. . . . . .

JESUS FORSAKEN

And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani! that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

—*Matthew*

HERACLITUS

[*A touching lament of the poet Callimachus (third century B C) for his friend Heraclitus*].

They told me, Heraclitus, they told me you were dead,
They brought me bitter news to hear and bitter tears to shed.
I wept, as I remembered, how often you and I
Had tired the sun with talking and sent him down the sky.

And now that thou art lying, my dear old Caryan guest,
A handful of grey ashes long, long ago at rest
Still are thy pleasant voices, thy nightingale's awake;
For Death, He taketh all away, but them He cannot take.

—*W. J. Cory*

. . . . . .

THE MANAGEMENT OF OUR FORTUNE

We should manage our fortune like our constitution;—enjoy it when good, have patience with bad, and never apply violent remedies but in cases of adversity.

—*La Rochefoucauld.*

. . . . . .

NEW ARTS, NEW RAPTURES

New arts, new raptures, new desires
Will stir the new-born Souls of men
New fingers smite new fashioned lyres,
And O! may I be listening then.

Shall I regret the green and rose
Of opals, with their shifting flame,
Because the classic diamond glows
With lustre that is still the same?

I wait, till down the eastern sky
Muses, like Mœnads in a throng
Sweep my decayed traditions by,
In startling tones of unknown song.

—*Edmund Gosse.*

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DEATH SENTENCE

By Mr. R. K. RANADE, LL.M.,

District Judge, Sangli.

[Rejecting proposals by members of the Constituent Assembly that the Supreme Court should be invested with powers to hear all criminal appeals involving the death sentence, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, India's Law Minister, suggested that instead the death penalty itself should be abolished in India, as by and large the people accepted the principle of non-violence.—Ed. *I.R.*]

DEATH penalty in diverse forms has existed from the most ancient times and in all corners of the world. In primitive conditions of society death penalty was considered as nothing extraordinary, but with the growing humanising of society greater value came to be attached to the sanctity of human life and the question of death penalty has now become extremely complicated. The retention as well as the abolition of death sentence has been and is being advocated with equal eloquence and vehemence. Those in favour of abolition emphasize the view that human life is too sacred to be sacrificed at the altar of law and that a crime can be sufficiently punished by some means other than the death sentence. The advocates of the death sentence, on the other hand, damn and denounce the aforesaid view as being dangerous, impracticable, and suggestive of a kind of mawkish mentality. In such circumstances the question as to the retention or abolition must be approached from a dispassionate view of the causes and conditions that underlie the institution of capital punishment.

PAST AND PRESENT ATTITUDE

In the past, war was often the very condition of existence and death by violence was an ordinary phenomenon. Hence death sentence in those days was not looked upon as anything extraordinary. It was the best and the quickest method of retribution as well as of deterrence. A different attitude characterises modern society in regard to death sentence. The change in the attitude is due to a growing consciousness of the sanctity of human life and an increasing suspicion regarding the efficacy of death penalty as an effective deterrent. The theory of deterrence rests on the belief that not only the criminal concerned but others of his nature, who may be regarded as potential criminals, may take the lesson to heart and refrain from committing similar crimes. Scientific opinion is now definite on the point that this principle can be hardly brought into operation in the case of abnormal or sub-normal persons. There are also other weighty reasons why the modern scientific opinion deprecates capital punishment. It is said that of all murders judicial murder is the most revolting, the reason being that there is no absolute certainty about the guilt of the accused in a court of law and that there is no reliable safe-guard against a judicial murder. It is also to be noted that it is now accepted that the principal object of punishment is to reform the offenders. The idea of death sentence is not in tune and harmony with this principal object.

LAW IN INDIA

Under the Indian Penal Code, death or transportation for life is to be awarded as punishment for the following offences: (1) Waging war against the King (Section 131). (2) Abetting mutiny actually committed (Section 132). (3) Giving or fabricating false evidence upon which an innocent person suffers death (Section 194). (4) Murder (Section 302) (5) Abetment of suicide of a minor or insane or intoxicated person (Section 305). (6) Dacoiety accompanied with murder (Section 396). (7) Attempt to murder by a person under sentence of transportation if hurt is caused (Section 307).

As regards the main section, namely that of murder, the law provides that whoever commits the offence shall be punished with death or transportation for life. So far as

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the scheme of the Indian Penal Code is concerned it can be said that ordinarily the lighter punishment is to be awarded and only in exceptional cases the maximum sentence is to be given. In the case of murder, however, the case law has now made the rule that ordinarily the murderer is to be hanged and in exceptional circumstances he is to be given the lesser penalty. There is no indication given in the Indian Penal Code to substantiate this view. In the Code of 'Criminal Procedure, however, there is a section which is regarded as supplying the necessary indication. Sub-section 5 of Section 367 provides that if the accused is convicted of an offence punishable with death, and the court sentences him to any punishment other than death the Court shall, in its judgment, state the reason why sentence of death was not passed. This sub-section has led the Courts to hold that in a case of murder the death sentence is the normal sentence and the transportation for life is the exception. It may be said that it gives rise to reasonable doubt as to whether a provision in the Procedure Code can be interpreted so as to affect in any way the provision of a substantive law. It may further be remarked that the provision in the Criminal Procedure Code does not specifically say that the death penalty is the ordinary sentence and transportation is an exception. The Authors of the Penal Code state that they are convinced that the death sentence ought to be very sparingly inflicted. In such circumstances the rule as regards death sentence being the ordinary penalty does not appear to be tenable. The reported cases of the various High Courts in India go to show that a number of circumstances has influenced the Courts to refuse to award the extreme penalty. Extreme youth or extreme old age, the sex of the accused, unfounded suspicion of the accused regarding the chastity of his wife, absence of premeditation and *bona fide* disputes are some of the circumstances which are taken into account in awarding the lesser penalty. In some cases even suspension of sentence for a long time and the consequential mental agony has been regarded as a sufficient ground for not inflicting the death penalty. It is said by various eminent legal philosophers that the law in India regarding death sentence is not as satisfactory as it should be. There is much force in this observation.

STATISTICS

The testimony of statistics supports the view regarding the abolition of death penalty. In Norway death sentence was entirely abolished on 1st January 1905. In his report for the years 1905-1924 the Chief of the prisons of Norway says that the number of persons convicted of murder has diminished considerably. Similarly the Chief of the Swedish prison Administration reports that the abolition of the death penalty has not led to an increase of offences but was actually followed by a notable decrease. In Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Belgium, Italy (for political murders), Portugal, Switzerland, Greensland, Urugway etc. death penalty has been entirely abolished. The experience of these countries shows that the abolition of Capital punishment has not in any way contributed to an increase of crimes but was actually followed by a considerable decrease. Referring to the Statistics and experience of the aforesaid countries Dr. P. K. Sen remarks and rightly that it is to be hoped that the law will soon be brought into line with the progressive countries of the world which have abolished the death penalty (Penology-Tagore Law Lectures by Dr. Sen pages 224-225).

THE VIEW OF ANCIENT SAGES

The view of ancient Indian sages regarding death penalty may be seen from what has been stated in that respect in the Mahabharata. In Chapter CCLVII of the "Shanti Parva" there is a discussion between King Dyumatsena and his son prince Satyavan. Prince Satyavan says that sometimes virtue assumes the form of sin and sin assumes the form of virtue and that it is not possible that the destruction of individuals can be a virtuous act.

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Dyumatsena thereupon observes that if the sparing of those offenders who should be hanged be virtuous, all distinction between virtue and vice will disappear. Satyavan rejoins :—

"Without destroying the body of the offender, the King should punish him as ordained by the scripture. The King should not act otherwise, neglecting to reflect upon the character of the offence and upon the science of morality. *By killing the wrongdoer, the King kills a large number of innocent men.* Behold! By killing a single robber his wife, mother, father and children, all are killed. When injured by wicked persons the King should therefore, think seriously on the question of punishment Sometimes a wicked person is seen to imbibe good conduct from a pious person. It is seen that good children spring from wicked persons. The wicked, therefore, should not be exterminated. The extermination of the wicked is not in consonance with eternal law. By punishing them gently by depriving them of all their riches, by chains and inprisonment, by disfiguring them they may be made to expiate their offences. Their relatives should not be punished by infliction of capital punishment on them."

The aforesaid quotation shows that the ancient Indian sages were keenly alive to the vexed problem of sociology and Penal Philosophy of the present day regarding death sentence. All the telling arguments which are at present advocated by eminent legal philosophers against death sentence are to be seen in the rejoinder of prince Satyavan.

CONCLUSION

The modern tendency of Penology is changing from the crime to the criminal, from the objective to the subjective, and from retribution to the real correction of the individual and of the society. The study of the various causes that are at work in moulding human action and in generating crime has supplied a new angle of vision, which has led to the emergence of criminology as a special branch of knowledge henceforth to be obtained on scientific lines. With the growth of science and with the growing idea of reforming mankind the criminal has now come to be studied as individual patient. The old system of mentioning crimes and cataloguing specific punishments to specific crimes is now threatening to fall into barbarism. Now in penology (as in medicine) the criminal (like the patient) and not the crime is occupying the foremost place. The International Union of the Criminal Law which was founded at Paris for the promotion of Penal reform holds as its creed that criminality and the means of repression must be examined both from the social and the judicial point of view and that penal science and penal legislation must take into account the results of anthropological and sociological studies. The general end of judicial decisions in India regarding the death penalty is that it is the duty of the court to look to the gravity or enormity of the crime and the circumstances under which it was perpetrated. The associations, the antecedents, the up-bringing and the social and economic environments of the offender are beyond the scope and perview of the judicial injury. Without these factors, which are really essential in the light of the new penology, the decision of the court regarding sentence is likely to be incorrect. Experience shows that the deterrent value of capital punishment is considerably reduced on account of the notorious fact that the jurors are loath to send a man to the gallows and consequently as often as they can, they give the verdict of not guilty. The Law in India regarding death sentence is highly unsatisfactory. It is certainly not in keeping either with the view of the Mahabharata or with the view of modern legal philosophers. It is said that the view of any country regarding Penology can be judged by its view regarding death sentence. Time has now come that in independent India the law regarding death sentence should be brought into line with progressive countries of the world by attaching more importance to the criminal than to the crime.

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Some Chinese Marxists I Have Met*

BY

MR. G. VENKATACHALAM

——(O)——

IMMEDIATELY after I returned from China in 1936, I wrote for the annual number of the *Scholar* a story on "Red China". In that I introduced to Indian readers the now much publicised names of Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and Chu-teh as China's Men of Destiny. That was long before Edgar Snow or Nym Wales broadcast their names to the world through their books.

Not that I met them when I was in China. That was not possible as the Nanking Government of Chiang-Kai-shek's had outlawed them and had put fantastic prices on their heads. They were in hiding then, in their own Chinese Soviet territories, fighting the Kuomintang armies and perfecting their guerrilla technique, which was to save China later from Japan's savage, all-out blitzkrieg.

I had first-hand information about these great Chinese Soviet leaders and their hold over New China from Miss Agnes Smedly, the American author and friend of Red China, and her Marxist friends at Shanghai. Miss Smedly herself was an outlaw, a "wanted" person with a big price on her head, and her Communist comrades were also in the same boat with prices on their heads and driven "underground" in the French Concession of the city.

I have recorded in my book FRAGRANT MEMORIES my dramatic meeting with Agnes Smedly and my impressions about her and her work in China. Through her I met several young Chinese artists and intellectuals, who were also Communists and left-wing Socialists. And like all enthusiasts the world over, they were fire-eaters, impatient idealists and wild dreamers. And comically enough, like most young Marxists, they were fiery patriots and narrow nationalists, very un-Marxian traits indeed.

They were all this side of thirty, college-educated, and some foreign-travelled; belonged to well-to-do families and if they had not been bitten by this bug of Communism would have been China's natural rulers and pillars of society. One of them was the son of a provincial governor, and another was from the world of Big Business. Two of the young ladies were, in their own right and by outstanding beauty, the elite of Shanghai Society. Mixed with these were, of course, as everywhere else, frauds, adventurers and fools.

Shanghai, in pre-war China, was one of the gayest cities in the world, with swell streets, big department stores, busy banks, swanky hotels, night-clubs, speakeasies, and a cosmopolitan crowd. British, French, American, Russian, Japanese, Indian, Italian, Dutch and Danish lived and thrived there, bullying and beating the poor natives as if it was a crime to be a Chinaman in China. Shanghai was no more typically Chinese than Cairo is Egyptian or Bombay Indian. It was a hybrid city.

China, because she preferred the arts of peace to the sinews of war and was really more civilised than the big bullies who unashamedly ravished and raped her, in the name of civilisation, has been the helpless victim of the rapacity, greed and cruelty of the so-called progressive nations of the West. Japan followed them and showed how she too can beat them at their own game. The French Concessions and the International Settlements, in almost all the big cities of China, were the open barefaced loot of the pre-war European diplomacy.

The French Concession at Shanghai was not that quarter at the city where the French mostly lived and traded but actually a bit of France planted in China, with its own laws, police and administration, and where the Chinese were permitted to settle down or move about only on sufferance.

*A Chapter from a new book to be published by Nalanda, Bombay.

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The frontiers between the native city and these foreign settlements were more definitely marked and more safely guarded than any international frontiers in the world.

And it was in this French Concession that the political and social "undesirables", Chinese and other nationals, took shelter and carried on their underground work. Here too lived Marxists, anarchists, revolutionaries, radicals and rebels whom the Central Government of Nanking had banned and outlawed And it was here that I met Miss Smedly and her comrades, who lived in good style and in great comfort, talking, smoking, drinking and entertaining in the real French Bohemian way amidst typical French scenes of broad *boulevards* and gay life.

COMRADE LEM

Comrade Lem Kuang-mein was the eldest of the group I met, aged about 30, tall and lanky, scholarly looking and the most silent of them all. He impressed me the most as he was serious, sincere and well-informed in international affairs. He discussed with me frankly about India, as he understood her, and about Gandhi and his non-violent creed. He said that amidst so much violence in the world the law of non-violence had little chance to thrive, even as a rose-bush had not the ghost of a chance to sprout and grow amidst wild-growing lantanas. He was fond of similes and metaphors, this good comrade Lem.

THE ARTIST WU

Lem's chum, the artist Wu-chu, was the most impatient of the lot. He denounced Gandhi, even without caring to know what he stood for, and said that because China practised all these centuries a form of Gandhism as taught by Confucius, she was a prey to powerful nations, and that what China and India badly needed was, of course, Communism. It was obvious he was confusing things, but then he was young and it was his privilege to be reckless in thought, word and deed; besides he was an artist. He had confused values and muddled ideas about his own craft as well. He was a painter, after the manner of some modern Western art, and he thought that the old Chinese art was as dangerously delightful a dope as Confucian ethics.

He was, however, a fearless fellow, and risked going out with me to see the big Chinese Exhibition that was on show at Shanghai then before being sent to England. That show was a great eye-opener to me and it was unexpected luck to study, at first hand, some of the finest masterpieces of ancient Chinese art, collected and presented for the first time to the world; but to my friend it acted as an irritant, and in every masterpiece we saw he could see only the subtle cause for his country's down-fall. He wanted art to be realistic, to be purposeful, to be revolutionary in character and with a message to the masses. Poor Wu was even blind to the fact that it was in China that beauty and art were wedded to utility more than in any other country, and that most of the great masters of old were not only poor working men but artists who created those beautiful things for both the rich and poor.

To me, however, burdened with no cocksure ideology, either political or economic, or coloured by any view of life, either Gandhian or Marxian, the exhibition was an open sesame, leading me into a veritable Alladin's cave of priceless art treasures of an old world. In the highly stylised technique and the universality of outlook of Chinese art I realised something of not only the reflective mind of the Orient but also the true greatness of Oriental art. I saw in the masters of old Cathay the remote ancestors of Cezanne and Picasso, and of some of the moderns with the messages to the masses.

A GIRL MARXIST

The most winsome and vivacious of the young Marxist was a slip of a girl of eighteen, a Cantonese, with college education, rich and independent, who became a Communist not out of conviction but out of sheer love of adventure. She had heard of the exploits of the Eighth Route Army,

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of the heroism of hundreds of peasant girls who braved the fury of the Kuomintang, of the exemplary lives of the Communist leaders like Mao and Chou, and she decided to throw in her lot with them. She ran away from home, married a comrade and found marriage a failure, threw herself into party propaganda work, wrote and spoke, and with a price on her head was living a restricted life at the French Concession.

Anne Yeh-ting was a Christian (incidentally, most of these were Christians) the only daughter of a rich landlord at Canton in the south. Cantonese are proud of their provincialism, and there is a saying among them that what they think to-day the rest of China will think to-morrow. The Revolution had its birth at Canton. Comrade Anne was mighty proud of all this. Slim and short, she was dark, and certainly attractive. She spoke perfect English with a husky voice, was witty and friendly. She was interested in India and admired Gandhi, the only Indian they all knew, by name in China. Born in India she would have been a Gandhite. She was too young to be confirmed anything, much less a Marxist.

MISS HSIEH

Miss Hsieh was a totally different type of a girl. City-bred and orphaned while yet a child, she lived on her wits and was an adventuress. Her age none knew, as she tried to keep herself ever young, and even her name was an assumed one after one of China's immortal women poets. Short and plumb with a round, chubby face lit by two sparkling eyes, which were her greatest assets, she passed for a Communist and imposed herself and her sex (another of her assets) on this little colony of exiles. She herself was not an exile as she lived in the heart of the British Settlement, and was even suspected as a spy.

She was a much-married comrade, who believed in free love and who did not take either sex or marriage seriously. In fact she took nothing seriously. Her first husband was an American artist, who drank heavily and often beat her. She threw him overboard and lived with a Chinese official at Hangchow; bored stiff, she ran away with a young Communist and contacted "party" men and found them easy victims. She swore by Stalin and only listened to Moscow radio, but never bothered her little head whether Communism was an economic doctrine or a religious creed. Superficial and silly, she believed in having the best of life at others' expense. She was an adept at fawning on the rich and preferred their company as it meant limousine cars, club life, dance parties and the best seats in cinemas, all free; and withal she was a Communist! That's what she claimed to be! Goodness knows why. Her type is not such a rare phenomenon in India, and elsewhere.

MRS. KWEI

The Soochow-born Mrs. Kwei was not only the most beautiful, as most Soochow women are, but also definitely the most aristocratic looking. Born poor, she had a millionaire who married her on account of her beauty and family connections. She joined the Communist party to avenge the death of her brother who was one of Chiang-Kai-shek's victims in his rise to power. She had travelled in Europe and America, learnt to handle flying machines as easily as millionaires, and could even discuss metaphysics and philosophy with learned professors.

Mrs. Kwei was a bit of a writer too, one of her brothers was the well-known editor of *China Critic* She had visited India and knew, at first hand some of her problems. She was not much impressed by Gandhi or his political philosophy. She was a Communist by conviction and believed in the Sovietization of the whole of China. With the rest of the Communists she hated Chiang and all that he stood for. She gave her money freely for the "cause", and her millionaire husband was merely a tool in her hands. It was even whispered that she sent regularly enormous sums to

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Soviet China for the Red Army. She carried herself with great dignity and compelled attention wherever she went.

CHANG CHU-FEI THE ACTOR

The ever jovial, happy-go care-free Chang Chu-fei, the actor, in whose green room I met most of these Marxists, was a lovable person, free with his laughter as with his money, to whom Communism was the very breath of his being. He used the stage and theatre as powerful means of propaganda, and his admiration for the Soviet theatre was next only to his admiration for Stalin. He was a good organiser, for an artist, and put up powerful political plays, himself acting and directing them. In his zeal and enthusiasm for things he reminded me a little of Harin Chattopadhyaya, but he was a greater realist and a more practical artist than his Indian counterpart. He was a disciplinarian, a teetotaller and a non-smoker.

His home and theatre were the chief rendezvous for these exiles, and the one week I spent in their company was mostly as his guest and under his hospitable roof. For a Communist he was more liberal minded, and was willing to consider other points of view, accept other economic or social solutions for the ills of the world and be more tolerant of other political ideologies. He believed in Communism as the only and ultimate goal for humanity, but he believed, at the same time, in the time factor and evolutionary stages. He thought China and India in the East were ready for Communism, not because of any advanced industrialisation, but because of their extreme human misery and their philosophical background of the universality and the oneness of life. Chang, I thought, was a world-citizen first and everything else next.

STUDENT COMMUNISTS

I met several other young Communists as well, mostly of the student type, who, as everywhere else, were loud and incessant in their condemnation of everything and talked endlessly of party and plan, of *petit bourgeois* and proletariat, of peasant revolts and mass contacts, the usual slogans that one hears in such company. But they were all united in one thing, in fighting Japan and ending her aggression in their country, and next to Japan they hated most Chiang Kai-shek and his regime.

They were kind and good to me and spoke to me freely frankly, in spite of my unorthodox views and in spite of my not being a Marxist. I seemed to them more a Confucian or a Taoist than a modern. I did not sail under any false colours or worm my way into their hearts by pretending to be an intellectual. They knew that I did not believe in labels or leadership, in ideologies or creeds. I believed in human nature and its fundamental goodness, and to me the individual is the world and the individual problem is the world problem.

RED CROSS REMEDIES

I do not believe that Communism, no more than Socialism or any other "ism", will solve all our problems or will bring solace and satisfaction to suffering humanity. Human nature is too deep and subtle to be so easily disposed of by any regimented thought of man or utopian formulas. I am not ashamed to confess that I am old-fashioned enough to believe in a moral law of the universe, in the cyclic growth of life and in the ultimate perfection of humanity. In the meanwhile, any panacea that will heal the ills that humanity is heir to is welcome, and I submit that both Socialism and Communism are two such Red Cross remedies and not radical cures.

CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects and short stories are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for.

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 700 words.

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to the Editor, *The Indian Review*, G[illegible], Madras.

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THE MINORITIES: A GREAT DECISION

By Mr K. L. SHARMA

Director of Information Bureau, East Punjab

[The Constituent Assembly has adopted an article giving effect to the report of the Minorities Advisory Committee removing all reservations for minorities. The article lays down that "there shall be one general electoral roll for every territorial constituency for election to either House of Parliament or to the House or either House of the legislature of a State and no person shall be ineligible for inclusion in, or claim to be excluded from, any such roll on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or any of them." The article was passed without discussion—Ed. *I.R.*]

THE epoch-making decision taken by our Dominion Parliament to abolish in the Legislatures the system of reservation for minorities other than scheduled castes has been hailed as a great stroke of constructive statesmanship by all democratically minded persons and institutions in the country. Leaders of various minorities gave full and cordial support to Sardar Patel's motion on the floor of the house and thus swept aside the great misfortune of communalism. This clears the way to the establishment of a truly secular state. To the negligible number of dissentients Sardar Patel replied firmly. "Those who believe that there are two nations which have nothing in common and therefore must have a homeland where they can breathe freely, have got it. I don't blame them but I respectfully appeal to those who want to follow the same path here to go and enjoy the fruits of their freedom and leave us in peace. There is no place here for those who claim separate representation."

The virus of communalism injected in the body-politic of India by British imperialists about forty years back has been effectively antidoted. It was in 1909 that Mr. John (afterwards Lord) Morley, the Liberal Secretary of State for India called upon the then Viceroy Lord Minto to "rally the moderates" and secure the support of communal leaders. This injunction based on the Machiavellian dictum, "Divide et Empera," was really a counterblast to the growth of the Indian National movement. The Aga Khan was pressed into service for the purpose. An enlarged deputation met the Viceroy and put up demands for separate electorates with weightage in legislative bodies and public services This 'command performance' was very well boosted by the British Press and the anti-national demands were fully supported on the basis of difference in Hindu and Muslim cultures. Muslim culture was supposed to suffer unless given protection.

Protagonists of Indian Nationalism were thus confronted with a *fait accompli* and in their zeal for political unity adopted a policy of appeasement. Induced by the third party, leaders of other minorities joined hands with Muslims against the Indian National Congress. Sikhs and the so-called scheduled classes coined their own slogans and scrambled for special privileges. Round Table Conferences were held and the wily British Politicians further exploited the occasion by pronouncing the notorious "communal award" which was described as 'a characteristic piece of British villainy' by a very prominent Indian leader.

The logical conclusion of this award was bound to result in a permanent cleavage between the two major communities. This was just a fore-runner of the two-nation theory. It would be needless to repeat the tale of sorrow caused in the travail of partition. Indian nationalists had no choice but to accept the inevitable and pay a heavy price for freedom.

After the achievement of freedom communalism which had played such a havoc had to be stamped out. Pandit Nehru speaking on Sardar Patel's motion said, "Doing away with reservation is not only a good thing in itself, good for all concerned and more especially for the

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minorities, but psychologically a very good move for the nation and for the world. It shows that we are really sincere about having secular democracy."

The Constituent Assembly's decision makes provision for separate representation for scheduled castes including certain backward classes of the Sikhs for a period of ten years only. This exception is based on economic and social backwardness and not on religious differences. In fact it is a social reform in absolute accord with Mahatma Gandhi's life-time objective.

Coming to our own border-province, it was feared in certain quarters that this decision might lead to some estrangement between the Hindus and the Sikhs. It is, however, most gratifyiug to say that the leaders of both the communities have hailed the decision as a stroke of statesmanship and true democracy. I have no doubt that with the abolition of this reactionary reservation, the country would rise to great heights and take its rightful place in the comity of nations. In the light of this decision of our Constituent Assembly it is incumbent on every son of the soil to re-write the history of the land and revive its old lost glory, greatness and grandeur in the fields of culture and politics.

Out of the funeral pyre of communalism is born the baby of Nationalism. Let us strive every nerve to rear up this tender baby into a strong and healthy youth.

We may be Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians or scheduled castes by faith, but as a nation we must be Indians first and last.

SUN TREATMENT FOR THE EYES

BY DR. R. S. AGARWAL

Dr. Agarwal's Eye Institute, Delhi.

THE sun is a wonderful help in relieving all sorts of discomforts of the eyes, and is regarded as the god of the eyes according to the Hindu culture. The benefit of the sun rays can be experienced within a few minutes by most of the eye patients suffering from defective vision or inflammation. By facing the sun in a proper manner the eyes become bright, shining, healthy and attractive. The vitality of the eye is greatly increased.

The health of the eye is based on light as the health of the lung is based on air. The eye is the creation of light, living beings which usually live underground like earthworms, have no organ of vision, even animals which possess eyes lose their vision if they are confined for a sufficiently long time in darkness. Fishes living in dark caves become blind; miners generally suffer from defective eyesight and other inflammatory eye troubles. In the houses where the light is poor many children acquire a dislike for the sunlight. Some of them keep their eyes covered with their hands, or bury their faces in a pillow and do all they possibly can to avoid the exposure of their eyes to ordinary light. Putting these children in a dark room is a blunder. All such children are quickly benefited by exposing the eyes closed to direct sunlight for a few minutes every day.

Although the sunlight is very useful to the eyes, still the medical profession and the lay public remain in fear of strong lights. Extraordinary precautions are taken in houses and outside by means of umbrellas, hats, dark glasses, eyeshades and bandages. If actually some diseases are present, it is no uncommon thing for patients to be kept for weeks, months and years in dark rooms, or with bandage over their eyes.

About this universal fear Dr. J. Herbert Parsons of the Royal Opthalmic Hospital of London, addressing a meeting, said that eye specialists, if [illegible] re honest with themselves, must co[illegible] lamentable ignorance of the co[illegible] ender bright light

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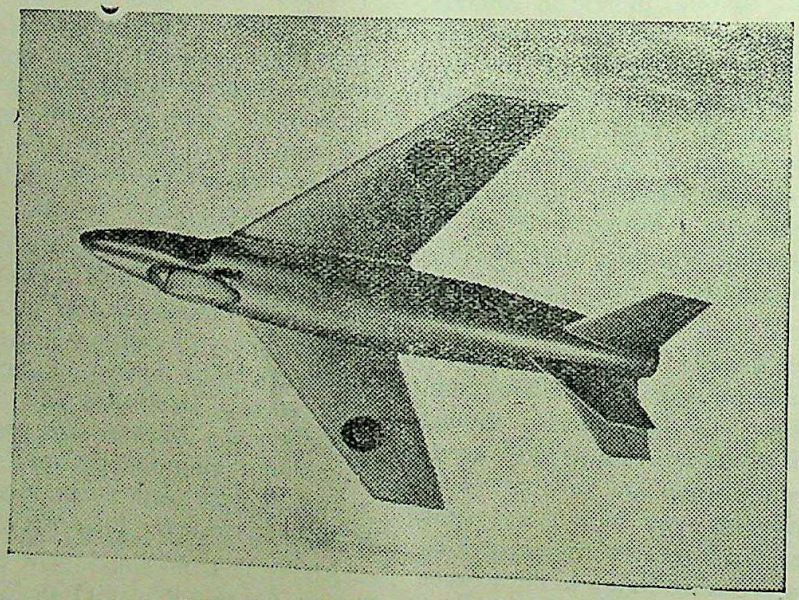
deleterious to the eyes. It cannot be denied, of course, that brilliant source of light sometimes produce unpleasant temporary symptoms regarding permanent impairment of vision, the loss of vision is due to staring at the sun especially when the sun is hot, and most of the patients can improve considerably by relaxation methods.

Anyone who doubts the efficacy of the sun rays, may just devote the following experiment for a few minutes. Take a book and note the clearness of the letters. Now face the sun with eyes closed for about five minutes if the sun is hot, and for about a minute or two with open eyes if there is morning sun which is not hot. In open eye sun treatment one should frequenly open and close the eyes. To obtain better results apply Resolvent 200 in the eyes with a glass rod just before sun treatment. Wash the eyes with cold water after facing the sun and come to the shade. Then close the eyes and cover them with the palms of the hands avoiding any pressure on the eyeballs for two or three minutes. This is to shut the light and bring relaxation. Now look at the book print and observe that the letters have become clearer and darker than before; there is clearness on other objects; the eyes feel a sense of health and vigor. If you feel strain of discomfort in reading, have a copy of reading test type or a specimen of fine print or photographic type reduction and see the miracle. Read this fine type daily after facing the morning sun and you will be soon cured of your complaints. Of course, for serious defects an expert advice is necessary.

SUN TREATMENT FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

Hold the child in such a way that the rays of the sun fall on the eyes; and move the child continuously in slow, short easy curves, instead of throwing the child rapidly, irregularly and intermittently from side to side. The treatment may be given for about five minutes. This is very useful in trachome, conjuntivities and other discomforts of the child's eyes.



NEW SUPERSONIC JET FIGHTER

The Supermarine 510, swept back wing jet fighter, a development of the [illegible] ker," is the latest of the Vickers-Armstrong aircraft announced in [illegible] is powered by a Rolls Royce engine, but further details are [illegible] on the secret list. It is stated that it will be used [illegible] problems beyond the speed of sound.

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CHARTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS

THE UNITED NATIONS' DECLARATION

—:o:—

[India has been invited to participate in the UNESCO Exhibition on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to be held in Paris in September, says a Press Note issued by the Ministry of Education. The India Government, the Press Note says, will bring out, with the help of documents, charts, inscriptions and other archæological evidences, the contribution of Indian philosophy and culture to the development of human rights. The following is the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was adopted in December 1948 by the Assembly of the United Nations.—ED. *I.R.*]

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world:

Whereas, disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people;

Whereas, it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of the law;

Whereas, it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations;

Whereas, the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women, and determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom;

Whereas, Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Whereas, a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realisation of this pledge;

Now, therefore,

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

ARTICLE 2

Everyone i[illegible] to all the rights and freedoms [illegible] in this Declaration, without [illegible] kind, such as race, [illegible] relations [illegible]age, religion, political

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or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional, or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be an independent trust, or non-self-governing territory or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

ARTICLE 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

ARTICLE 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave shall be prohibited in all their forms.

ARTICLE 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the Constitution or by law.

ARTICLE 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or [illegible]

ARTICLE [illegible]

Everyone is entitled [illegible] to a fair and public hearing [illegible] ent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

ARTICLE 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

ARTICLE 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his private, family, home, or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

ARTICLE 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principle of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

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ARTICLE 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality, or religion have the right to marry and to found a family They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage, and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group units of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

ARTICLE 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

ARTICLE 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religions ; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance.

ARTICLE 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression ; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

ARTICLE 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3 The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of Government ; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

ARTICLE 22

Everyone as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to the realisation, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social, and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of this personality.

ARTICLE 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work, and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration, insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself [illegible] his family, including food, clothing, [illegible] and medical care and necess[illegible] [illegible]ices, and the right to sec[illegible] [illegible] of unemployment, sickn[illegible] widowhood, old age, or

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other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available, and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, it shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

ARTICLE 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community to enjoy the arts, and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary, or artistic production of which he is the author.

ARTICLE 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration can be fully realised.

ARTICLE 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the personality is possible development of his personality.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public orders, and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group, or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

HUMAN RIGHTS COVENANT

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights has concluded its six-week deliberations after adopting its report which was voted nine in favour and none against, with Soviet Russia and the Ukraine abstaining, cables D. P. Wagle, PTI Correspondent at the UN Headquarters.

Its work was mainly concerned with the drafting of the Covenant of Human Rights which is part of the Commission's task of formulating the International Bill of Rights.

The first part of the Bill, the universal declaration of Human Rights, was adopted by the General Assembly in December last year, while the second part, the Covenant, is a Charter of Rights intended to be legally binding on all contracting States.

The Draft Covenant will now be referred to the various Governments for their comment and work on it will be resumed by the Commission at its next session.

HIS TURN

Teacher: "What have you been doing to this little boy, Frank?"

Frank: "It really wasn't my fault, sir; he gave my fist an aweful wallop with his nose."

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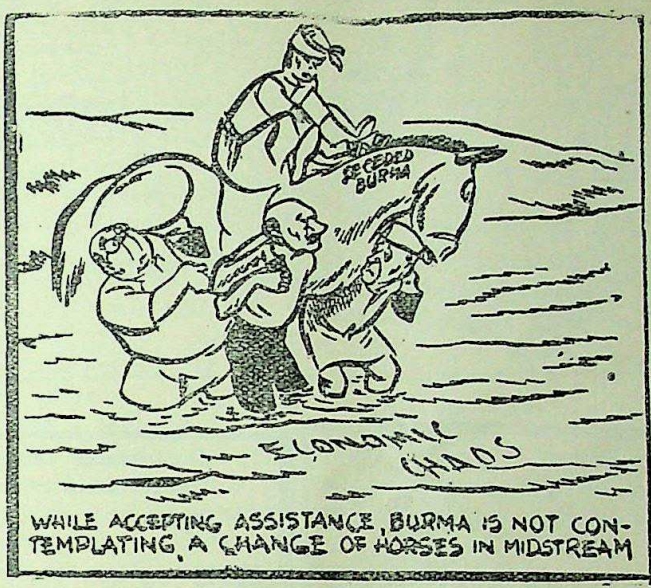
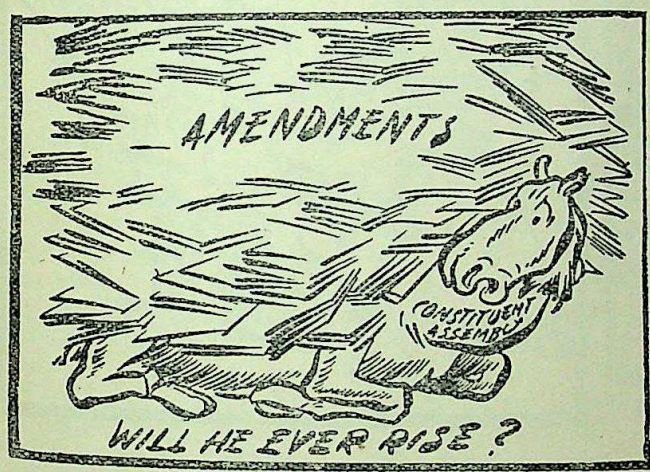
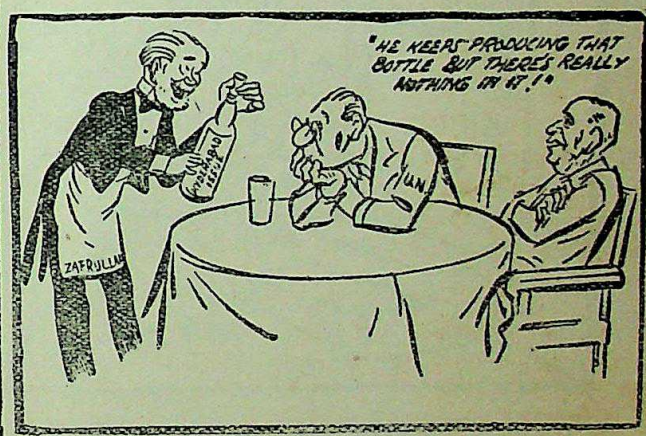
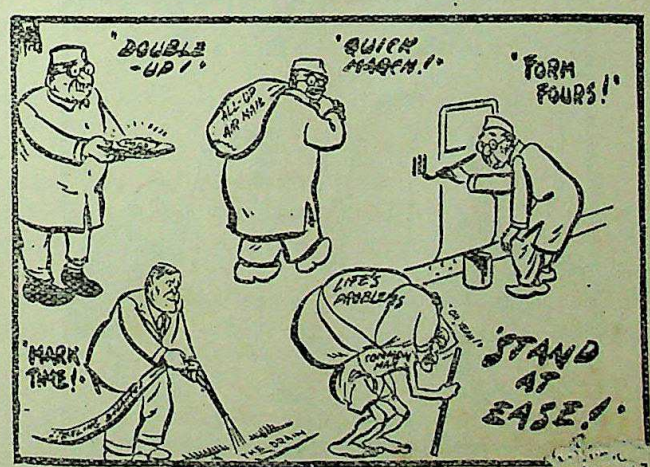
TOPICAL CARTOONS



WHILE ACCEPTING ASSISTANCE, BURMA IS NOT CONTEMPLATING A CHANGE OF HORSES IN MIDSTREAM







CIVILIAN TRAINEES

A scheme for imparting military training to [illegible] of Delhi was inaugurated by General [illegible] Soviet [illegible] relations.

The Hindustan Times.

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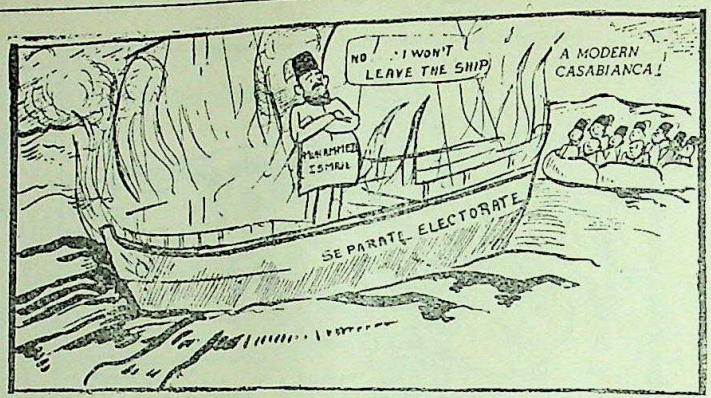

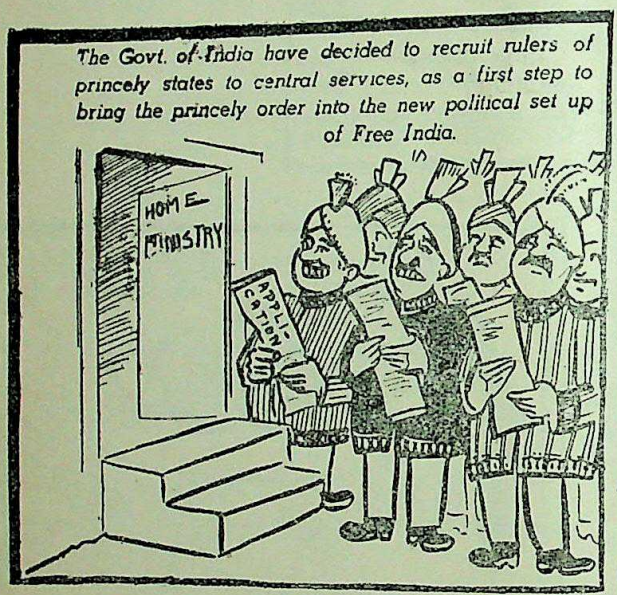

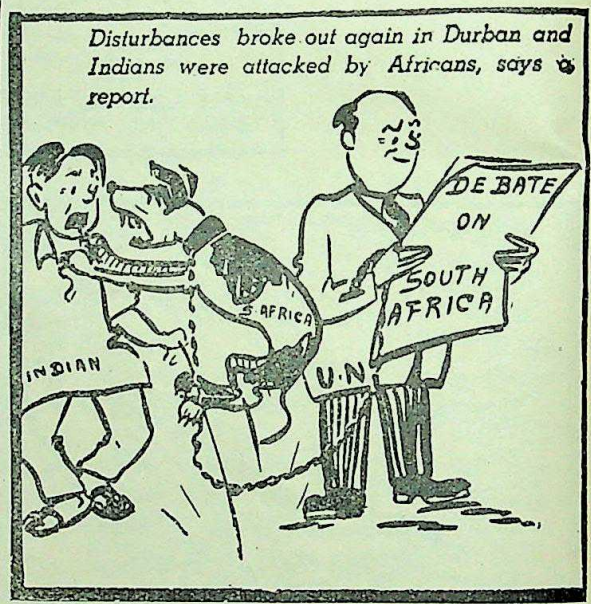

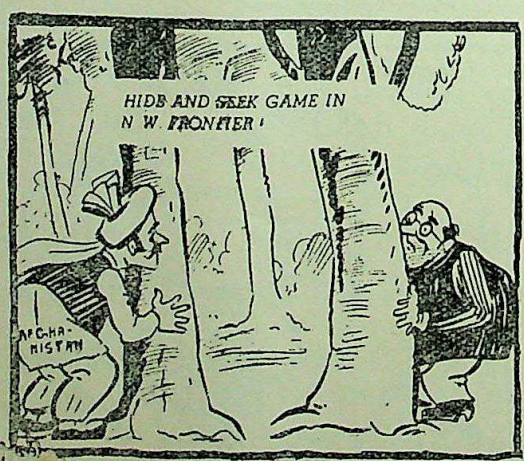

Courtesy : *Free India.*

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

East and West

MR. TRYGVE Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, speaking at Lake Success the other day, put his finger unerringly on the most significant phenomenon of these times—the resurgence of Asia and Africa. Europe has so long dominated the peoples of the world that it is difficult for her statesmen to realise that a new power is being fashioned before their very eyes. Britain has quit India and the Dutch are leaving Indonesia. French and Portuguese pockets in India are tottering to their fall. Indo China is in turmoil. American and British interests in China and the Far East are slipping. The days of Colonisation and Empire are fast coming to an end. This is a remarkable feature of our times which found eloquent proof in the defeat of the compromise plan on Italian Colonies in the U.N.O. by the combined votes of Asia and Africa. Be it remembered that the Trusteeship plan was sponsored by the entire Western bloc and the U.S.A. But it was smashed. The lesson is plain and the so-called coloured races are not going to allow white supremacy anywhere in their part of the globe. Statesmen with vision should not overlook this prospect; and it is up to them to face the situation with a sense of realism and react to it with candour and wisdom.

General Smuts the philosopher-statesman who seems to be still living in the second decade of this century discovers in this resurgent nationalism a "sense of menace". He bewails the sack of Europe which for a hundred years has led the dark Continent with men and capital and energy. Shocked at this rising spectre he says "you have got to stand up to it."

> Be strong, be courageous, be firm. The torper must be shaken off. Things are on the move; very sinister things. There are tremendous movements which seem to threaten to sweep over people and submerge them.

This kind of hectoring talk is no good. It will only provoke a dire contest with the obvious result. The minority of hot headed imperialists will be swept away by the teaming masses though for the moment they may seem to be in possession of the field. Power is imperceptibly passing into other hands.

It is to avoid a bloody conflict in the future and to canalise the struggle along peaceful and civilised lines that Mr. Attlee, the British Premier took courage in both hands and called on his countrymen to quit India gracefully. We have no doubt he would counsel the same course to others in possession of foreign territory. Just as Campbell Bannerman by a single act of magnanimity rallied the erstwhile enemies of England in South Africa to the British Empire, so has Mr. Attlee won India and Pakistan and Ceylon to the Commonwealth by conceding to them their natural and legitimate right to independence. That way lies wisdom and statesmanship and the pattern for ordered progress in the future.

Pak-Afghan Relations

There is no doubt that relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are worsening. It must have been easy for both to adjust their differences at a common table but wordy fireworks on either side tend to widen the rift. Fancy a responsible member of the Pak Embassy in U.S.A. calling the Afghan claim impertinent! That is not the way that opposing views are settled in peace and amity. Such exchange of hot words, followed by indiscreet or irresponsible actions of a few has always led to the inevitable. We have the same old story of the beginning of hostilities, unless checked in time. Already there are conflicting reports of an air raid by Pakistan on Afghan territory. A Kabul report claims that 15 were killed by bombs dropped by a Pakistan aircraft on Afghan territory.

On the other hand, a Pakistan Government *communique* says that their aircraft, which was on a reconnaissance flight over North Waziristan territory was fired at and damaged.

Both parties have now approached Britain and the U. N. for mediation. Not only Pak[illegible] and Afghanistan but India and the [illegible] astern world will be involved [illegible] untoward should happen [illegible] of Asia.

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The Congress and the Calcutta By-Election

That Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Socialist Republican Party should have scored against the Congress candidate in the recent election to W. Bengal Assembly cannot be dismissed altogether as an election freak. For it must be admitted that in spite of strenuous propaganda in press and platform, supported by the stalwarts of the Congress and the Government, the victor polled more than three times the number of votes cast for the Congress. Nor could the whole affair be attributed to goondaism, though the heterogenous elements that made the opposition to the Congress resorted to every kind of violence and intimidation. Yet the fact remains that Congress has suffered a stunning defeat.

The causes of such a defeat are not far to seek. In the first place it is easy for critics to find fault with the party in power for acts of omission and commission. And then to pit any one in opposition to Sarat Chandra Bose in an area which might well be the pocket borough of the Bose brothers with the Netaji tradition, is not a soft job. Nor can Congress ignore the very widespread dissatisfaction that is growing apace against Congress Government in general and the growing evils of curruption against which Congress leaders themselves are waging a relentless crusade in vain. The triumph of Bose is a timely warning. For it must be admitted that the purification of public life still remains an unfulfilled programme

and if the Congress in India is not to go the way of the Kuomintang in China through individual and collective folly, Congressmen must set themselves at once to work for redemption.

It is true that one swallow does not make a summer but the writing on the wall is plain. There is no gainsaying that some of the acts done and policies pursued by certain Provincial Governments give evidence of a greater faith in their legislative majorities than in public opinion as voiced through the accepted channels.

There is also a growing feeling among Congress leaders now in Delhi that Congressmen are to be found more in the Central and Provincial capitals than among the masses in the rural areas which are thus completely free from serious [illegible] by the extremist groups with real or imaginary grievances. It behoves the top leaders of the Congress to check this tendency in good time before they go to the country under the new constitution.

Nor can the public be indifferent to the results of their action in choosing their representatives. For at the moment there is no party so wedded to the principles of peace and progress and of such proved ability in steering the country clear of shoals and rocks as the Party in power. The danger of the success of the new revolutionary Party, associated as it was with certain rowdy elements, is that it will give cause for more active disruptionist tendencies by other minorities and the aggressive Communists, which must be guarded against if India is to progress peacefully.

The Karachi Deadlock

Kashmir is not the only issue on which India and Pakistan could not see eye to eye. It is a pity that the will to agree is lacking and without it any number of conferences will be of no avail. The stand which India took in regard to the question of evacuee property during the inconclusive Inter-Dominion Conference at Karachi was outlined by Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, leader of the Indian delegation, at a Press Conference in New Delhi.

'I would describe the ending of the Conference' said Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, "as an indication that for the time being we have not been able to reach an agreement". The net result of the conversation on the major point was that Pakistan was not in a position to say whether we would have a government to government settlement about the sale and exchange of urban immovable and rural agricultural property of the evacuees.

The settlement of this problem is even more urgent and imperative than the Kashmir issue. 2000 crores of Indian money are involved and with it the life and welfare of lakhs of Indian refugees. Delay in settlement would mean despair and destitution for thousands who are in no way responsible for their miserable plight. It is the moral duty of the State to set them in their feet and rescue them from a position forced upon them by the Partition which is none of their doing.

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The unification of India

The process of merger or integration of States is expected to be completed by the end of August. The States of Travancore and Cochin have been integrated into a single union with a common executive, legislature and judiciary from July 1. Rampur was taken over on the same day as a Centrally-administered area. Tehri-Garhwal will be integrated in the U.P. on August 1. The State of Banaras is similarly expected to be integrated in the U.P. Of the others Manipur has already a Dewan appointed in consultation with the Government of India, and the remaining two States of Tripura and Cooch-Behar are to be dealt with by the end of August. There are to be no more unions of States.

United State of Travancore & Cochin

On May 27 the Maharaja of Travancore signed the Covenant with the State department and the Cochin Maharaja did the same the next day. The integration of the States, financial and administrative, is now complete on June 27, exactly a month later, the United State of Travancore and Cochin was inaugurated at a historic ceremony in Trivandrum when H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore was sworn in as Rajpramukh, who, in turn swore in the Premier, Mr. T. K. Narayana Pillai, and six other Ministers of the United State.

"A great adventure" said H. E. the Governor-General Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, in a message to the Rajpramukh, and hoped that the new Government and the people of South Kerala would rise above local jealousies and suspicions and work unitedly for the good of both parts of the union.

There were also messages from the Prime Minister and Sardar Patel wishing success to the integrated State.

The formal ceremony of integration took place at the Council Chamber at Trivandrum on July 1. The United State of Travancore and Cochin comprises an area of 9,154 sq. miles with a population 75 lakhs and an annual income of 13.39 crores—decidedly a viable unit with sufficient resources to maintain the status and dignity of an autonomous province in the Union.

Britain and China

China continues to give a headache to the so called big powers. The Soviet looks with unfeigned satisfaction on the Communist victory; while Britain and U. S. A. who so long championed the Nationalist cause seem resigned to the inevitable. They are realists and are not likely to support a losing cause. The triumph of the Red army has given a new turn to their attitude to the Chinese question.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Bevin, told the Labour Party's annual conference at Blackpool the other day, that Britain would be ready to deal with whatever party gained supremacy in China "if they will still let us. We are not approaching this problem on any Communist, anti-Communist, Kuomintang or any other basis," he said. "We have never intervened in Chinese internal affairs. The Chinese must settle their own problem—but I say that it would be unwise for whoever gains supremacy to ostracize their friends all over the world and so injure themselves," he added.

Britain, true to her historic vocation is interested in her trade with China and her political ideology will be duly subordinated to that role. So the foreign Minister goes on to say that the Chinese are a great people who had a great contribution still to make to the world!

Red Constitution for China

A Committee of 21 Chinese leaders, headed by Communist leader Mao Tse-tung, has started drafting a common programme and planning the government of the "Peoples Democratic Republic" of China.

The Committee was elected by a preparatory committee which was set up in Peiping on June 15. In a speech to the preparatory committee Mao Tse-tung said that they were willing to negotiate the establishment of diplomatic relations with any foreign Government provided it severed all relations with Chinese reactionaries.

Mao, however, made it plain in his latest speech that China would alien herself with the Soviet in the field of international relations.

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Sikkim

Sikkim is a small state at the foot of the Himalayas surrounded on all sides by the Districts of the Indian Union. It has an area of 2818 square miles with a population of just over a lakh and an annual revenue of some four lakhs. As the result of a conflict between the State Congress and the Maharaja, the administration has been none too happy. The perpetual conflict threatened to create complete anarchy in the State. Local disturbances were threatened by the supporters of the Ministry but the Maharaja found himself powerless to check them. He made an appeal to the Government of India for assistance. The Government of India sent Dr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, to visit the State and study the situation on the spot. He did so and, on his recommendation, the Government sent a company of troops to Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim. Later, the Government of India appointed Mr. Harish Dayal, I.C.S. as Administrator of the State.

"The Government of India have been constrained to take this step", says an official statement, "in the interests of law and order. It is their sincere hope that the present emergency arrangements may be terminated in the near future, so that political evolution in Sikkim may take an even and peaceful course."

Individual's Right to Direct Petition

There was keen debate in the Human Rights Commission to the proposal to give individuals throughout the world the right to invoke the convention on human rights by direct petition.

India, Australia, France, Denmark, Guatemala and the Lebanon were the countries favouring "immediate recognition" of such right. The representatives of the U.S.S.R. and Ukraine insisted that this right should "under no circumstances" be given to individuals.

Mr. Mehta (India) said:

It will frustrate the hopes of millions if the United Nations denied to individuals the right to invoke the Covenant.

The Covenant would remain weak and incomplete by denial of this right. A justice principle cannot be denied merely because it is calculated to involve material difficulties.

Chandernagore

Chandernagore, which for 250 years has been a French possession, has decided by an overwhelming majority in the recent Referendum, to merge with the Indian Union. This must have been very clear, without a second plebiscite, as the Municipal Council which had earlier been elected on the same franchise had definitely given the verdict to opt out of France. But the local French authorities made such a fuss over a simple situation, and the Home Government, without even the courtesy of consultation with India, called the observers from the U.N. to watch the proceedings. And now that France and India have agreed on fundamentals and the Referendum has unequivocally shown the way, we hope it will be a pointer to the other French pockets in India and also to the French authorities. It is surprising that France, with her traditions of liberty and democracy should put obstacles in the way of French Indians wishing to merge themselves with their countrymen. What will France think of a Marseilles or Bordeux in the hands of England or Germany? All right-thinking Frenchmen will agree that it is the indefeasible birth-right of the people of the French possessions in India to remain with the mainland with which they are "historically, geographically and ethnologically connected." No fuss of a referendum is needed in such cases. It is for France like England, to sit together with India and decide how soon this merger could be brought about in unity and goodwill, so that her future relations with India will be in accord with her past traditions,

Freedom of thought and Religion

The Commission on Human Right which met last month at Lake Success debated the right of an individual "to change his belief" when it discussed a draft covenant article on religious freedom. The following text was adopted:

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others, to manifest his religion in teaching, practice and observance.

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Indonesia

Dutch troops have been evacuated from the Republican capital in accordance with the agreement with Indonesian representatives at Batavia last month. Dr. Van Royen, who headed the Dutch Delegation, had stated that the evacuation of Dutch troops from Jogjakarta would be completed in a week and the Republican Government would be able to return on July 1 to their capital, from which they were dislodged by the Dutch blitz of December last. As we go to press this has been done. The Dutch have agreed to the early restoration of the Republican Government at Jogjakarta and a time-table of further action which would lead to the complete transfer of power to a free United States of Indonesia by January 1, 1950. The implementalion of the terms of the Batavian Settlement marks the beginning of a bright chapter in Indonesian history. If the terms of the agreement are implemented in all sincerity the U. N. Commission will have achieved a great success in ensuring peace and tranquillity in that part of the world. The issue of that great work will be watched with interest and concern by the rest of the world. For success in Indonesia will be a harbinger of success in other parts of the world which look to the United Nations for guidance and help in the cause of international peace and goodwill.

Taxing the Press

It is a pity that the very reasonable demand contained in the resolution passed by the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society calling upon provincial Governments to desist from imposing a sales tax on newspapers or a tax on newspaper advertisements should have provoked a bitter controversy, in which the parties have descended to threats of cheap reprisals. Press and Government cannot afford to indulge in mutual recriminations. For ultimately it is the public that suffers. Both the Governments of Bombay and Madras have decided to go ahead with their taxation Bills, in total disregard of the spokesmen of the press and the public. This is not a good augury for the proper relations that should subsist between the press and the Government especially when their co-operation in stabilising order and progress is most imperative in the peculiar situation we find ourselves in after independence. It is a truism that a tax on advertisement is a tax on knowledge, and there are small papers whose very existence will be jeopardised by this unwanted tax. Apart from this the Madras Bill provides for search of newspaper offices which is a potential threat to the liberties of the press. What the Government hopes to gain by taxing advertisements in newspapers is not clear as even the estimated yield is not much, while the hardship to the small newspapers is very real. We hope, in view of the very widespread condemnation of the measures. the appeal to the Central Government and its reported advice to the Provinces to drop the taxes will yet have some effect. For to make enemies of the Press which, all told, has always been friendly and helpful to the Government is not a wise policy.

The Blackpool Conference

The annual conference of the British Labour Party at Balckpool, declared against any wage increase at present. That any Government should have been able to obtain such a verdict from Labour Members is an illuminating commentary on the spirit of the working classes in England. The willing acceptance by the workers of such a decision is proof of the self denying ordinance to which British Labour could submit itself when it chose. Sir Stafford Cripps secured overwhelming support for his financial policy which, while slightly raising food prices, ruled out any corresponding relief to the workers. In setting a ceiling to food subsidies in the British budget Sir Stafford had maintained that very little economy in other directions was possible. Commenting on this the *Hindustan Times* points out that once the Government had gone in for a programme of national welfare, of which the State medical service is the latest though, perhaps, not the last instance, there could be no going back on it, as all political parties have come to realize.

A young woman looking over a flat was unable to decide whether her husband would like it.

"I shouldn't let that worry you", said the agent. "Remember it's much easier to get a new husband these days than a new flat.

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

UNIVERSITY ADDRESSES. By C. Rajagopalachari, Hind Kitabs, Ld., Bombay.

There are fourteen addresses in all delivered at various University centres on different occasions spread over a period of twelve years. C. R.'s Convocation Addresses are not exactly the usual stuff doled out to students on leaving the university by high placed officials preaching the same old common places in the same old way. There is an unmistakable individuality in his utterances which comes home to the "business and bosom" of the listener with the vividness of a personal appeal. There is profound wisdom coupled with homely wit in his talks to the young. One of the elect among the disciples of Gandhi he preaches the Gospel with first hand knowledge and conviction, but he is no hot gospeller. His native wit and practical wisdom have free play in these discourses. In one of his speeches he quotes Kipling and in another a famous passage from the Upanishads. They are equally telling and apt to the occasion. Above all, the cheerful and robust spirit of optimism underlying the addresses has something wholesome not only to the aspiring student but to the man of affairs. Indeed C. R. in the company of students seems thrilled with the ardour of youth. And there is a tenderness and nostalgia in his utterance which recall the moving words of Sainte Beauve, "Gentlemen" said the French critic and man of letters in his inaugural lecture in the Ecole Normale.

> I have written a good deal in the last thirty years; that is, I have scattered myself about a good deal; so that I need to gather myself together, in order that my words may come before you with all the more. freedom and confidence.

That is his opening and he ends;

> As time goes on, you will make me believe that I can for my part be of some good to you: and with the generosity of your age you will repay me, in this feeling alone, far more than I shall be able to give you in intellectual direction or in literary insight. If in one sense I bestow on you some of my experience, you will requite me, and in a more profitable manner, by the sight of your ardour for what is noble: you will accustom me to turn oftener and more willingly towards the future in your company. You will teach me again to hope.

IN MAN'S OWN IMAGE. By Ellen Roy and Sibnarayan Ray. Renaissance Publishers, 15, Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta. 12. Price Rs. 5/8.

This remarkably well argued book is intended as an introduction to the New Humanism which has become the philosophical basis of the Radical Democratic Party of India. The Communism of Soviet Russia has proved defective, if not disastrous by its interference with individual liberty. At the same time the old comfortable faith in a Providence and a lazy compromise with what look like unalterable facts must be given up. This book presents a reasonable and convincing case, chiefly by emphasising the need to respect the individual as against the inroads of the State. A philosophical revolution is sought to be brought about, and the essentials for this are several: "a romantic confidence in man's creative ability, democratic aliveness to personal responsibility, scientific mentality of coherent thinking, critical approach and openness to experience, moral acceptance of personal happiness and growth as the criterion of good and of consistency between knowledge and conduct as essential to that growth, and finally a rational recognition of the need of a free moral society to secure a happy moral life for the individual himself."

The authors, desire that a widespread democratic education should be brought about which will prevent the concentration of power in a few and counteract unscrupulous demogogues. It should also reduce the present inequality between man and man.

This is a book to be read by all intelligent people, so that they may understand clearly the freedom movement of the human race, through the vicissitudes of many centuries, so that they may realise their obvious duty in the future.

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HANDBOOK OF INDO-AUSTRALIAN TRADE. The Bureau of Economic Research, Kanpur compiled by E. V. S. Maniam, M.A., D. Econ., and M. L. Gupta, M.A., B. Com., With a Foreword by Sir Padampat Singhania, Kanpur. Rs. 3.

A Trade Delegation from Australia visited India in the latter part of 1946 with the purpose of promoting Indo-Australian Trade Relations, and the information collected by the Delegation provides a complete contrast to the meagre achivements of the Indian Delegation to Australia. The information given in this booklet is just a modest beginning and should be as recommended in the preface made an annual feature. The first chapter on Australia and the succeeding chapters on its trade, tariffs and their progress in recent years followed by a tabular illustration of the trade position and statistics of Australian production and trade are very informative. Australia has been making its friendly approaches to its Asiatic neighbours and India as the most important Asiatic power owes a duty of reciprocation. In this post-war era Australia and India should necessarily draw closer together and the Australian offtake of Indian commodities like linseed, shellac and mica should naturally grow. Australia should modify her tariff policy with regard to Indian goods.

MIMAMSA-PARIBHASA: Of Krishna Yagnan translated into English by Swami Madhananda, Ramakrishna Mutt, Belur. Rs. 2.

The volume under review gives us the text, translation and notes of one of the basic and the smallest work on the "Mimamsa system called Mimamsa Paribhasa". The text book sets forth some of the slient ritualistic principles of the school culled from Jaimini's original work. The translation is first of its kind. The learned Swamiji has brought to bear his great learning of Vedanta and Nyaya in the translation. With the growth of the interest in the study of Indian Philosophy we need books and excellent translations like the one under review.

OUR FARMER. B. S. Mavinkurve. Vora & Co., Publishers, Bombay.

'Our Famer' by Mavinkurve is an excellent brochure, intended to acquaint the layman with the conditions of Indian Farming. Written in a simple and forceful style, with striking illustrations of rural habits and activities, the book is sure to serve well its purpose of laying bare before us the fundamental cause for the backwardness of the Indian Ryot. Like Minoo Masani's 'Our India,' it will be of invaluable help to the reader in forming a realistic picture of India's village economy which suffers from very many drawbacks.

BOOKS RECEIVED

LABOUR COURTS IN LATIN AMERICA. International Labour Office, Geneva.

HOURS OF WORK IN COAL MINES. International Labour Office, Geneva.

THE TEACHING OF CIVICS. By Prof. L. B. Hardlikar, Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay.

WOMEN, MARRIAGE AND MORALS. By Sahid Pravin, Record Publishing Company, Calcutta.

THE THREE PILLARS OF STATE. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Delhi.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

June 1. Bhopal State taken over as Chief Commissioner's Province of the Indian Union.

June 2. New Food Minister for Madras, J. L. P. Roche-Victoria, assumes charge.

June 3. India protests to France against unilateral action in asking the International Court to designate observers at the ensuing plebiscite in French Settlement.

June 4. French Government announces procedure regarding Chandernagore Referendum.

June 5. West Punjab League Council demands recall of Governor Mudie and withdrawal from Commonwealth.

—Goans in Congress demand integration with India.

June 6. India and Pakistan reject UNCIP'S Truce terms.

June 7. India Government take over Sikkim.

—Labour Party Conference at Blackpool.

June 8. Delhi announces details of Kerala States Union.

June 9. New French plan for Referendum observers.

—Dum Dum jail riot.

June 10. Cochin to be a major Naval base.

—Soviet suggests Peace Treaty for Germany.

June 11. Dr. Lozano of the U. N. Kashmir Commission discusses new plan with Sir G. S. Bajpai in Delhi.

—Burma troops rushed to Assam border to deal with Red insurgents.

June 12. Indian Association for one world Govt. formed at New Delhi.

June 13. Pak planes bomb Afghan area.

—Sanker Rao Deo in Madras to enquire into charges against Ministers.

Jan 14. Sarat Chandra Bose elected to Bengal Assembly.

—Bao Dai, ex-Emperor of Annam formally installed as head of the new State of Viet-Nam.

Jan 15. U. N. Press Commission adopts resolution for development of news agencies.

Jan. 16. Kashmir members take their seat in the Constituent Assembly.

—Constituent Assembly adjourns.

June 17. Mr. N. R. Sarkar to act for Dr. B. C. Roy as Premier of W. Bengal during latter's two month's absence in Switzerland.

June 18. Chandernagore goes to polls: Heavy polling in favour of union with India.

—New U. N. observers arrive in Kashmir.

June 19. Rao Committee report on States' constitution published.

June 20. The Big Four Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris reach agreement on Austrian Peace treaty.

—Yuvaraja Karan Singh of Kashmir is installed as ruler in the absence of the Maharaja.

June 21. British Ship bombed off Woo Sung.

—Gandhi murder case appeal confirms sentences.

June 22. Agreement on Indonesia—Dutch troops to leave Jogjakarta.

June 23. Govt. ban closure of major industries.

—Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and others sentenced.

June 24. Delhi protests to Ceylon against move to oust our nationals.

—Madras Entertainment tax Bill passed into law.

June 25. Afghans seek British help in dispute with the Pakistan.

June 26. Karachi talks on Evacuee properties end in deadlock.

June 27. Mysore ruler signs supplementary instrument surrendering legislative authority to the Centre.

June 28. Sardar H. S. Malik appointed India's Ambassador in Paris.

—Dr. P. C. Pillai appointed head of the Indian Liaison Mission in Tokyo.

June 29. 19-Nation talks at Paris over the Dollar crisis. Sir Stafford Cripps addresses Ministers of Marshall Aid countries.

June 30. Dr. John Matthai, India's Finance Minister leaves for London to attend the Finance Ministers' Conference of Commonwealth Governments.

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

THE WAY TO PEACE

Mr. Horace Alexander, the well-known Pacifist, writing in the *Aryan Path* observes that the true man of peace is the man who has rooted out of his heart all fear, even the fear of death, all self-love, all anger and hatred and bitterness and jealousy, all the subtle forms that love of power takes, all pride and complacency. Those who are afraid of the power of Moscow or of the Anglo-American bloc, all those who hate Capitalists or Communists or Muslims or Sikhs or Hindus or Christians, all who fear that truth may be destroyed, all who live in fear lest they and their families become destitute, all these (and are we not all in one or other of these categories ?) still have some of the seeds of war in their hearts.

The true peacemakers, the true *satyagrahis*, according to the writer, are those who spend their lives, and who devise means by which others may spend their lives, in loving service to other men: not in self-righteousness, hardly even in pity for suffering, but in pure love for their fellow-men, if possible even in pure love for their enemies. They must learn what it is to be loyal, first and foremost, to all mankind, seeing in all men, whatever the colour of their skin, whatever their crimes of exploitation or of narrow selfishness, members of one brotherhood, children of one spirit. Such is the way of peace for mankind. Such is the way of life that those who hope to meet in India next winter will strive to foster. It provides the only sure foundation for peace. The development of this spirit will help those who are striving to create a superstructure of world Government.

ASIATIC COMMUNISM

Rich in human dignity but poor in technical skill the Orient can be won but not conquered, observes Robert Payna, an American authority on Asian affairs in a striking article in the *U. N. World* entitled "The Greatest Revolution in World's History." Concluding his survey the writer says "we are confronted with Asiatic Communism, which may and probably will follow a path opposed to Russian Communism simply because the problems that face Russia are so often dissimilar to the problems that face Asia. If Communism emerges in Asia, it will be as a result of our own moral weakness, for more than we imagine, the Asiatics are opposed to tyranny, and it is hardly likely that they will exchange the tyranny of one imperialism for that of another.

"Let us extend our authority over China," Senator Brewster recently exclaimed, forgetting that there is little difference between "extending authority over China" and rape of empire.

It is, in fact, still possible for the great powers to extend their authority, not by conquest, but by offering all possible resources of education to the Asiatic student. This authority would be of the kind that never relinquishes its hold or vanishes, for it is based upon compelling human motives; it is an authority that extends in both directions, compelling the West to an understanding of the East as assured as it compels the East to understand us.

If America desires seriously to see a free world, I would have thought that the problem of enabling Asiatic students to understand its mechanical and social techniques would have acquired paramount importance, for if America succeeds in establishing itself in the empire of their minds, it has gained the whole world by gaining them as future allies.

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INDIANS SETTLED IN BRITAIN

Just as we have amidst us Anglo-Indians, there are in England a small class of people known as Indo-English—children born of Indian men and British women. Writing about these people in *Indian Affairs*, Bhikshu Nirmalananda says:

Lately I have been coming in contact with the Indians who have settled in Britain. They are almost Europeans in customs and manners except for the feeling that they are Indians. Some have come here during their boyhood and have passed through various kinds of experiences. They are all self-made men. They have a vague idea of their motherland. A sight of one like me sends a thrill in them. I have come across Indians of various religions and communities. To them these differences are very superficial. There is a glow in their eyes when they talk of their boyhood and their village or town. Most of them—nay, all of them—have married European wives. They have children who are now grown up and are already fathers and mothers.

So far we knew only one such community in India with mixed blood, the Anglo-Indians. The term "Anglo-Indian" denoted only children of an Englishman and an Indian woman. We had not known that there is another class of people who can be called the "Indo-English." These are the children of Indian men and English women.

In a country like England with more than a hundred years of contact with India, there ought to be hundreds of families of this type, if not thousands. The Anglo-Indians came to prominence because of the father belonging to a class which ruled India. The other category I am referring to had no such advantage. So in the course of time they got mixed up with the general English population. This making up can again be traced to two causes. The first is poverty. They could not find the means to come back to their home with their family. The second is our own orthodoxy. We have all along been persecuting those that had taken alien wives. We never took into account human nature. We were complacent about our own righteousness. As a result of this short-sighted orthodoxy we have allowed thousands of our children to be absorbed in another nation. This loss is colossal in several respects. It is a great loss in the field of cultural contacts and broadening of the vision.

These children, born to an Indian father and an European mother, are Indians by birth and by right. No society, religion or government has a right to deny them their rights of citizenship in India.

I have met many youths of this type. They are Europeans at sight. But just talk to them a little sympathetically and with understanding. You will find the Indian sentiment throbbing in their hearts. They wish to go to India and claim Indian citizenship. They are proud to be Indians. But they are afraid. The tales of social inequity, oppression of the orthodox and the insularity of the caste system all create misgivings. They are afraid that they will be treated as aliens in their own mother country.

Among this generation of youths are men and women of all professions. We were importing in India thousands of Europeans up to now to rule over us. Now we are supposed to be getting freedom.

Will we not show the same zeal to take back our own children irrespective of the colour of their skin as the other governments do? They will be of immense value to us in widening our outlook and enriching our culture. The government should do everything to dispel their fears and even go out of their way to attract them. They are charming in appearance, lovable in character and noble in bearing. When our new constitution comes into force and we declare ourselves a free nation; these children will be faced with a problem about their nationality. Will they be forced to declare themselves as Englishmen and English women by our short-sighted policy? We cannot afford to lose them. This is an urgent matter to be attended to. I wish the Congress has the strength to force the government to take the necessary action to save these children from being lost to India.

INDIAN SHIPPING

The official journal of the Indian National Steamship Owners' Association, *Indian Shipping* in an editorial entitled "Lessons of the Freight War" says that the outcome of the London Conference of India-U.K.-Europe shipping lines in May was "sorely disappointing to the Indian shipowners."

The journal states that India's case for a proper distribution of the carriage of the U. K.-Continent trade originating or terminating with India "was shelved by the Conference."

The journal declared: "Much news has not trickled through the mystery veil that has shrouded the discussions. But from reports available it appears that the Dutch have succeeded in getting 45 per cent. of the trade between India and the Continental ports as against their demand of 60 per cent. On the other hand, the question of the respective shares of the Indian and other ship-owners interested in the trade has been shelved. It will be a sad story if the freight war teaches the lesson that only an aggressor can get what he wants."

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INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD

Herbert E. Schablin, writing in *India and Israel*, observes that the "decimal system" and the "Zero" are Indian inventions that have revolutionised the world. Without this decimal system, the "marriage" of fire and iron could never have led to anything like the present stage of technical development whilst science could not have advanced very much beyond the stage reached in the Middle Ages.

How few of the Western engineers who today build turbines for India's hydro-electric works ever remember that it was India who forged the weapon which made the calculating of these turbines possible? And how few ever known that there were Jews who, a thousand years ago, carried the "zero" from India to Arabia and thence to Europe?

The zero was not the only important part of Indian civilisation to come to Europe through Jewish intermediaries. It has been proved that Chess found its way from India to Persia.

We have no information how Chess came from Persia to Arabia and thence to Europe. The fact is being stressed, however, that this game was popular between European Jews when hardly known yet to Gentiles and from this some authorities have concluded that in all probability, Chess came all the way from India to Europe by way of Jewish intermediaries.

Very little has been done so far in studying the effects of Indian folk-lore and Indian tales on European civilisation. Joseph Jacobs has shown that from a single collection of Indian tales known under various names as Fables of Bidpal, Fables of Pilpay, Khalilah-wa-Dimnah, etc., no less than one tenth of all the fairy tales current in Europe are derived.

The particular collection of tales has been translated into 38 languages in 112 different versions. Other collections of Indian tales have appeared at an early date in Europe as for instance the *Book of Sindibad* and the *Disciplina Clericalis* whilst a wealth of Indian themes have made their way westwards in the greatest collection of tales ever compiled, the *Arabian Nights*.

The Jews of Arabia, being merchants, took to the new mathematical system like ducks to water. For the benefit of his European co-religionists the Jew Ibn Dawud, known in Europe as John of Seville, translated Muhammed-al-Khwarizmi's treatise on Applied Indian Arithmetic into Latin.

The translation became widely known in Europe and its title *Algorism* served for many centuries to denote the mathematical operations explained in the book. Whilst the standard work on Indian Arithmetic was originally written by an Arab and translated into Latin *via* Hebrew by Jews, the standard work on Indian Geometry was originally written in Hebrew by Abraham-bar-Hiyya and translated into Arabic as well as into Latin by Jewish scholars. The Latin translation, called by its author *Liber Embadorum* was effected by Plato of Tivoli, a friend of the above-mentioned John of Seville.

The *Algorism* and the *Liber Embadorum* eventually opened the way for the developments which today have brought television within reach and have solved many of the riddles of the Universe. Through Jewish intermediaries we are told the vitality and energy of the West was blended with the ancient knowledge and civilisation of India and the way was opened for the eventual victorious advance of a world civilisation. Yet one might wonder whether Es-Saffah would have sent his Jew and whether Ibn Dawud and Plato of Tivoli would have written their books had they known that their efforts would one day lead to the greatest blot on the West's by no means untarnished veneer of civilisation—the Atom Bomb.

PURIFYING CONGRESS

Writing in *Harijan* Sri K. G. Mashruwala emphasises the necessity of purifying Congress. He deplores the development of group politics in Madras, Punjab, Madhya Bharat and other Provinces. "Let the Congress understand its responsibility and purify itself," he writes. "Intriguing and unscrupulous people must be made to seek their places elsewhere. It should be made difficult for them to stay in the Congress." Following Mahatmaji Sri Mashruwala prescribes certain tests for Congressmen. Active Congress members, he says, should take part in collective spinning, spinning at least two hanks a month, taking part in scavenging and in interdining with Harijans. Even these tests, he says, will not rid the Congress of undesirable elements. "But because its very simplicity is repellant to people who credit themselves with superior talents and ability for diplomacy many of them will seek some other political platform." Even though the non-conformists may be in a majority Sri Mashruwala thinks that a purified Congress will be able to resist them.

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INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Sir Mirza Ismail, former President of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Executive Council and former Prime Minister of Jaipur, pleads for a quick agreement between India and Pakistan, in an article published in the London *Spectator*. "Even brief delay may prove disastrous," he says.

Sir Mirza argues that agreement is necessary for external and internal reasons. "The victories of the Chinese Communist armies, which now stand almost on the Burmese border, make it practically certain that the Red tide banking up in South-East Asia will soon threaten East Bengal (Pakistan) and Assam (India)." Only by the resolute and concerted effort of India and Pakistan can the danger from the East be met."

A close *entente* between the two countries is made necessary also by the clouds gathering over the North-West Frontier. "There are grounds for suspicion that Russia is behind the activities of the Afghan authorities, and that her object is to create widespread disturbances on the frontier in the expectation that the reactions on the Kashmir dispute will lead to inter-Dominion war".

Sir Mirza Ismail suggests that if tribesmen in Pakistan joined Afghanistan and Russia lent staff officers, planes and military supplies, "Pakistan could not repel such an onslaught and might be driven across the Indus. In the debacle that would follow, both Dominions might go down in ruin".

But, the article adds, "given an agreement under which India would pledge herself to support Pakistan in the defence of her frontier with Afghanistan, the storm clouds which now hover over the turbulent region would disappear. An early joint diplomatic approach to Kabul would probably improve the position".

Sir Mirza Ismail writes "In internal affairs likewise, there is dire need for a rapprochement between India and Pakistan, which are so dependent upon each other in matters affecting their internal economy. They must come together in at least certain essential matters or be prepared for ultimate disaster".

SOCIALISM

The only way to eliminate the evils of capitalism is through establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system directed toward social goals. Dr. Albert Einstein, famous scientist declares so in the first number of *The Monthly Review*, "an independent socialist magazine", published in New York.

Professor Einstein writes in the magazine that "crippling" of individuals is the worst evil of capitalism.

"Our whole educational system suffers from this evil," he says. "An exaggerated competitive attitude is inculcated into the student, who is trained to worship acquisitive success as a preparation for future career.

Through establishment of a socialist economy the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilised in a planned fashion.

A planned economy, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done among all able to work and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman and child. The education of the individual would attempt to develop in him a sense of responsibility for his fellow-men.

Nevertheless, planned economy as such may be accompanied by the complete enslavement of the individual. The achievement of socialism requires solution of some difficult socio-political problems:

How is it possible to prevent bureaucracy from becoming all-powerful and overweening? How can the rights of the individuals be protected?"

THE INDIAN REVIEW

"THE INDIAN REVIEW," (12 as.), published by G. A. Natesan & Co. in Madras, contains a number of interesting articles. This *Review* is level-headed in its policy and provides a fine example of decorous constructive journalism. Its format is neat and its proof reading is commendably good. Readers who appreciate an unbiassed survey of the political panorama will find it in The Indian Review—*Illustrated Weekly of India*.

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FUTURE OF CONGRESS PARTY

The *New Statesman* suggests editorially that "for the good of India and the normal working of representative democracy, it is obvious that the Congress, as an all-embracing nationalist party, ought now to break up." "With the achievement of independence, its work is done."

The *New statesman* asserts that "the salutary event in the recent political history of India has been the break-away from the Congress of the Socialists.

They will have to fight with scanty funds on two fronts, against the Congress and the Communists. Their chief asset is that, though they differed sharply from Gandhi in theory, they learned more from him than any rival group about the duty of personal devotion and simplicity in daily life. They have the first condition of success, integrity.

India's prospects would look brighter if Jawaharlal Nehru, who used to hold their creed, were among them. His presonal prestige and his charm have made him a figure in world politics, but with the Congress machine behind him, which he cannot control what opportunity has he of realising the ideal that once inspired him ?

India will keep the freedom she has won, only if there emerge to lead her men and women who will set every other consideration aside to achieve a social transformation. The danger that faces the Congress is that it may as the years go on, become a totalitarian party closely resembling the Kuomintang. If it drifts in that direction, the Communists, sooner or later, will win the impoverished and disillusioned masses."

The paper goes on to say that the Congress has not done enough to appease big business, while the workers and in some regions the peasants too are losing confidence. Some disillusion is inevitable, it thinks but it also attributes responsibility to the Congress. "The discipline taught by Gandhi was forgotten when the Congress won power without a rival to check it or criticise it. It flung itself on the sweets of office and scrambled for the rewards of its years of sacrifice."

THE POWER OF YOGA

In a featured article in the American magazine, *Life*, Winthrop Sargeant writes about a visit to the "Holy Man of Tiruvannamalai" and says Sri Ramana Maharishi was India's answer to most of man's problems.

Sergeant discusses the power of *yoga* in relation to a claim he had heard that the defeat of Hitler could have been achieved by thought transference.

Describing a visit to the Maharishi, Sargeant says, "Sri Ramana's views correspond exactly with those propounded in the Gita. His life of austerity, his renunciation of all worldly desires, his contemplative serenity, his unshakable peace of mind, are all part of the traditional requirements of the Hindu sage."

Sergeant concludes his article thus: "The average worldly Western man might point out that Sri Ramana's way of life is all right for sages, but offers little help to the fellow who is trying to pay the rent.

"These are some of the differences that have always divided East and West. And India's progressive and industrial leaders are very anxious to-day to teach India the secrets of the West's material advance, and to wipe out the poverty, disease and social inequality of her 'phenomenal world' by other methods than pure contemplation. Probably they are right, and even Sri Ramana would not deny the temporary validity of their aims.

"But the *yogi* takes a longer view—The world is not going anywhere in particular. The only thing that is certain is the indestructibility of the human soul, which strives eternally towards ultimate union with the all-pervading essence known as *Brahman*.

"Sri Ramana's universe is ruled by a power that has long guaranteed the futility of all earthly ambition. According to Hindu theology, Sri Ramana himself is identified with the power. Accepting these premises, anybody can work out the equation. It may not be what the Western mind calls 'realistic'. But it is certainly not illogical."

Personal advertisement in a U. S. paper—Young Republican woman would like to marry young Democrat. Object: Third party.

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THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

A considerable quickening of the pace of co-operative movement in India has been a pronounced feature of economic development during the war and the post-war years. This is brought out in a special article in the *Agricultaral Situation in India* for April.

Improvement has been noticed both in the number of co-operative societies as well as in membership, in the organization of multi-purpose societies, industrial co-operatives and marketing co-operatives, and the impetus was provided by the circumstances caused by the phenomenal rise in prices as a result of war and subsequent political and economic developments. In many places the co-operatives offered the only defence to the consumer against black-marketing and exploitation. Again, the drive for economic self-sufficiency has opened up fresh avenues of enterprise for the co-operative organizations.

As compared with 1938-39, the number of co-operative societies in India increased by 41.0 per cent in 1945-46, the number of members by 70.6 per cent and the working capital by 54.0 per cent.

The most notable advance is in respect of the consumer's movement.

The number of retail societies in Madras, which of all the provinces has registered the greatest advance in this form of activity, rose from 85 in 1938-39 to 16,888 on June 30, 1947, with membership exceeding 5½ lakhs and share capital touching nearly a crore of rupees.

A drive for organizing consumer's stores has been launched in other provinces also.

Another noteworthy development is the organization of multi-purpose societies.

There were 6,692 such societies in U. P. in 1945-46 and 264 in Bombay. The Central Provinces had 172 multi-purpose co-operative societies in 1947-48, which, in addition to other functions, also acted as agents to Government for distribution of consumer's goods and agricultural requirements like iron and steel. Madras has a scheme for the organization of multi-purpose societies in three of the firkas selected for intensive rural reconstruction of work in the Province.

The jurisdiction of each society is proposed to be restricted to a single village.

ASSIMILATING THE STATES

Yet another step forward has been taken by the States Ministry in the process of integrating the States by the proposed amendment to the Covenants that now govern their relations with the Centre. It is expected that the Centre will have adequate say in the administration of these States Unions in order to ensure the necessary degree of uniformity of legislation and administration. In the great majority of States Unions, says *The New Democrat*,

Central advisers will be a relief to the people at large from the petty factions which would come to power in the name of responsible government. But, in some of the more advanced states like the South Indian states, where reeponsible government has attained a respectable scope, the people may not easily put up with what may look like direct rule from Delhi.

And who can find fault with them, if thy insist that the benefits of democratic rule must not be the monopoly of the provinces? There can, however, be no valid objection to a general widening of control powers beyond the three subjects agreed to at the time of the accession.

The Centre's powers in relation to the States must again approximate to those in relation to the provinces, but never more. Immediately there can be advance in the matter of taking up all matters pertaining to defence, foreign affairs, currency, communications without allowing local influences to meddle with the all-India pattern.

Let the assimilation process be quick, but not hurried, warns the *New Democrat*. Let the available forces of progress and democracy in the States Union be encouraged, not stifled.

Let us avoid costly follies like the inefficient administrative machinery in many of the States; but let us also help such machinery to improved efficiency at reduced cost to the tax payer. For, in all these cases, it is higher and better democracy we are after, not just bureaucratic efficiency.

BUSINESS WEEK

We have in the *Business Week* a budget of interesting notes and news on a wide range of topics covering Finance, Banking and Insurance, Commerce, industry and Agriculture, besides comments on contemporary business matters and regional surveys of business news. Altogether the 'weekly' which is published in Madras is a welcome addition to journals devoted to the dissemination of facts and news of interest to businessmen in India.

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

CITIZENSHIP BILL IN S. AFRICA

The South African Citizenship Bill making a domicile of five years instead of two years necessary for Commonwealth citizens to acquire Union citizenship, passed its third reading in the South African House of Representatives on June 23 by 76 votes to 63.

The passage of the Bill, which had been strenuously opposed by General Smuts (United Party), was loudly cheered by supporters of Dr. Daniel Malan's Government.

The Bill has since been passed by the Senate.

JOINT MOVE FOR R. T. C.

It is learnt that India and Pakistan may soon make a joint move for talks with South Africa on the treatment of their nationals in the Union. Pakistan and India had the same attitude towards this question, and joint action would carry more weight than independent protests, it was stated.

Three-Power talks would be in accordance with the latest rosolution of the United Nations General Assembly which suggested round-table discussions by the three Dominions before the question was reopened by the United Nations.

DR. DADOO'S PASSPORT

The Transvaal Supreme Court at Pretoria dismissed on June 13 the appeal of the South African Minister of the Interior Dr. T. G. Donges, against the judgment compelling the restoration of the passport of Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress. Dr. Dadoo's passport was confiscated by the South African Government in September last year as he was about to leave for Europe to attend the United Nations session in Paris.

He was granted a Court Order in the Pretoria Supreme Court restrainig the South African Minister of the Interior, from preventing his departure.

He reached London, but failed to get to Paris because the French Government refused him a visa. He has since visited Eastern Europe, and is now in India.

Ceylon

REMITTANCES FROM CEYLON INDIANS

The Government of India have directed the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon to convey their concern to the Ceylon Government over the 'harassing regulations' governing the system of remittance by Indians to their dependents in India, it is authoritatively learnt.

It is suggested that the distinction between estate and non-estate labour should be dropped and all Indians should be allowed to send reasonable amounts to their dependents in India under a simplified procedure.

The Indian High Commissioner has further drawn the attention of the Ceylon Government to the discriminating treatment accorded to Indian nationals *vis-a-vis*, the nationals of sterling area countries who are allowed to remit freely upto £50 per month.

Admitting that exchange control may be justified to prevent capital transfers under the guise of remittances, the Government of India are understood to have informed the Ceylon Government that it should not be used as a means to oust Indian nationals from Ceylon.

Burma

INDIAN EMBASSY'S APPEAL TO REBELS

The Indian Embassy in Rangoon has urged the rebels in Burma to release immediately Indian nationals as "they are compelling to take up military service or work for any armed group."

In a broadcast message over Rangoon Radio the Embassy said that news had been received from Taungoo, Karen stronghold in Central Burma, and other rebel-held areas that Indian nationals had been "pressed into service and compelled to carry on certain tasks against their will" by the rebels.

The Embassy appealed to the insurgents that these Indians be permitted to go to places of safety as they were subjects of a friendly neighbouring county and entitled to the fullest protection.

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South East Asia

DR. B. V. KESKAR'S TOUR IMPRESSIONS

In a recorded interview broadcast from Calcutta station of All India Radio on his recent visit to South-East Asian countries, Dr. B. V. Keskar, India's Deputy Minister for External Affairs, said that the objects of his visit were twofold:

Firstly, to study the functioning of various Indian missions in the South East Asian countries, which had been functioning for about 15 to 20 months, and secondly, to study the conditions of Indians living in those areas. Moreover, there was also the necessity of making personal contact with those countries which no Minister since India won independence had done.

Giving his impressions, Dr. Keskar said he had found the Indian mission doing "splendid work", specially in view of the conditions now prevailing in those parts of Asia. They were, he said, short of staff and were not provided with sufficient amount of money by the Government of India.

Replying to a query about the situation in those countries Dr. Keskar said that though on the whole the situation at Singapore was "quite alright", it was "far from normal" in Malaya".

He said that the Indian labourers in Malaya were in "bad conditions." One of the difficulties was that the labourers suffered from the disadvantage of being indentured labour.

Another thing that was troubling the Indians in Malaya, was the question of nationality. The Malayan federal citizenship did not give the right to nationality and that was one of the reasons why Indians in Malaya were hesitating whether to accept the Malayan citizenship.

CULTURAL CONVENTION IN SINGAPORE

A three-day South-East Asia Cultural Convention will be held in Singapore in July. It is being planned by Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, Organising Secretary of the Indian Colonial Society.

The object of the Conference, according to Mr. Swaminathan, is the advancement of social, sociological, educational, economic and cultural contact among the peoples of South-East Asia. Discussions will take place mainly on the place of art in life, culture as a unifying factor of all races, travel as a fine art, sports as a medium of international amity, architectural ruins of South-East Asia and Chinese civilization and its influence on modern life.

Delegates from India, China, the Phillippines, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Indonesia, Siam, Burma, and Ceylon are expected to attend.

East Africa

RACIAL POLICY IN E. AFRICA

"The Immigration Control Ordinance which seeks to restrict the entry of Asians in East Africa is but twin sister of the racial policy which is being pursued by the South African Government. The Ordinance, which is meant obviously to protect European interest, would very adversely affect the Indian settlers there and may even restrict the privileges which they enjoy at present." This disquieting note was sounded by Mr. D. D. Puri, President of the East African Indian Congress in the course of informal talks to a United Press representative in Delhi.

Mr. Puri arrived in New Delhi early last month to discuss the latest development in East Africa with the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India and also members of the Congress High Command. Mr. Puri observed that on behalf of the Indian population in East Africa the East African Indian Congress had already submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State for Colonies, United Kingdom, demanding removal of restrictions which the Immigration Control Ordinance sought to impose on the Asiatics. But this move on their part, said Mr. Puri, would not produce the desired effect on the British Colonial Office unless it was backed by their National Government in India. "My principal object in coming out to India", observed Mr. Puri "is to persuade the Government of India to take up our cause."

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MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS ✱ DEPARTMENTAL ✱ NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

FUTURE OF FOREIGN POCKETS IN INDIA

Sri Aurobindo has expressed his view unequivocally that Chandernagore, Pondicherry and other French Settlements in India should become one with India and India would become the spiritual leader of the world. This was revealed by a spokesman of the Ashram on the eve of the Chandranagore referendum, to the relief of a number of people who were anxious to follow Sri Aurobindo's lead in the matter

"Neither the French nor the Portuguese possession in India could have separate existence from the Indian Union" said the Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

Foreigners come and go if they are not absorbed in India's civilisation. We remain for ever. Need we assure our brethren and sisters in Chandernagore and the other French and Portuguese Possessions that their future will be in their own hands, and shaped according to their declared will ?

This plebiscite cannot annul or confirm the birthright of the inhabitants of these areas, who are the bone of our bone and the flesh of our flesh, to remain one and indivisible with India.

THE INDIAN FISCAL COMMISSION

"The primary task of the Fiscal Commission just appointed is to formulate for the consideration of Government a new fiscal policy in the light of the many changes that have taken place in the country's economy since the last Commission reported, and of fore-seeable anticipations," observed Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Chairman of the Indian Fiscal Commission, at a Press Conference held in New Delhi.

The object of the Commission's enquiry, he added, was to increase national wealth. The Commission would approach its task on a basis "that will ensure maximum production in the country."

THE DIWAKAR COMMITTEE

The Diwakar Committee dealing with the question of the abolition of the practice of reference to castes, sub-castes, sects and communities in Government records and forms and recognition of such distinction in public services, has set up a Sub-Committee to examine the replies received from various provincial and State Governments.

The Sub-Committee has been asked to make recommendations on how soon and how best such reform could be effected, taking into consideration the ways and means of ameliorating the conditions of backward people, which may be conducive to the ultimate disappearance of classifications of castes and communities in Government services and records.

The Sub-Committee, comprises Mr. R. R. Diwakar, Dr. P. R. Deshmukh and Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand.

CONSTITUTION FOR STATES

The problem of fitting the States in the general framework of the Constitution is engaging the serious attention of the States Ministry.

The Rau Committee, which was appointed by the Constituent Assembly to draft a model constitution for the States, has submitted its report to the States Ministry. The Committee assumed that the Indian States would accede to the Union in respect of all subjects and concurrent lists and, therefore, had followed the provisions relating to the Provinces contained in the Draft Constitution of India.

The Ruler is defined as the Head of the State, deriving his position from the will of the people, with whom resides sovereign power. The executive power of the State, according to the report, should be vested in the Ruler. Just as the Governor of each Province is to be appointed by the President, the Ruler or the Rajpramukh is to be recognised by the President,

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

PT. NEHRU'S APPEAL TO PEOPLE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister addressing a two-day Session of the Delhi Political Conference on June 19 said that he had come to feel that more contact with the people was desirable. "I want to get more chances to address the people, whether at big or small meetings, here or elsewhere in the country, in order to understand their difficulties and to tell them what I have to say."

The Pandit referred to the recent by-election in Calcutta and said that it was wrong to belittle the result. It showed that the people in that constituency were angry either against the Provincial Congress in West Bengal or the Provincial Government. It behoved the Congressmen to find out what this was due to and whether people felt similarly in other parts of Bengal.

Pandit Nehru continued that the time had come to take stock of things and make a concerted effort to revitalise the Congress organisation. He deplored the slackening of enthusiasm among Congressmen who, in some Provinces, were indulging in petty squabbles. The tendency which had been growing of expelling Congressmen for misconduct or dereliction of duty, instead of winning them over, as was done by Mahatma Gandhi, was regrettable.

The Prime Minister warmed up when he said that if they could not strengthen the Congress it would be better to wind up the organisation, instead of allowing it to go into disruption by stages. He felt there was no other party or power which could take the place of the Congress and said that if the Congress weakened there would be chaos and disorder.

Referring to the criticism levelled against the Congress, Pandit Nehru said that he welcomed it, but he thought it should be balanced. He affirmed that they were in Government as representatives of the people and would resign when they felt they had lost that representative character. He asked for the co-operation of the people with the Government and said that they should not look to them merely for solving their difficulties.

Pandit Nehru said that it had been tentatively decided to declare India a Republic on January 26 1950 after the new Constitution had been adopted in October this year. The preparations for elections, which were going on might take some time and it might not be possible to hold them before the winter of 1950, about, 15 months hence. However, he was eager to find out in the interim period, if this could be done, what the people felt towards the Congress and the Government and their policies. . . .

Agreeing with the suggestion that it was necessary to have economic freedom with political freedom Pandit Nehru said that without protecting the political freedom from any attack they could not go forward in the direction of economic freedom.

MR. TRYGVE LIE ON NEW TRENDS IN WORLD POLITICS

Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General, United Nations, in a speech at Lake Success on June 12 emphasised the role and the rapid rise in the influence of the peoples of Asia and Africa in the United Nations.

"The days of empire and colonialism," he said, "are fast coming to an end in Asia and its people are finding that the United Nations is a powerful ally in their march forward to equality and independence."

The attention of the world has been focussed so completely on the so-called East-West conflict that developments of even greater long-range significance for the world have been largely overlooked.

These developments, Mr. Lie said

were the rise of many people of Asia and Africa from a position of dependency toward equality in the world, and the movement to make the extension and observance of human rights everywhere a major concern of the international community.

Mr. Lie said there were only eight Asiatic and African countries among the 50 that founded the United Nations of San Francisco.

Since then India and the Phillippines have become fully independent—more countries— Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Afghanistan, Yemen and Israel. have become members of the United Nations.

I have called the role of these countries because it dramatises the rapid rise in influence of the peoples of Asia since the United Nations was established.

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POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

PARLIAMENT AND THE BUDGET

Important changes in the procedure for passing the general budget by the Parliament of the Indian Union were outlined in the Constituent Assembly on June 8 by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Law Minister and Chairman of the Drafting Committee.

These innovations will enable Parliament to exercise much stricter financial control and debate the budget more thoroughly than at present. Parliament will not be limited by a "deadline" for applying the guillotine.

The revenues of India, Dr. Ambedkar said, would be pooled into a "consolidated fund" and provision would be made for appropriation by acts of the legislature in place of certification of items of expenditure by the President. Parliament, which would sanction particular items of expenditure would also be the authority to certify what was to be done with the money.

ADMINISTRATION OF KASHMIR

In a Proclamation issued on June 20 Maharaja Hari Singh authorised his son to carry on all his functions in regard to the Government of the Kashmir State during his temporary absence. The Proclamation says:

Whereas I have decided for reasons of health to leave the State for a temporary period and to entrust to Yuvaraja Karan Singh Bahadur for that period all my functions in regard to the Government of the State, I hereby direct and declare that all powers and functions whether Legislative, Executive or Judicial which are exercisable by me in relation to the State and its Government including, in particular, my right and prerogative of making laws, of issuing Proclamations, orders and Ordinances, of remitting, commuting and reducing sentences, and of pardoning offenders shall, during this period of my absence from the State be exercisable by Yuvaraja Karan Singh Bahadur.

THE CHANDERNAGORE REFERENDUM

By an overwhelming majority, Chandernagore voted for merging in the Indian Union. The following are the figures: 7,473 for merger and 114 for continuing under the French Union. Twenty-one votes were declared invalid.

The referendum passed off very peacefully on June 20. More than 60 per cent of the total electorate of 12,194 exercised their franchise.

TRAVANCORE-COCHIN UNION

The States of Travancore and Cochin form one State with a common Executive, Legislature and Judiciary as from July 1, 1949. The present Ruler of Travancore Sri Bala Rama Varma, will be the first Rajapramukh, and will hold office during his life-time.

A special feature of the Covenant, entered into by the Rulers, is the provision for the administration of Devaswom (maintenance of temples.)

It will be an obligation on the part of the covenanting State of Travancore to contribute from its general revenue Rs. 50 lakhs every year towards the Devaswom Fund, out of which a contribution of Rs. five lakhs will be made towards the expenditure of Sree Padmanabhaswamy Temple at Trivandrum, the Deity of the Ruling family in Travancore.

Likewise, the administration of Devaswoms in Cochin and the management of the properties and estates under the Devaswoms Department will vest in a Board known by the name of the Cochin Devaswom Board.

MYSORE CONSTITUTION

A new chapter in the constitutional history of Mysore will be ushered in with the abolition of the post of Dewan on August 7, 1949, and the further democratisation of the system of Government with the election of Mr. K. C. Reddy, Chief Minister and Mr. K Hanumanthiah as Leader and Deputy Leader, respectively, of the Congress Legislature Party in Mysore.

SARAT BOSE FOR W. BENGAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was declared elected to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly from the South Calcutta constituency. He polled 19,030 votes against the Congress candidate, Mr. Suresh Chandra Das, who secured 5,780 votes.

Mr. Bose contested the seat on behalf of the Socialist Republican Party, of which he is the Founder-President.

The other candidate polled as follows:

Dilip Kumar Choudhury (Democratic Vanguard) 51.

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MOVE TO ABOLISH EXAMINATIONS

The bane of school life, "examination day" may disappear for the 11-year-olds in London. The London County Council is planning to abolish the common entrance test, in arithmetic, general knowledge and English, at the same time that the Education Ministry's scheme to change the examination system for the school certificate comes into force in 1951.

At present, before promotion to a secondary school, a boy or girl of 11 undergoes a written examination. The results, coupled with an assessment of the child's ability and attainment, decide the future school.

Replacing the examination will be a record book kept throughout pupil's school years. These are already in use in L.C.C. schools but it will not be until about 1951 that any will be complete enough to take the place of an examination. The L.C.C. has already abolished examinations for entry, at the age of 13, to secondary and technical schools.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR STUDENTS ABROAD

The Government of India have decided to revive the overseas scholarships scheme in a modified form as from the coming financial year. The modified scheme is largely based on the recommendations of the Overseas Scholarships Committee, which was set up by the Ministry of Education under the chairmanship of Dr. B. C. Roy, to scrutinise the working of the scheme operating since 1945, with a view to making recommendations for its improvement.

The main objective of the modified scheme will be to send persons for training abroad in subjects, facilities for which are not available in India, partly to ensure improvement in the standard of instruction and research in the country itself, and partly to meet the needs of the Central and Provincial Governments. Only such persons will be sent abroad as can be absorbed in specific undertakings, in operation or planned, on their return.

The scope of the scheme has been extended so as to meet the requirements not only of Government Departments and of Government-sponsored industry, but also of educational institutions like universities and research and technological institutions. The needs of public utility concerns will also be taken into consideration.

The choice of scholars for training under the new scheme will be mainly from among persons who have spent some time in a Government organisation, an educational institution or a public utility concern, and who are recommended for selection by their employers. On return from abroad, they will be expected to serve their parent institutions.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN BOMBAY

The great strides made by education in the Bombay Province in the year 1947-48 are reviewed in a Press Note issued by the Bombay Government last month. About 3,000 institutions have been added during the year and the number of students increased by 4.61 lakhs. The total amount spent on education during the year exceeds 12 crores of rupees.

Educational institutions in Bombay number 26,910, an increase of 2,917 over last year. The strength has improved to 25,75,859—an increase of 4,60,954. Out of 21,657 towns and villages in the Province 14,104 possess schools. The average area served by school is 5.4 square miles as against 5.7 in the preceding year. The percentage of male students under instruction in all kinds of institutions to the male population was 15.71 as against 14.18 last year. The corresponding percentage of female students is 7.65 as against 5.11 last year. There are 36 Arts and Science Colleges in Bombay, 29 professional colleges and 109 technical and industrial institutes, 1,199 high schools and 21,084 primary schools. Admissions to professional colleges are made purely on merit irrespective of class or creed or community. Seven per cent of the seats in the medical colleges have been reserved for backward communities and two seats for South African Indians.

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LEGAL

JUDGMENT IN GANDHI MURDER CASE APPEAL

The Full Bench of the East Punjab High Court on June 21, allowed the appeals of Dr. Sadashiv Parchure and Shanker Kistayya and acquitted them of all charges in connection with the Mahatma Gandhi Murder Case. The appeals of the remaining convicts have been dismissed.

The case of Gopal Godse was recommended to Government for clemency.

Mr. Justice Achchruram in a separate judgment has recommended the case of Madanlal Pahwa for consideration of the desirability of commuting his sentence of transportation for life. The other Judges, Mr. Bhandari and Mr. G. D. Khosla have disagreed with this recommendation.

The appeal arose out of the judgment of Mr. Atma Charan, Special Judge, Red Fort, Delhi, who on Feb. 10 last had sentenced Nathuram V. Godse and Narayan D. Apte to death for the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

OFFENCES AGAINST MANKIND

The United Nations International Law Commission has completed a draft code of offences against the peace and security of mankind. It has also gone into the question of creating an international judicial organ for the punishment of exponents of genocide—racial destruction.

Rapporteurs, we are told, will be appointed to report on both items to the Commission. The Commission will now go on to form a code of international law principles recognised in the Charter and judgment of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

JUDGES OF THE HIGH COURT

The Constituent Assembly adopted on June 7 some of the controversial articles relating to High Courts in the States.

The Assembly fixed the retiring age of a High Court judge at 60 years and prohibited him from practising in any court. It also decided against appointing additional judges to cope with temporary increase in work unless the previous consent of the president was obtained.

RECIPROCITY OF PENAL LAW

The Human Rights Commission at its sitting on June 6 barred reciprocity of penal law by adopting Article 14 of the Draft Covenant on Human Rights which reads: "No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence under national or international law, at the time it was committed", cables the PTI Correspondent at U.N. headquarters.

A. U. S. proposal to apply the Article to State enactments was defeated on the ground that the individual rights of men rather than the duties of a State were the more important element.

The Article was adopted against the background of the Nuremberg trials to which both direct and indirect references were made.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta, India, said the paragraph was vague. The punishment of "war criminals", she said, was usually dealt with "by the victorious Powers" and, therefore, it was out of place in the Covenant.

THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA

The Constituent Assembly, at its sitting on June 14, decided to empower the Supreme Court of the Indian Union to hear appeals against a sentence of death passed by a High Court in reversal of an order of acquittal by a lower court.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, described this provision as being in accordance with the "enlightened conscience of the modern world and of the Indian people" that a man condemned to death ought to have right to one appeal at least.

The Supreme Court will also hear appeals which are certified by High Courts to be fit ones for appeals, subject to the rules made by the Supreme Court. This power which is at present confined to the High Courts of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras will now be extended to all High Courts.

Parliament may by law confer on the Supreme Court any further powers of appeal.

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TRADE AND FINANCE

EXPORT TRADE

India's Commerce Minister, Mr. K. C. Neogy sought the advice of the Export Advisory Council in putting an end to "recklessness, rapacity and dishonesty" in the handling of foreign trade that "has been sabotaging the country's interests."

Addressing the fourth meeting of the Council, the Minister referred to serious complaints from abroad of dishonest practices which have affected the quality of our exports, and said: "In certain countries these practices are taken openly to reflect India's national character. It would be an evil day if a mentality appropriate to the gambling den were allowed to dominate any section of those who handle the foreign trade of India."

The Minister said that besides unsatisfactory quality, other factors operating against expansion of exports were; higher domestic demand and prevalence of high prices.

"The time has now come when we should deliberately assist the gravitation of commodities from internal consumption to exports by positive measures calculated to reduce domestic consumption at least temporarily," he said.

TAXATION POLICIES

In a memorandum to India's Prime Minister, Pundit Nehru, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry emphasises that private enterprises taken over by the State and new industries started by the Government should be managed by Companies formed under the Companies Act.

The memorandum says:

"Unless those State enterprises are made to run absolutely on the same footing as private undertakings, there is a danger of the interests of consumers being not safeguarded."

Criticising the "conflicting taxation measures, and fissiparous and even anarchic tendencies in the field of provincial finance," the Federation warns that the Prohibition policy, and the abolition of Zemindaris and Racing would have serious repercussions on the country's financial stability.

UNIFORMITY IN SALES TAX

The Committee of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in a representation to the Government of India, has drawn its attention to the "adverse repercussions on the trade and industry of the country" caused by the sales tax policy of the Provincial Governments and has suggested the necessity of adopting uniform legislation in this respect "in the interest of social justice and economic unity of the country as a whole."

The Committee urged the Government not to lose any further time in the matter of ensuring that the Provincial Governments agree either to the Centre taking over the sales tax or accept the principle of adopting uniform measures in respect of sales tax.

The Committee's first preference is for bringing the sales tax under the legislative and administrative spheres of the Government of India subject to the return of the receipts to the Provincial Governments on some agreed basis.

EXPORT AND IMPORT

The Commerce Minister, Mr. K. C. Neogy, defending the restrictive import policy of the Government of India, appealed to traders to co-operate in bridging the "serious gap" between exports and imports,

He justified the revision of the Open General Licence, and added that such changes were inevitable in keeping with general economic fluctuations in the world. He cited the instance of Canada, which had changed her import control measures 10 times in 14 months.

He appealed to industrialists and importers to explore the possibilities of getting their requirements from Sterling and soft-currency countries. He disclosed that under OGL mostly essential goods, and not luxury articles were imported. Imports of machinery goods had increased, mostly from the United Kingdom, he added.

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WOMEN'S PAGE

WOMEN DELEGATES FOR U. N.

Mrs. Renuka Ray, one of the members of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly interviewed in London, said that greater harmony might be achieved among the nations of the world if there were more Women Delegates at Lake Success. She added,

"I believe that with a greater proportion of women in the General Assembly and in the Committees, there would be a more human approach to world problems."

A member of the Indian Constituent Assembly and Vice-Chairman of the All-India Women's Conference, Mrs. Ray declared: "This is the first General Assembly I have attended. I was struck by the fact that there were only four Women Delegates and two or three Alternate Delegates among all the 58 nations. I am not saying that the nations should send women there just because they are women. But I do contend that women of ability should not be barred because they are women. So far as Indian women are concerned, they have been better represented in the General Assembly, on the Human Rights Commission. and on the various world organisations than the women of most other nations."

SOCIETY OF WOMEN GEOGRAPHERS

Active membership now about 325 is limited to "travelled women who have done distinctive work whereby they have added to the world's store of knowledge concerning the countries on which they have specialized, and have published or produced in permanent form a record of their work," states the Society's annual Bulletin.

Corresponding members, about 60 women in some 40 countries, fulfil the requirements of active membership but reside outside the United States and Canada.

Officials of the Society announce they are now trying to locate a number of the corresponding members with whom contact was lost duriug the war. The Society also has a small number of associate members who are "widely travelled women interested in furthering all forms of geographical exploration and research."

MILITARY TRAINING FOR WOMEN

A batch of nine women professors to be trained as officers of the Girls' Division of the National Cadet Corps arrived at the Delhi Cantonment last month.

Hailing from East Punjab, West Bengal and the C.P., these teachers have since been undergoing training at the Rajputana Rifles Regimental Centre under the direct supervision of the O.C., Lt.-Col. Sarup Kalaan. They are Miss B. K. Dhillon, Miss S. K. Grewal and Miss K. Razdan of the Government College for Women, Ludhiana; Miss M. Dey, Miss N. Sinha and Miss I. Dutt of Lady Brabourne College Calcutta, and Miss T. D. Potdar, Miss P. Gautam and Miss S. Madura of the Central College for Women, Nagpur.

The programme of their training includes P. T. and drill, experience in driving military vehicles and motor mechanism, knowledge of wireless-signalling, radio-telephoning and Morse telegraphy, operation of telephone exchanges and visits to Service installations and establishments. They are also being given lessons in first-aid, home-nursing, hygiene and sanitation and air-raid precautions. Soft-ball, volley-ball and swimming are included in their recreational activities, and they are given opportunities of developing organizational capacity.

BEAUTIFUL WOMEN

Princess Niloufer of Hyderabad, Princess Durra Shevar of Berar, Princess Aysha and the Maharani of Jaipur, are named as four of the 10 beautiful women that Antony Beauchamp, the London fashion photographer, has photographed, says a UPI message from London. The rest of Beauchamp's list are all women of the stage: Vivion Leigh (English), Eunice Baily (English) Mrs. David Niven (Swedish), Hazel Court (English), Michele Morgan (French) and Marie Schell (Switzerland).

CONGRESS OF WOMEN

The International Alliance of Women is having its Fifteenth Congress in Amsterdam, 18th—23rd July. The Dutch Society for Equal Citizenship is the affiliated Society in Holland is and is going ahead with organisation plans.

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WORLD GOVERNMENT MOVEMENT

An association called the Indian Association for World Federal Government, was formed at a meeting in New Delhi on June 12.

The Association, it was stated, would propagate the idea of One World Government. Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker of Parliament, was elected provisional President.

Acharya Kripalani, Srimathi Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and Mr. Arthur Moore are among the twelve members elected to the provisional Executive Committee to assist the President in scrutinising the draft constitution of the Association.

It was suggested at the meeting that India should be represented at the world Movement Congress which is to be held in Stockholm in August next.

The idea of One world Government mooted by Mr. Henry Osborne and some other members of the British Parliament, it was explained at the meeting, had already found support in the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bihar.

The movement has among its slogans: "World-wide anarchy can be ended by world-wide Government" and a "World Government is the only alternative to war."

Lord Boyd Orr, who recently visited India, is the present President of the World Government Movement.

POPULATION OF THE WORLD

The total population of the world was approximately 2,320,000,000 in 1947—the latest year for which figures for the entire world are available—according to a report by the Statistical Office of the United Nations.

An examination of population trends between 1937 and 1947 reveals that the population of North America, as a geographic unit, has increased from 180,000,000 to 206,000,000, or by 15 per cent., while that for Western Europe, excluding Western Germany has increased from 207,000,000 to 218,000,000, or only by 6 per cent.

MOTTO FOR STATE EMBLEM

"Truth alone triumphs"—is the motto decided upon by the Government of India for inclusion in the State Emblem and Seal.

The motto in Devanagari script will appear in the scroll underneath the crest in the seal.

The motto has been selected as embodying the cardinal principle of Mahatma Gandhi and as being acceptable to men of all religions.

The State Emblem and Seal with the motto will be adopted with immediate effect.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSES

The Government of India have circulated a new scheme of industrial housing to the Provincial Governments, it is learnt.

The Centre is anxious that the execution of the scheme should commence immediately, so that the target of "one million houses in ten years" may be achieved.

The houses to be built will consist of two rooms with an area of 240 sq. ft., a kitchen, an independent bath, lavatory, verandah and courtyard. Each house, it is estimated, will cost about Rs. 7,500 in Bombay and Calcutta and will have a life of 35 years.

NEW POSTAGE STAMPS

The new series of postage stamps, known as the archaeological series, will be released in commemoration of the second Independence anniversary on August 15, 1949. These stamps will thereafter be in use simultaneously with the present King George series of stamps till the latter go out of circulation and are replaced by the former.

ULLOOR PARAMESWARA AIYAR

We deeply regret the passing of Mr. Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar, retired Dewan Peishkar, at the age of 72, at his residence in Trivandrum on June 15, after a prolonged illness.

Mr. Parameswara Aiyar was a scholar and author of several works.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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NEED INDIA STARVE?

By Mr. F. W. CORBETT

NEED India starve? Need India beg for food? Need India send emissaries all over the world to ask other people to produce more food to sell to her? Need India, in addition to doing all this, be bled white by being forced to pay over a hundred crores in much needed Foreign currency a year for food which she can just as well produce herself? This India of limitless acres and unlimited resources in all that is necessary to produce more food? Need this India starve?

This question requires very serious consideration, because today the shortage of foodstuffs and the high prices asked for them are the greatest problems facing us, and the greatest single factor responsible for our present economic disequilibrium and its attendant evils of internal discontent and low production.

India is a land of unlimited acres and unlimited resources. It is a sub-continent 1800 miles long from North to South and almost as wide from East to West. It is blessed with a varied soil and climate capable of producing every imaginable kind of food product under the sun. It is blessed with plenty of water, in spite of periodical failures of the monsoons, possessing as it does at least a dozen large rivers, many of them a thousand miles long, which rise in her hills, and flow through her fertile plains, enriching them, and often destroying in devastating floods till they empty themselves in the seas hundreds of miles away. She is blessed with an industrious rural population, seventyfive per cent of them born agriculturalists from time immemorial, and accustomed to long hours of toil to wrest a bounteous harvest or a precarious existence from the soil. She is blessed with an almost unlimited supply of organic manure to help her to increase the productivity of her soil. Need India, this great country, so bountifully supplied with the four essentials for raising bounteous crops, *ie*, land, water, manure, and labour, have to beg for food, to be bled white paying for what is available, and, at the same time starve?

This question is posed only to be answered in the negative. India need not starve. India need not beg for food. India need not be bled white. She can produce all she needs and more, if only her vast natural resources are more fully utilised. To prove this, it is only necessary to compare conditions in Canada, The U. S. A. Australia, the Argentine, the U. S. S. R. and other producing countries to whom we go begging for food, and pay fancy prices for what they supply us. These countries also suffer from periodical droughts, floods, crop failures, crop pests, etc, in the same way as India. But still, they are able to produce millions of tons of surplus food of every description, and to sell it to us at highly inflated prices. As long ago as in August 1948 a cable from London forecast bright harvest prospects and a fall in world prices as a result of bumper crops in all the exporting countries. It was stated that the United States wheat crop would exceed the colossal figure af 13,000,000 bushels, and that 350,000,000 bushels would be available for export. The Canadian crops were estimated at 325,000,000 bushels, as

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against 319,000,000 the previous year. It was stated that Russia expected an immense exportable surplus, and that Syria expected three times the previous wheat output. Australia also was reported to have a large exportable surplus, while even war-devastated Burma and Siam were reported to be able to export sizeable quantities of rice. In addition, all these countries produce and export immense quantities of other foodstuffs, such as maize, barley, sugar, milk, meat, fruit, potatoes, etc, etc. Why then is India, with all her natural advantages not able to produce even her own requirements of food?

The answer is because our vast natural resources are not being properly and fully exploited for want of proper direction. Our food troubles started with the outbreak of World war II, and became acute by about 1942, when the loss of the Burma and Malaya deprived us of the immense quantities of rice they were accustomed to send us. No serious steps to supply the deficiency were taken, and even the tragedy of the Bengal famine of 1943 with its three millions of deaths from starvation, and a large but undetermined number of deaths from starvation and malnutrition elsewhere in India failed to rouse the Government from its complacency. All that mattered at the time was to win the war. Later, half-hearted attempts to produce more food through the so-called "Grow more food" campaign were made. But they were farcical, inadequate, and tragic in the meagre results achieved. A few acres of land were planted up in the compounds of Government Houses and the residences of the wealthy, and the produce taken in decorated carts through the streets of the Provincial capitals, as if this were sufficient to feed India's hungry millions. Townspeople were exhorted to grow vegetables in their backyards, where, the lack of expert knowledge, inadequate water-supply, and the depredations of rodents, monkeys, and predatory humans reduced the results of their amateurish labours to nil. Meantime, little or nothing was done to help and to encourage the expert, the age-long agriculturist, the backbone of India's agricultural economy, to grow more food. Today, nearly two years after the establishment of a National Government, the position is still much the same, if not worse, with prices soaring, and supplies sinking to dangerous limits. Why? Because firstly, there is no proper and co-ordinated direction, and secondly those in power are so enamoured of large-scale, long-term, grandiose projects, that they do not give sufficient consideration to small-scale, short-term, and moderate projects which will give us immediate relief, and feed our hungry stomachs now. They think rather in terms of multi-purpose schemes costing 20 or 30 crores or more apiece, and which will take 15 to 20 years to materialise, and are prepared to wait till steel, cement, and other materials are available. Meantime millions starve, prices soar, unrest increases, production falls, and our life blood in foreign currency is wasted in buying foreign produced food at exhorbitant prices. This is a tragedy which is at once a reproach and a challenge to us. More than this, it is a danger and a disgrace which we must immediately set ourselves to efface. While not losing sight of, nor abandoning our long-term schemes, which are as excellent as they are necessary, we must concentrate immediately on the production of the maximum quantity of foodstuffs of every description in the shortest period of time, with the facilities now at our disposal.

This may appear at first sight to be an almost impossible task, but will prove not to be so on closer examination. There is no need to be an economist and to propound complex economic theories, not to be a statistician and to quote baffling and bewildering figures to do this. All that is needed is to make an intelligent survey of our requirements and of our potential resources, and to adopt vigorous steps to utlilise and develop our resources, to the fullest extent to satisfy our requirements. Statistics in India are notoriously unreliable and incomplete. The deficit in foodgrains for the surrent year is variously

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estimated at anything from four millions to eight millions of tons. Let us take the higher figure. Eight million tons appears at first sight to be a formidable figure, but is really not so formidable if divided into units. India has eleven major Provinces or administrative units. Recently there have been several mergers of States and unions of States to form administrative units. Let us, for convenience of calculation take the number of such units to be five, thus giving us sixteen administrative units for the purposes of calculating increased food production. Each Province or unit therefore has to produce only half a million tons of extra foodgrains. Each Province in turn is divided into about twenty or thirty districts. Let us take twentyfive districts to each Province for facility of calculation. Each district will therefore be required to produce twentythousand extra tons of foodstuffs, which is not an impossible figure considering the area and population of an average district, and the immense amount of land lying uncultivated. One has only to travel a few miles by road or rail to realise the vast amount of land lying fallow. As far as the eye can reach, acre after acre of land may be seen overgrown with shrub and weed. And, where shrub and weed planted by nature can grow, foodstuffs, planted and tended by man can grow. All that is required is the application of water, manure and labour, and to decide what crop is best suited to each area, and even to each plot of land, and then to push on with all the vigour at our command. We are now facing a crisis, and half measures will not do. Now that the Government have been really roused to the seriousness of the situation, and have decided that the country should be self-sufficient in foodstuffs by 1951, this push, vigour, guidance, and help should be more readily forthcoming.

First of all, the land has to be prepared for cultivation. Here also, there is no need to sit with folded hands and wait till tractors and bulldozers and other modern appliances are available. The value of tractors and bulldozers for reclaiming land for cultivation is fully appreciated, but to wait till they are available while millions are on the verge of starvation would be criminal folly. The almost unlimited, and as yet unutilised resources of manpower in India should be utilised to the fullest extent to reclaim as much land as possible and to bring them under cultivation by the ordinary use of manual labour until such time mechnical appliances are available.

Next to preparing the land for cultivation comes the question of water-supply. Here also, there is no need to wait till our grandiose, spactacular multi-purpose irrigational and hydro-electric schemes, with record breaking dams and thousands of miles of canals come into operation ten to twenty years hence. Immediate action is necessary, and we can tap water for our immediate needs in less speetacular ways and in smaller quantities for each local area along our rivers and water courses, according to the configuration of the land. Let us take one of our larger rivers, the Godavari for instance. This river rises in the Western Ghauts near Nasik close to the Arabian sea, and, after flowing almost half way across the peninsula, empties itself into the Bay of Bengal. Hundreds of little streams and rivulets flow into it, to make it one of the largest and widest rivers in India. Much has been spoken about the Ramapadasagar scheme on this river, much ink has been spilt, much heat generated, and yet, much water flows under its bridges, and uselessly into the sea. This project cannot be completed in less than say 15 or 20 years time. Meantime, need the people starve, the lands it flows through lie fallow, and its immense waters be emptied uselessly into the sea? We need not wait till the little streams and rivulets swell the river into a mighty stream. We can construct small dams and water regulators in these streams and rivulets before they reach the river, and divert the water at suitable intervals to form a series of small tanks. We can continue the process along the river by the provision of a series of small dams

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and regulators, and the drawing off of the water at suitable intervals to form a series of tanks and lakes each capable of irrigating a few thousand or a few hundred acres of land. This will give us a series of small tanks and lakes on both sides of the river, and running parallel to it, and will approximate to the ancient system of irrigation prevailing in India, and traces of which are coming to light from time to time. Temperatures will be lowered, the sub-soil water level raised, and trees will grow along the banks of the lakes, thus preventing erosion and inducing more rainfall. But the main advantage is that it will give us our immediate needs of water.

This does not mean that the Ramapadasagar project and other similar large scale projects should be abandoned. They may be carried out in their turn, but what is immediately needed is a further supply of water for immediate production of more food. If this system is followed on all our rivers and carried out with local manual labour, we can take off sufficient water for all our immediate needs without interfering with any one's water rights, and still leave sufficient water in the river for carrying out the large scale projects later on. It has been estimated that only six per cent of the water in our rivers is now usefully employed, the rest flowing uselessly into the sea. If this system of small tanks and lakes and canals along each river and fed by its waters takes up even another twelve per cent of the water, there will still be 82 percent left for our larger schemes. And, with twelve percent more water for irrigational purposes more widely distributed, and spread all over the country, we can grow not only eight million extra tons of food, but even twice the present quantity produced.

Next in importance to water comes manure. Here also, there is no need to import artificial manures which are in short world supply, and of which we can get only a limited quantity. Nor need we wait till our own fertiliser factories come into production three or four years hence. Even a score of such factories when ready will not be able to supply all India's needs in manure. Fortunately, India has enough of organic manure to meet all her immediate needs, and a considerable proportion of her future needs, if fully and properly utilised. This valuable resource of hers is far more extensive than is generally believed. The term "compost manure" has only recently sprung into prominence, but there is nothing new about it. Our agriculturalists in the fields and our gardeners in the urban areas have been accustomed to making and using compost manure from time immemorial by collecting all the refuse, garbage, dead leaves and flowers etc., into pits or by ploughing them into their fields. But only a fraction of the available material has hitherto been used, and the valuable refuse of our towns has hitherto gone to waste or been destroyed at no little cost. Here again, statistics have been notoriously variable and unreliable. Estimates of the country's resources of compost manure have placed them at anything from the million tons to a hundred million tons. We need not worry about statistics now. There is enough of compost manure available for all our immediate requirements, with the added advantage that it is available in small units all over the country and needs very little efforts for transport to take it to the fields in the neighbourhood. This is a great advantage over artificial manure, which has to be produced at great cost at a central factory, and then be hauled long distances in special waggons to the consuming areas. With compost manure, every village heap, every garden and orchard, every urban area is a potential source of supply. It is a nature's way of returning to the earth what has been taken from it. All that is required is to train, accustom, help, and encourage the people in every village, orchard and farm to conserve and preserve this manure for its own use and for the use of the neighbourhood. This will more than satisfy the needs of India to make it self-sufficient in food by 1951. Fertiliser factories may meantime be built to meet our future requirements, but meantime compost manure which is going to waste at our very doors should be much more extensively used for our immediate needs.

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The next important consideration is labour. It is idle to suggest that with 320 millions of people, seventyfive percent of whom are agriculturists, we cannot provide the labour to produce our own food. There are millions of men and women unemployed or partially employed in the country. Large numbers from the countryside migrate to the towns and urban areas, where many of them are unemployed or unemployable, and add to the difficulties as regards rationing, housing, and sanitaion, etc. The cities should be combed, and all unemployed farm labourers sent back to their villages to help to produce more food. And a different type of labour for levelling, reclaiming, and deweeding new land, for building contour bunds, for building the small dams, water regulators, and canals, and for excavating new tanks and lakes should be created on an organised scale. There is no point in Ministers telling us that every man, woman and child should produce his or her own food. This is all idle, impractical talk which leads us nowhere. It is more to the point to organise all our available labour, to give it good wages and working conditions, and to encourage it to go all out to help in the production of more food. Why not a Labour Corps? In England and other European countries we read of "Land Girls", and "Farm Squads" and other organised forms of labour to produce more food, and with excellent results. During the war we raised over two and a half millions of fighting men alone from among our rural population, and perhaps three or four times that number for the production of munitions and war materials—all for purposes of destruction. Cannot we raise an equal number in organised labour battalions to perform the essential non-agricultural operations as indicated above, in order to bring the land under cultivation and to provide the water etc.? The ordinary agriculturist can then be left to do the actual production under proper supervision and guidance. Eight millions of men and women of an organised "land army", to prepare to fight the invidious enemy of starvation mean only half a million per Province, or twenty-thousand per district. This may be difficult to achieve, but not impossible. The need of the hour demands heroic measures to achieve it.

Having covered the provision af land, manure, water and labour, it only remains to consider taking advantage of the present crisis to change the dietic habits of the people and to accustom them to a more balanced and wholesome diet, to their eventual benefit. For too long have our rural people known nothing more than a meal or two of rice or other gruel, with a scanty fare of vegetables. Millions of them do not know the luxury of a fruit, except very occasionally. This must be resettled, and can be remedied immediately. We must encourage the production of more vegetables, yams, and gourds of every description, wherever the soil and climatic conditions permit. The tomato is a useful and easily grown article of food. A single fruit will provide hundreds of seedlings, and the plant will grow almost anywhere with little care, and produce an abundance of fruit in three or four months time. This fruit should be immediately and extensively cultivated. Next taking fruit, every village should be planted up with a few of the commoner varieties of fruit trees, such as the guava, papaya, custard apple, plantain, sapota, pear, etc. The papaya is not only an excellent fruit, but is very easily propagated, and will grow almost anywhere. A single fruit will provide hundreds of seedlings, and the trees reach maturity in one year's time, and thereafter continue bearing for about eight to ten years before dying out. The larger fruit trees, like the mango, Jak fruit, jambool, breadfruit, etc., should also be planted up alongside every village well, and along the margins of the fields at regular intervals. In a few years, this will provide a sufficient and varied supply of fruit for the rural population throughout the year. The bread fruit is a very valuable fruit which was first introduced into India by the Portuguese several centuries ago. Unfortunately, it has not been extensively cultivated and occurs only occasionally along the west coast, where it is much appreciated

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as an article of diet. If this fruit is more extensively cultivated it will provide an excellent food for the rural people. All the fruit so produced should be reserved for the use of the local people only. To talk of, or to encourage fruit canning before the people have sufficient fresh fruit to eat is like placing the cart before the horse. Fruit canning and preserving are alright in countries where there is a surplus of fruit which would otnerwise go to waste. It is also necessary in cold countries, where the fresh fruit grows during the winter. But to talk of fruit canning in India, before the people have fresh fruit to eat is a crime. It denies the fresh fruit to the common man, raises the price to the average consumer, and takes up much sugar, the plate and other packing materials, and labour which could be more usefully utilised.

SALT AND SUGAR: India with its three-thousand miles of seacoast, has had to import vast quantities of foreign salt at enormous cost. This is an anachronism for which the regime that has passed was responsible, and should be immediately remedied. India with its vast supplies of sugar cane and cheap labour pays more for its locally produced sugar than the price at which it can be imported from thousands of miles away. This is an anarchronism for which the present regime is responsible. If the sugar magnates of India after 17 years of protection cannot provide the people with sugar at prices within their reach, with the result that thousands of tons of sugar are accumulated at the producing centres, while the country, is starved of sugar, to what purpose is protection?

FISH: This is another article of diet which needs to be properly exploited. Arrangements are now being made to increase the catches, but this is not enough. Rapid cold storage and transport facilities need to be provided to enable the fish reach the hungry consuming centres in the interior in good condition and at cheap price. Very little of the catches should be salted or canned, till the needs of the population in fresh fish are fully met.

VANASPATI: Nor is there any need for so many vegetable ghee factories, when the pure natural oil is available. Hydrogenation factories only raise the price of the natural oil to the poor, the price of the manufactured article to the middle classes, and take up much tin plate, packing material, and labour. They should be discouraged, and the supply of the pure natural cooking oils to the people at lower rates provided.

And finally whether we attain our target of self-sufficiency in food by 1951 or not, the Government and the people should not relax their efforts till we attain not only self-sufficiency, but also a surplus of foodstuffs. Our aim should be to produce such a plethora of foodstuffs of every description in a few years' time, that we will feed the surplus to our cattle, poultry and sheep like so many other countries do and thus produce more and better eggs, milk and poultry etc. We can, and we must, produce so much food, that there will be no more hoarding, black-marketting, and profiteering. Prices will fall, and with them wages will fall. People will be better fed, they will be in better health as a result of a plentious and more balanced diet, and therefore capable of producing more. This will, in turn, result in an all round fall in prices. Inflation will be checked and finally defeated. Labour troubles and discontent will be considerably reduced, and the general revenues of the country benefitted. All this is not impracticable. All this is not an unattainable Utopia. India has the resources, and all this is quite possible if we begin aright now, and persist in our all-out efforts till we attain our objective. We can begin now, with the resources at our disposal, instead of waiting for cement, steel, multi-purpose schemes, tractors, bulldozers, and all other modern aids, which we can use later on when available.

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PROBLEMS IN ADMINISTRATION

By Dr. PREM NATH M.A., Ph.D.,

WITH the attainment of Independence, a number of problems which vitally affect the nation are being tackled successfully. Among the set of such problems are those in administration which compel our attention and need scientific approach. It will not be too much to say that a great part of the happiness of the mass of people depends upon the efficiency and integrity of administrators. In the short space of this article. the problems are set forth in brief.

SELECTION OF PERSONNEL

Selection of personnel through open competition has come to stay as the most suitable method in all democratic countries; it is favoured for it goes a long way in eliminating corruption and nepotism as much as it helps to draw on the best brains of a country. But the time has come to revise old tests for entrance to the net-work of administrative services. The change is called for by the latest discoveries and findings of the sciences. In particular, psychology, which has already been profitably used in determining the selection of recruits to various jobs holds good promise. Of that a little later.

The most essential change required, in this regard is that the whole administrative machinery should be permeated by a scientific spirit. And this leads us to the consideration of our present system of education through which every administrator has to pass.

Though statistics are not at hand, it is reasonable to conclude that the majority of those who man the administrative services have had education in Arts and Literature and comparatively few in the sciences. While it is true that an average administrator does not require a very advanced knowledge of sciences or science, it is admitted to-day on all hands that a general study in sciences and statistics for which compulsory courses should be set up in our Universities, is absolutely essential to give the "administrators the scientific outlook," which is so badly required to-day. For some posts which require highly technical knowledge of a science or a group of them, scientists of repute already trained in the art of administration or to be trained in that, should be fixed. So much for the background of education.

Different tests will have to be set for various grades of officials in keeping with the demands that have to be made on them. Psychological tests have gained ground since about 1942. Job-analysis of every function to be performed has givan encouraging results. "Time reaction" experiments have proved helpful in gauging the physical and mental agility of the candidates as well as the soundness of the nervous system. Experiments on 'personality-traits' have yielded fruitful data in picking personnel for diverse ends. The rise and growth of Industrial Psychology has made a manner of experiments possible in varied industries and the results achieved show that all-round improvement has been brought about by way of efficiency, increased output and less waste and so on. With the process of nationalisation of industries set going it has become increasingly important that the experimental method in industry that has already proved of great worth, should as well be tried in the field of administration. This technique which can be fully developed and worked out to suit Indians can be applied at all levels. This is bound to add to the certainty of right selection.

There are conflicting opinions on the age limits of 24 to 25 for entrance into the administrative services. It is argued by one school against the other that recruitment to administrative services at a comparatively early age directly from the Universities is not, as a rule, desirable and that comparatively far more brilliant and efficient people with varied experience in other walks of life and with greater adaptability and maturity of outlook are denied the opportunity of making their valuable contributions. There seems to be vital truth in the assumption. However, India is given the fine opportunity of testing the hypothesis after the personnel settled for group of administrative services from the open market after the Bajpai Commission's report have given account of themselves.

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It is hoped the Government of India will set up a qualified body to test the results on first-rate scientific standards against the background of the system of direct recruitment and its results. The data so gained will be of immense importance in helping the authorities to apportion the percentage to each category of candidates.

RESEARCH IN ADMINISTRATION

So far, in India at any rate, the administration has been carried on on stereo-typed lines and practically no research worth the name has been made to improve all-round efficiency. Need exists, therefore, of a central organisation within the Dominion secretariate or as part of Public Service Commission to research vigorously in fundamentals of administration as well as in day-to-day problems of varied and complex nature, and to scrutnize and co-ordinate departmental problems of the various ministries. In England, by the way, there exist in each ministry Organisation and Methods Sections that have the task of advising on routine matters like the design and strength of organisational structure, the procedures, the various duties of the staff and the use and application of mechanical aids. Such an organisation should be headed by an experienced and efficient administrator, who must essentially have acquired a keen insight into the principles of Sociology and Psychology. Under his guidance a team of researchers could work on diverse problems.

The business of this organisation should be to collect necessary and relevant data regarding various problems and work on that on scientific level. Such problems should include the requisite conditions of efficient working, the organisational methods in theory and practice, the efficiency and output of work, the economy in time and work in adopting with efficiency, the use of mechanical aids such as Hollerith machines and calculators, the human aspect of administration, the relation between the officer and his subordinates and their respective responsibilities and duties and the like. It might, in the present lay out of this article appear to be insufficient reason to institute such an organisation but the realisation of the magnitude of the work and experience would prove that this organisation will have whole-time task once the problems are started being attacked.

THE TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

Not only is the training of administrative personnel very essential at the initial stage of their recruitment but it is equally important at later stages, and in fact, seasonal training could be imparted through a Central School, on the staff of which should be trained teachers while other distinguished persons could be invited to do part-time social service. The Research Organisation referred to above could provide useful data and results to the staff of the school and if it is thought more practicable by experience, the research organisation could even become an integral part of the school.

The school should aim at bringing home to the public servants their responsibilities and functions. Roughly, it should cover two aspects of training, one technical training and the second training in human problems. The former should include courses on scientific methods and approach, logic and statistical technique, the method of discovering of facts and data and their application to administration, the general understanding of industrial and commercial practice etc, the work, fatigue and efficiency, the handling of the sub-ordinate staff etc. The latter should include courses on the general social psychology, the human aspect of administration, the obligations of the administrators to the public, the techniques of opinion, testing and fact-finding, crowd psychology and the like.

A thorough training in the science of administration would make the art of administration more beautiful, effective and efficient. It is a sign of good luck for us that our Prime Minister is satisfied with nothing short of a first-rate scientific approach to the problems and it is to be hoped that various problems in administration would find, before long, successful fromulation and solution under his guidance and direction. We wait for that dynamic change.

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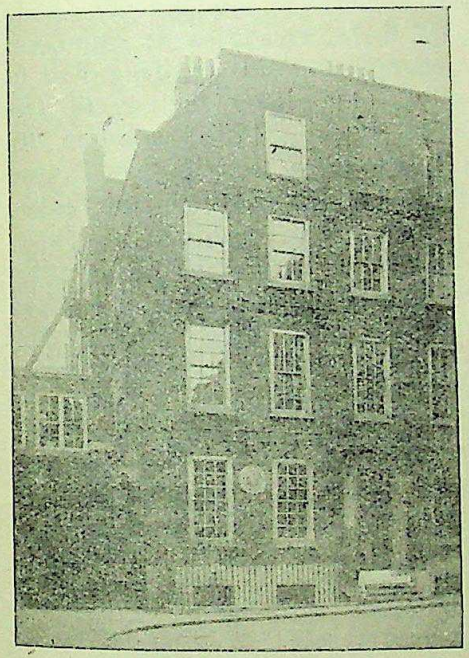
A LINK WITH DR. JOHNSON

BY MR. DAVID GUNSTON

ONE by one, the old literary asaociations of London are coming back to life. The latest piece of welcome revival is the repair and re-opening to the public of Dr. Johnson's famous old house in Gough Square, off Fleet Street.

The "great Lexicographer, the stately Moralist, the masterly Critic", as Boswell once called him, lived here from 1748-1759, did a great deal of work in the building and wrote his famed Dictionary in an upper room there. Although Johnson, a true London figure of his day, lived at various



DR. JOHNSON'S HOUSE
in Gough Square, London

places in London, his tall, well-built house in Gough Square has for long been the only relic left to posterity of his remarkable life.

Johnsonians had good cause to be anxious for its safety during the war. Set in the heart of the most thickly-built area of the City, right in the middle of the hardest-blitzed districts, the house suffered a good deal of damage from ærial attack. Fortunately it stood up well to the worst Hitler's bombers could do, and after a long period necessary for its renovation and repair, is now as good as new.

I went along to Gough Square the other day, turning off the paper-starved but still feverishly busy Fleet Street, through the narrow alleyway which still echoes to the ceaseless clatter of printing machines. It was reassuring to know that this part is to this day the centre of the printing and publishing world, just as it was in the eighteenth century. Indeed, it was to be close to the premises of William Strahan, the printer of his Dictionary, who had his business in New Street Square, which still stands that Johnson came here. Although a large area surrounding the house is devastated and now lies waste, there are still many different printing works within a stone's throw of the residence.

Mrs. Gathergood, the resident custodian who lives next door in a small lodge cottage, told me many interesting things about the vicissitudes of the old house during the recent war. "We had incendiaries, an oil bomb and later, a flying bomb to deal with. But we managed to safeguard the building all right," she said. With her mother, Mrs. Rowell, she stayed by the house all through the worst period of the blitz, in spite of advice to leave for somewhere safer. Surrounded by large inflammable buildings, cut off from the main highway, there could have been few more hazardous spots in the whole of London during the worst days. But these intrepid ladies, aided at times by helpers from nearby, coped with fire-bombs which struck the roof and nearly burnt through the entire attic, to say nothing of the oil bomb which exploded at the rear of the dwelling.

Then, in 1944, a flying bomb landed close to the facade of the house, wrecking one side and doing much damage to the fittings within. But it says something for the expert building of two centuries ago, with its insistance on deep, cellared foundations, and the use of stout wooden beams, that the house withstood the fiercest heat and blast. All too often, the modern

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concrete-and-steel buildings nearby crumbled and fell under the strain.

Now, as you enter this still desirable residence, an air of quiet overtakes you, and as Mrs. Gathergood shows you the fragments of Nazi bombs which fell on the place, now on view in a glass case along with so many relics of Johnson himself, you feel that these startling events have also taken their place in history. Certainly, there is an air of repose about the place, such as the great Sam would have wished for himself.

Yet for all that, the house is not a dead house, a tomb-like museum piece. When its present owner, Lord Harmsworth, bought it in 1911, spending much money to restore it from its then sorry condition, he decided to keep it a live place. "There is no reason why a memorial house should be dreary," he says.

And so, with its unnoticeable renovations of war damage, its choice furnishings and carpets, and the judicious arrangement of a number of Johnsonian relics, mementoes, letters and the like, the place is a haven for the literary-minded and a place of solace for those whose knowledge of the famous Doctor has hitherto been one derived from books only. In addition, the large room on the third floor is available for social and festive gatherings, for literary discussions and readings, and for the drinking of Johnson's favourite beverage, tea! During one part of the war, in fact, the place was converted into a rest club for London firemen on their off-duty periods, a gesture of Lord Harmsworth's that was greatly appreciated by many men who spent hours there in search of food, sleep and relaxation from their arduous task.

During Johnson's tenancy of the place most of the work of compiling his great Dictionary was done. Boswell tells how an upper room, known to be the lengthy attic, was "fitted up like a counting-house for the purpose, in which he gave to the copyists their several tasks." He employed six copyists there and worked with interleaved copies of earlier dictionaries, searching through vast quantities of literature for the appropriate quotations, which he underlined in black-lead pencil. His assistants then extracted the relevant passages and compiled the work. You can see a copy of the original edition of the Dictionary in the house, still in perfect condition.

Among the other work that Johnson did whilst living here are "The Rambler", "The Vanity of Human Wishes", and "Irene", which Garrick produced at Drury Lane in 1752. Many of his famous letters, his contributions to "The Adventurer" and "The Idler" and other pieces were also composed here. Mrs. Johnson died whilst he lived there, and also in latter years, he was under the cloud of debt and financial difficulty. One letter he wrote from the house in March, 1756, entreats monetary assistance from a friend, "as I am under arrest for five pounds eighteen shillings."

Since Johnson's day the house has been variously used as a cheap lodging-house, a hotel and a publisher's office. Carlyle visited it in 1832 and wrote memorably of the occasion. Among the many interesting relics to be seen in the place are the Doctor's canes, some of his books, his sugar-tongs, Mrs. Thrale's tea-service, and Johnson's well-worn stool from his favourite coffee-house, from which it is said he delivered many of his words of wisdom. To modern eyes, however, this stool is decidedly low and uncomfortable.

It is good to have this house open once again, and as the visitor comes down the winding pinewood staircase which must have often creaked under the famous Sam's tread, it is easy to feel that his spirit lives on in the memories of countless admirers the world over.

She was an actress. He was a journalist. He had mentioned works galore that she had not read.

He: "But surely you have read 'Romeo and Juliet?'"

She: "I have read 'Romeo,' but not 'Juliet.

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Production Control in Indian Industries

By Mr. V. L. N. ROW B.Sc., A.M.I.E.

A Sound approach to the system of production prevalent in our workshops mills, and factories is of utmost importance at the moment. Many of us hoped that with the termination of the World War (2) India would take giant strides in the matter of industrialisation. But alas, although over three years have passed, since the end of the War, far from making any substantial advances, the progress has been retrogade and there is a fall in production. Our production of steel in 1945 was only 1.2 million tons, which roughly is the production of some very tiny countries like Belgium, and Sweden while the United Kingdom produced 12·4 million tons and the United States 65·2 million tons. Taking another yard stick of individual development namely the utilization of electrical energy the contrast is rather more painful. Assuming the consumption in India in 1939 as a unit for comparison, Italy consumed 10 units in the same year, France 13, U. K. 20, Germany 37, and the U. S. A. 77. One should at the same time remember that India is famed to have the finest natural resources something like 27 Million H.P. against 43 million H.P. for Canada, and 35 million H. P. for the U. S. A. India produced 8,92,000 tons of steel in '46 whereas she was producing 12,00,000 Tons in 1945. Similarly she only produced 177 million units of electrical energy in 1946 whereas she produced 194 million units in 1945. Cloth production too went down from 4,850 million yards to 4,020 million yards during the same period. Despatches of coal which were 2.11 million tons per month in 1945 went down to 1·9 million tons in 1946. Food grains too were no exception showing a fall from 56 million tons to 50 million Tons during this period. Indian sugar production fell from 12½ lakhs of tons in 1942 to 9¼ lakhs of tons in 1946-47, our annual requirements now being about 20 lakhs of tons. The picture can be continued *ad nauseam*. And India does produce many more things like paper and boards—114,000 tons, glass—150,000 tons, refractories—200,000 tons, soap—160,000 tons, paints and varnishes—72,000 tons, non-ferrous metals—65,400 tons, the position being more or less the same in all these. In most of these items production was much below their individual planned quantities and figures. Alongside this grim picture our population goes on increasing at the rate of 5 million per year. The price levels keep on rising and we are faced with the prospect of further inflation. This then is the present state of affairs in our Industrial production in the country.

"Increased production" has for some time been recommended by some economists and the Government as a panacea for these evils. But perhaps there was not much of a ready response because while every body talked of more and more production nobody bothered to think of "equitable distribution", as the present Government has not yet been able to devote much time to the question of the general wage level in the country. The next suggestion was "Nationalisation" of some important basic industries, by the more revolutionary modern economists, the rather conservative section advocating some sort of a "profit sharing system" to meet the situation and step up production. But if only one ponders the pros and cons of these suggestions, it would be obvious that discouraging private enterprise and frightening away the already timid Indian investor on the one hand and by adding to our low efficiency in Governmental organisations with their bureaucratic red tape and the slow dying inertia, these methods are not the right solutions for our present problems, what then is the solution to the very unsatisfactory condition of affairs prevalent in our present industries? Perhaps the answer is proper "Planning", "Production Control" aided by a very "Scientific system of management" of our existing workshops, mills and factories.

"Scientific management" is often defined as management guided by standard costing with the co-operative efforts of engineers, planners, factory supervisors, and inspectors

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to maintain the proper quantity in the proper quality of the product being manufactured. It is an organized management effort to establish and maintain the required production levels by means of suitable corrective and preventive action. Standard costing provides an instrument for establishing complete control over all categories of expenditure in any manufacturing organization, comprising material labour, equipment, fuel, electricity water, supervision and all other overheads.

The drastic fall in production just after the cessation of hostilities is due to many reasons the chief of which are :

1. Demand for larger outputs.

2. Extreme shortage of trained technical labour and talent.

3. Perhaps a rightful claim of the labour for better wages.

4. Obsolescence of existing machinery, and the difficulty in the procurement of new capital machinery or old part replacement.

5. Reduction in the sales price due to internal competition and import restrictions etc.

If Indian industries are really desirous of maintaining a very high ratio of earnings to cost they should quickly fall in line with the more progressive nations of the world in adopting suitable up-to-date methods of scientific management and efficient production control.

"Production control is a planned mechanism. The planning personnel have first to analyse the manufacturing processes, stage by stage into units and study all the components that make up a processing unit *i.e.* material, equipment, and labour and then build up the mechanism regularly to collect, compile, and present all relevant data to the immediate supervision, in the form of "Production Control" and to the higher management in the form of "Management Control." The Management should have a Standards Department consisting of trained production engineers and Time Study men, who derive their authority from the highest executive and are independent of the mill or factory management, although there is a close liaison between the two. They should investigate and set standards or "norms" for each of the various operations in the manufacturing process. They should decide how the jobs are to be done, what raw material is to be used, what designs and processes are to be followed, what type of tools and machines are to be used, and what class of labour is required for each of these operations, and how long the jobs should take, and then they should schedule a production programme, propose to the management the requisite material, labour and machine utilization, and then record the progress of work as it proceeds.

The Standard values are usually obtained by means of Time Study or Time and Motion Study. Time Study can be briefly defined as the basic tool of management which is used to analyse operations for methods of improvement, establish production standards, and set equitable wage rates for labour. The investigations thus obtained provide full details of potential machine and labour capacities for production. The Standards Department then utilizes this information to initiate a drive directed either to increase output, reduce working hours, reduce costs, increase wages or as many combinations of these aims as possible. This bringing into effective action of the exact knowledge of equipment, labour, and material utilization at individual manufacturing processes in a mill or factory constitutes "Production control", which is a every important item in scientific management.

This production control can be done in the form of an hour, weekly or monthly progress check. This control may be by means of "Posting Sheet," or "visual control methods," by which the workers or groups of workers are kept accurately informed of their activity with respect to Standard. The charts should also show which particular section is ahead of standard, on standard, or behind standard. Correction of any section lagging behind schedule can be undertaken on the basis of the information supplied in the form of these controls, and in good time. Ultimately the activities of all departments in a mill, separately and

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collectively can be presented in the form of Management control to higher management every week, fortnight or month so that each section of the mill eventually is under an effective control of the management, who now would have every possible information at hand through their Standards department. All possible improvements can thus be carried out and all repetition or wasteful or excess movements could be drastically cut down. As the large modern industrial organisations of tomorrow are intricately functionalized mechanisms with a tremendous division of responsibility each function making a special contribution to the ultimate goal of building enough of high quality products at low and economical costs which will provide real service to customer requirements, it is imperative that managements should carefully consider the various problems of "Production control" with respect to their individual organisations.

PLANNING EDUCATION IN MODERN INDIA

By SHARAD KUMARI DUBEY, M.A.

THE purpose of education in modern India should be to give general education to the citizen and to make him a useful member of the community. The educational system of the country is to serve all sections of the population without any discrimination with regard to sex, community, race or religion. Thus in the India's draft constitution a provision has been made to the effect that India being a secular state no religious instruction will be given by the State in any educational institutions wholly maintained out of the State funds. According to the policy of the present Government religion is a matter of conscience for every individual. The State is to remain neutral in religious matters, that is, not to back up any particular religion morally or materially.

2. Education should be so reorientated that it should be regarded not only as a means to an easy livelihood, but should bring about a cultural revolution among the masses. The history of education in India has been one of tragic neglect, and it is the duty of the National Government to chalk out a programme to fight against the ignorance and illiteracy of the masses. The Ministry of Education is certainly aware of these facts, but for the benefit of my readers I give below some data which may serve as an eye opener to them.

3. Between 1931-41 total literacy in India has risen only from 8 to 12 per cent. and male literacy from 14 to 22 per cent. Female literacy has practically remained constant. The percentage of male and female literacy according to the census report of 1931, is as below:—

COMMUNITY	MALE	FEMALE
Parsis	84·5	73·4
Jews	48·8	33·8
Christians	35·2	20·3
Jains	58·2	10·6
Sikhs	13·8	2·9
Hindus	14·4	2·1
Muslims	10·7	1·5
Average total	23·8	2·3

4. The above figures tell their own tale. The disparity between the male and female education is due to the unequal treatment meted out to the girls' education, as most of the people are orthodox, and have a very narrow and conservative outlook. To them it is sheer waste of time and money to give even primary education to the girls. The sphere of women, according to them, is limited to cooking, knitting, and care of the children. Now the time has come that they should be made fully conscious of their folly, and they should realise their duty and the role they have to play in the progressive development of their country. Unless each one of us contribute our own share to the building up a New India, there is but little hope about the success of our educational schemes. Therefore the Government should begin from the lowest rung

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of the ladder in order to bring about a new social order, and should base their plan on a systematic and scientific basis.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

5. The first thing for the Government is to introduce compulsory elementry education, as the primary education is the foundation on which the National Education structure is built. In India this foundation is not only weak, but also defective. The following figures are noteworthy:—

There are 86 lacs of boys receiving instruction in primary schools, corresponding figures for girls is only 28 lacs. The report of the Hartog Committee on the question of wastage is very illuminating. It is estimated that while 26 per cent. of the boys who begin in Class I reach Class IV the number of girls is only 13 per cent. With regard to the condition of the number of institutions and the number, and the quality of the teachers the disparity is beyond discussion. In all these matters conditions in the States, except a few progressive ones are much worse than the provinces.

6. In undivided India upto the year 1944 there were only 161,000 primary schools for boys and 26000 for girls, while the number of secondary schools for boys was 12000 and for girls 1300 only. These figures are with regard to the Provinces only, and there are no statistics available for the States. These can be profitably compared with those of the U.S.S,R. and Turkey, because conditions in these countries were very much similar to those prevailing in India so far as Education of the masses was concerned. Before 1926 the total school going population in Soviet Russia was equal to that of the last prewar years in Imperial Russia. The fall of 1938 saw 33,000,000 children in elementary and secondary schools, and more than a million persons in the higher institutions. The number of pupils and students of all grades in 1933-34-was 23,814,000, and this figure rose to a gigantic height of 339,654,000 in 1939, thus presenting an increase of 142%. According to official figures 82 2 per cent. of the population was literate in 1939. A decree of 1933 made a minimum of seven years of school attendance compulsory for every child in the Union, the ultimate goal being to introduce universal obligatory technical education for all children upto the age of 17 years.

7. In Turkey by 1932 the national illiteracy was said to have fallen from 85 to 42 per cent. Roman alphabet was introduced compulsorily in 1929, and by the end of 1932 all the official correspondence and educational material were in Latin script. All Turks under 40 years of age were made to take lessons in reading and writing and after May 1931, certificates of literacy were required in general for the enjoyment of rights of citizenship. School attendance was made compulsory for children from ages 7 to 16 years.

8. In order to wipe off the illiteracy from this land the Government is to adopt the policy of free and compulsory education for girls and boys. There should be two types of schools primary and secondary. Before entering the primary schools the children should be sent to the preparatory class such as Kindergartens or any other type of junior schools in which children are taught how to read and count. Montessori system should be adopted for preparing children for the schools. In Russia children begin their schooling at the age of 8, while in India this limit may be fixed at 7.

9. The schools should be in a healthy and congenial surrounding, and should be equipped with every type of apparatus that is considered essential for teaching each subject. Each school is to have a Cinema apparatus and a magic lantern with a generous collection of slides. Special film libraries are to be organised in every district by the Board of Education, and films are to be made in accordance with the syllabus in each subject. A teacher may obtain a film in history or geography or any other branch of the sciences whenever he needs it to illustrate a lesson.

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10. The teachers should be selected from the countries from all over the World as in the Soviet Union. In India the only example for this universal selection of the teaching staff is to be found in Shantinketan which symbolises the ideal of Gurudev for the fusion of the East and the West. The teachers should be trained in teaching schools and colleges.

11. To meet the scarcity of space schools should be run on shift system. Besides classes can be taken in the open air under the trees, or on river banks. If the weather is unfavourable temporary huts may be built with minimum material, or tents may be used. Schools are to be opened in every rural area and evening classes should be started to give instruction to the working people.

VARIETY IN SCHOOLS

12. There should be special schools for the children to meet their special aptitudes such as :—

(I) Schools for children with delicate health where they are to get medical treatment sometimes for several years, and simultaneously to continue their studies under supervision of a medico following as far as possible the normal syllabus, (II) Schools for the deaf and the dumb, weak sighted and the blind, with a special syllabus and special text books, experimental apparatus. (III) Schools for the mentally defectives to enable them to get an elementary education in order to acquire some suitable manual profession. (IV) Especial out schools for the exceptionally gifted children such as the schools of music, ballet, painting, and drawing etc. (V) Residential educational institutions especially for the orphans to teach them some skilled labour which may enable them to earn their livelihood. (VI) Vocational schools to train skilled personnel for transport and industry. The training is to be carried out under conditions, which as far as possible correspond to those existing industry itself. This will enable the state to make use of these schools to carry out the special state assignments (VII) The technical schools of different specialities such as the teacher's schools, medical, and nursing institutions etc. But for the selections to these special psychological tests should be undertaken at different stages to find out the suitability of the conditions.

13. Out of schools, children's institutions are to include libraries, technical centre for young naturalists, excursions and tourists' centres, sport centres, swimming pools, and other allied institutions to help the academic work of the schools, and to provide healthy and creative forms and leisure, and to enable youth of school age to carry on their studies after the school hours, on subjects in which they are particularly interested. This will enable them to enlarge their knowlege and improve their physique.

CO-EDUCATION

14 The development of individuality during adolescence has a close bearing on the question of co-education. It is now accepted on all hands that boys and girls should be educated together, as it would make the schools better representative of social life. Apart from its economic value, the system tends to introduce a better understanding and mutual respect between the sexes, and lay the foundation of a better life in future. A very powerful argument is that co-education accords better with the trends of modern industrial civilisation. It has been tried in numerous schools of various countries and has now become the rule in Russia. In India we should have primary and secondary co-educational institutions to reap the full advantage of education.

HIGHER EDUCATION

15. Higher educational establishments, faculties and technical institutions are to be opened by the Government in which plenty of craftsmen, scientists, and skilled workers, engineers, dramatists and doctors are trained. They are the future leaders of a New India, and will bring about a new social order by their initiative and co-operation.

16. The curriculum and syllabus of the higher education should be such as to enable the students to acquire not only the knowledge necessary concerning the speciality as a whole, and to cultivate respect for the humanities. To achieve this the first three years are to be devoted to lectures giving a

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general picture of the speciality, and the fourth and the fifth years to a serious specialisation in a particular branch of the subject as also recommended by the Sargent Commission. The university timetables are also to include social and economic courses as well as physical and military training. The syllabus is to provide compulsory practical training in factories, agriculture, hospitals, schools, and in the communication services according to the student's inclination. Students should be encouraged in the organisation of sports, clubs and stadiums. The Universities should also have special post-graduate courses to train professors, lecturers, and scientific personnel. These courses should be undertaken by the most talented and gifted students who desire to devote themselves to research work after graduation.

17. Along with the regular system of graduation an extensive system of correspondence courses should be started by standard institutions under government supervision, which will enable students to study without abandoning this work. This method will help a large number of students who cannot afford to attend regular classes.

ADULT EDUCATION

18. The problem of adult education has drawn but little attention of the government, and almost everything has been left to private effort. The largest literacy campaign in India began in the Punjab in 1920. The enrolment in 1922 was 17776 and it grew to 42000 in 1938. In 1937 the National Adult Educational Union of Great Britain sent Mr. T. F. Williams as their representative to study the ways of assisting adult education in India. His visit resulted in formation of "Adult Education Society" in Delhi in that year under the presidency of Sir Shah Suleiman. The first all India Adult Education Conference met in March 1938 and a genuine service has been rendered to the country in setting up a machinery for a great campaign. The most extraordinary literacy drive recorded in India before 1939 was that conducted by the government of Bihar. The Government of Bombay had also started a similar move. In Januray 1939 the government of The United Provinces launched their campaign, and the Honouralble Mrs. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit said" I appeal to every educated man and woman to take a vow to make at least one person literate." Recently the government of The Central Provinces have started a programme for adult literacy, but it has not so far met with great success as it suffers from several drawbacks. In all such measures great care should be taken to preserve even the little knowledge that has been imparted by making provision for a large number of circulating libraries and reading clubs to ensure against lapses into illiteracy.

19. But all this attempt is insignificant considering the millions who are to be set free from the prison of darkness. India must make her 300 millions literate within the next ten years. The task is a gigantic one, but there is no reason to despair, as ours is a country of vast resources, and if they can be mobilised in the right direction we can achieve our goal. The examples of China, Japan, Denmark, Turkey, and Russia are powerful illustrations of what adult education can do for the social and economic reconstruction of the people.

20. However literacy by itself does not constitute adult education as it means post-school education for workers who are denied the chance of higher education. In the more advanced countries of the West, for example, England, America, Russia, and Turkey adult education is imparted by means of popular lectures, public meetings, theatrical performances on the stage, street dramas, cinemas, gramaphones, radio, broadcasting community sets, magic lantern shows etc, etc. Dr. Laubach in his book" "India shall be literate" has made some valuable suggestions with regard to the methods adopted in adult education.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

21. Instruction should be given in the child's mother tongue so that it may imbibe thoroughly whatever is taught It will save time and energy and the student

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will grasp the subject matter systematically. The Government should finance the educational institutions, but should not interfere in their internal administration, (the daily routine) so that strict descipline may be maintained by the head of the institution. The maxim that one who pays for the pipe has a right to call the tune is at times a pernicious one, as recently several incidents have been reported from various parts of India of the much unwanted interference by the Government of the provinces even in small details and day to day working of the educational institutions. The appointment of the University Commission by the government is a good step in this direction. The relationship between the government and the Universities should be defined in such a manner so as to leave sufficient scope to the latter to enlarge their educational activities. Every effort should be made to discard the growth of narrow provincialism by making the Universities the best representatives of universal learning and to make them the arsenal of World citizenship. Instruction should be given to all without any discrimination of sex, caste, creed, religion, and race etc. The method must be based on a conscious and intelligent assimilation by the pupil of the given subject, and should be as thorough, and as much linked with the practice as possible. What we want is to develop and improve the mind of the student, and to impart him the knowledge of the basic facts. He must not simply mug up things, but acquire knowledge in the real sense of the term, and develop a critical approach to the subject. His mind must not be burdened with confused material and unnecessary stuff. The Educational authorities should see that a subject is prescribed logically and methodically, that the teacher develops in the student a capacity for independant work with books, and in laboratories, and in workshops, and that he makes use of available usual appartus, experiments and exercises.

22. Besides the academic task every teacher is to be responsible for character training and the general development of the pupils. They must be infused with the best qualities of men and women. These are love for the humanity, honesty, courage solidarity, and love for work. Societies and clubs are to be formed amongst the students to train them in the art of good citizenship, to develop a sense of responsibility towards the community, and to accustom them from their childhood to carry out social duties.

CONCLUSION

23. The popular demand for a war against illiteracy has greatly increased with the dawn of our independence. As Dr. Laubach has remarked: "Success of democracy lies in an educated and well informed constituency", and an uneducated and ignorant community has little opportunity of informing itself and maintaining its moral and spiritual health. Economic welfare, co-operation in the national and community life, and intelligent practice of religion and culture are severely handicapped where the mind and spirit cannot be replenished by knowledge. Subservience, ignorance, and mistrust are enshrined where the masses are illiterate. Therefore the first and foremost task of the National Government is to start an all India educational scheme for the masses. It cannot afford to be negligent on the pretext of financial difficulties which can be surmounted by economising in the less vital items of expenditure. Moreover the government should obtain the assistance of other private and social organisations to achieve success in their literacy campaign. The colleges, and the universities, the teachers, training schools, the primaty and secondary schools can contribute their bit by helping the government in their battle against illiteracy. Adult education societies can be formed, and literacy conferences can be called to inspire, lecture and instruct the community. The timely declaration of the Hon. Minister for Education, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, fixing five year limit to make 50 per cent. of the Indian population literate is a happy and welcome feature of our Nation-building scheme.

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GOOD-BYE DEFEATISM

By Mr. KANWAR LAL SHARMA

THE last hammer on the shackles of slavery fell on the 15th of August, 1947. The sun of liberty shone on the horizon of India. Cheerful and eager crowds mobbed the Red Fort where flew the "Tri-coloured" proclaiming to the world the happy tidings of India's Independence. With the advent of independence an era of much greater responsibilities set in. We certainly bade good-bye to political slavery but much remained to be done. Somehow or other ages old slavery has moulded our characters in a very different shape. Many evils and vices went on creeping gradually in our politics. This predominant feature was born of frustration. National character touched the lowest ebb. Treachery, jealousy, and mutual factions dried the fountains of honesty, truth and self-confidence. A weak and cowardly nation emerged that was exploited by foreigners for centuries. A long countrywide campaign launched under the spirited guidance of the Father of the Nation, reinvigorated the smarting nation. Glory be to those illustrious martyrs who laid their lives at the altar of Motherland and brought about this emancipation.

Situated as we are, the country is faced with a deep crisis wherein every man and woman's mettle is to be tested. We are at the world bar for trial. It is easier to fight against foreign exploiters and rulers and attain independence than preserving the hard won fruit. The question arises as to what essential traits in our character have to be developed in order to gain strength enough both to protect our liberty and march on the road of progress to win our rightful place in the comity of nations. First and foremost is the development of self-confidence and confidence in our leaders. Incorrigible and ill-informed criticism saps the strength of the nation. Now we are to see whether nearly two years of freedom have resulted in engendering that stern and solid type of self-confidence. A cursory glance would ensure us that it is not so. Generally every one appears to be frustrated, down-hearted. An incessant criticism in and out of season of our government and leaders continues unabated. Every where doubts are expressed of the success of the present administrators. Instead of pooling all our resources together and closing our ranks, we find new gaps and new "isms" emerging from the present confusion. "We have no discipline, no character, no unity, no strength and hence we cannot rise to those heights to which other countries have risen", is the sum total of what we generally hear in the streets, on the platform, in the press and in private conversations. I am sure unless such pessimistic attitude of mind is declared as a social offence we cannot go ahead. Complete transformation of character in this aspect is the imperative need of the hour. No doubt we are industrially lacking behind, militarily our strength is nowhere near-about the great powers of the world, socially here and there we are cramped by inhibitions and taboos, economically we are not out of the wood and educationally we are far behind. Thus we find ourselves sitting on the mouth of a volcano which might burst any moment. If we keep on there as frightened children, we won't overcome this crisis. We have to gird up our loins and keep our chins up, if we wish to be crowned with success.

Every man and woman of India has to contribute his and her share ungrudgingly in order to win back our greatness. "Difficult we do at once and impossible takes a little longer," which is the motto of blue-bees of American navy boys, must be our motto now. Conditions in Turkey before Kemal Pasha took the reins and in Russia before Lenin appeared on the scene and even America before Washington came in the saddle did not vary much differ from those prevalent in India to-day. Let us read the history of those troublesome times in those countries and learn a lesson.

Leaders can only inspire and lead but it is for those who are led to translate the ideals into actions. They can take only vital and bold decisions, the implementation

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of which entirely rests on the shoulders of the people. Fortunately we have leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel who are at the helm of affairs.

Let us then give up this destructively critical bent of mind and yoke our necks to drag the chariot out of this mud. The time for words is gone, it is an age of deeds. If we fall short, we fall flat. Here is the most critical hour when either we can make our nation or mar it. We have undertaken vast and huge works like the Damodar Valley, Yumna and Bhakra Projects etc. of about 300 crores in different parts of the country. We have started huge factories for manufacturing aeroplanes and ships in Bangalore and Vizagapatam respectively. We are setting up quite a few research institutions in various lines. We are laying down new railway lines, building new roads and new air lines. Let us develop in our character both patience and perseverance to push through this elaborate programme. "Rome was not built in a day." Another fifteen years, and on the map of the world will rise a great nation of Indians also. But to ensure our success the most lamentable lack of self-confidence has to be replaced by laudable self-confidence.

Blackmarketting, nepotism, jobbery and corruption both in public life and administration are a few of those monsters which we have to fight with. Are we to understand that a few Ministers and leaders can single-handedly fight these eveils? Is it ever possible that such vices could be crushed only by issuing ordinances, framing harsh rules and arming the executive with drastic powers? The obvious answer is 'No'. However harsh may be the rules and regulations and however strong may be our leaders we cannot reap the harvest unless the nation as a whole follows in the foot-steps of its leaders and renders every possible assistance and co-operation.

Let us now rise to the occasion and discard our habits of defeatism at every step. Free India needs different qualities in our character on the pattern of others in different countries like England, America and Russia. The teachings of the Father of the Nation should serve as a "Beacon Light" in this stormy sea.

A GANDHI ANECDOTE

THAT PENCIL BIT THE TOT GAVE

KAKA Kalilker, the friend and colleague of Gandhiji, has this interesting anecdote which we reproduce here in English, with due acknowledgement to *Khaddar Malar* in which it appeared in Tamil. Writing in a reminiscent mood, Kaka Kalilker says:

During the 1915 Congress in Bombay I had the privilege of spending some time with Bapuji. One day I noticed him searching furiously for something in a agitated mood.

I asked him: "Bapuji, what are you searching?"

"A small pencil," he answered.

I took one out of my attache case to give him.

"No, no. I want the small pencil I am searching for," Bapuji said.

"Use this for the moment, Bapuji, and I shall search for yours later," I replied.

"You do not understand," Kaka, he said. "I should not lose that pencil. It was given to me in Madras by the young son of G. A. Natesan.* And with what affection he ran and gave it to me; and how can I afford to lose it?"

We both searched the rogue of a pencil, and Bapuji felt at ease only after it was found.

The pencil was hardly one inch long.

It reveals how great Gandhiji was even in small things.

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* The son referred to is Mr. Manian Natesan, the present Managing Editor of the *Indian Review*.

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

LIFE AND DEATH

Landor's picture of Cicero, the grand old Roman, discoursing with his brother Quinctus on the problems of life and death is by all accounts one of the most perfect in the English language. In this Dialogue, Landor presents the more stoic side of his philosophy. He infuses into his heroes something of his own large nature. His style has the muscular harmony of "deep chested music" fully reflecting the strength and tenderness of his heroic dreams.

Death has two aspects: dreary and sorrowful to those of prosperous, mild and almost genial to those of adverse fortune. Her countenance is old to the young, and youthful to the aged: to the former her voice is importunate, her gait terrific: the latter she approaches like a bedside friend, and calls in a whisper that invites to rest. To us, my Quinctus, advanced as we are on our way, weary from its perplexities and dizzy from its precipices, she gives a calm welcome: let her receive a cordial one. . . . .

Were it certain that the longer we live the wiser we become and the happier then indeed a long life would be desirable; but since on the contrary our mental strength decays, and our enjoyments of every kind not only sink and cease, but diseases and sorrows come in place of them, if any wish is rational, it is surely the wish that we should go away unshaken by years, undepressed by griefs, and undespoiled of our better faculties. Life and death appear more certainly ours than whatsoever else; and yet hardly can that he called ours which comes without our knowledge, and goes without it; or that which we cannot put aside if we would and indeed can anticipate but little. . . . .

Everything has its uses, life to teach us the contempt of death, and death the contempt of life.

—*Landor: "Marcus Tullius and Quinctus Cicero."*

CYNIC (or SATYAGRAHI)!

[*Great minds think alike. Is is astonishing that a Greek philosopher, preaching 2 000 years ago, should have used the identical words that Gandhiji used only the other day. There is a singular uniformity in the methods of approach among the great men of all ages, to the vital problems of life. "Cynic" in those days conveyed a different meaning from what it does today. What Epictetus said of the Cynic was exactly what Gandhiji preached to his band of Satyagrahis*]

To be a cynic is not merely to wear coarse clothing, to endure hard fare, to beg his bread, to rebuke luxury in others; it is to stand forward as a pattern of virtue to all men, to be to them the ambassador of Zeus, showing how far they have strayed from what is right and true, how they have mistaken good for evil, and evil for good. It is the duty of the cynic to shame men out of their peevish murmurings by himself maintaining a cheerful and contented disposition under whatever pressure of outward circumstances. If reviled and persecuted, it is his duty to love his persecutors, and far from appealing to the courts against ill-usage, to render thanks to God for giving him an opportunity of exercising his virtue and setting a brighter example to others. While fearless in reproving vice, he should avoid giving unnecessary offence, and endeavour, as far as possible, to recommend his teaching, not only by persuasiveness of speech, but also by manner and personal appearance, never allowing hardness to degnerate into rudeness or courseness. If the Cynic were living in a society of wise men, it might be his duty to marry and bring up children like himself; but as things are, he must look upon himself as a soldier in active service, and keep himself free from all ties which might interfere with his great work of delivering the Divine message to the blind and erring world.

—*Epictetus (or Gandhi).*

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"DAFFODILS"—WORDSWORTH & DOROTHY

[*Many of Wordsworth's finest poems are verse translations from his sister's prose. As he himself said; "She gave me eyes, she gave me ears". Here is the passage in Dorothy's Journal from which "Daffodils"-one of the best known lyrics of the poet was translated*]

We saw a few daffodils close to the water-side. But as we went along there were more and yet more: and at last, under the boughs of the trees, we saw that there was a long belt of them along the shore. They grew among the mossy stones, about and about them; Some rested their heads upon those stones, as on a pillow, for weariness: and the rest tossed and reeled and danced, and seemed as if they verily laughed with the wind that blew upon them over the lake; they looked so grey, ever glancing, ever changing.

. . . . .

[*Now observe how close the poet's version is to Dorothy's "Journal". He repeats the very words and phrases*]

I wandered lovely as a cloud
That floats on high o'er vales and hills,
When all at once I saw a crowd,
A host, of golden daffodils;
Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.

Continuous as the stars they shine
And twinkle in the milky way,
They stretched in neverending line
Along the margin of a bay:
Ten thousand saw I at a glance,
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.

The waves beside them danced; but they
Out-did the sparkling waves in glee:
A poet could not but be gay,
In such jocund company:

. . . . . .

For oft, when on my coach I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure fills
And dances with the daffodils.

I WOULD CHOOSE TO BE A BEGGAR

Poor man reproaches poor man in the street with impolitic mention of his condition, his own being a shade better, while the rich pass by and jeer at both. No rascally comparative insults a Beggar or thinks of weighing purses with him. He is not in the scale of comparison. He is not under the measure of property. He confessedly hath none, any more than a dog or a sheep. No one twitteth him with ostentation above his means. No one accuses him of pride, or upbraideth him for mock humility. None jostle with him for mock humility, quarrels for precedency. No wealthy neighbour seeketh to eject him from his tenement. No man sues him. No man goes to law with him. If I were not the independent gentleman that I am, rather I would be a retainer to the great, a led captain, or a poor relation, I would choose, out of the delicacy and true greatness of my mind, to be a Beggar.

—*Lamb.*

. . . . .

PHILLIS

Phillis, since we both have been kind
And of each other had our fill;
Tell me what pleasure you can find
In forcing nature against her will.

'Tis true you may with art and pain
Keep in some glowings of desire;
But still those glowings which remain
Are only ashes of the fire.

Then let us free each other's soul
And laugh at the dull constant fool
Who would love's liberty control,
And teach us how to whine by rule.

Let us no impositions set
Or clogs upon each other's heart;
But, as for pleasure first we met,
So now for pleasure let us part.

We both have spent our stock of love,
So consequently should be free;
Thyrsis expects you in yon grove;
And pretty Chloris stays for me.

—*Mathew Prior* (1664-1721).

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DR. JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE

[*When Mrs. Thrale, widow of Mr. Thrale whose kindness had soothed 20 years of Johnson's life "radically wretched" married Piozzi an Italian adventurer against all counsels of prudence and good sense Johnson was furious with anger and pity. He entreated her to desist from the "wickedness." The irrevocable step having been taken he demanded her at least from deserting England "her home, her children and her religion" and migrating to Italy. Mrs Thrale was unrepentent. Johnson, moved to his depths by the fall of his life long friend, wrote these memorable words in his veledicti*on:]

When Queen Mary took the resolution of sheltering herself in England, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's attempting to dessuade her, attended on her journey, and when they came to the irremeable stream that separated the two kindgdoms, walked by her side into the water, in the middle of which he seized her bride, and with earnestness proportioned to her danger and his own affection pressed her to return. The Queen went forward···If the parallel reaches thus far, may it go no further—The tears stand in my eyes.

. . . . . .

EPITAPH

These, who desired to live, went out
to death;
Dark underground their golden Youth
is lying.
We live: and there is brightness
in our breath
They could not know—the splendour
of their dying.

—*Lascelles Abercrombie* (Written for the Liverpool University Roll of Honour.)

. . . . . .

WISDOM IN LIFE

Wisdom does not show itself so much in precept as in life—in a fairness of mind and a mastery of appetite. It teaches us to do, as well as to talk: and to make our words and actions all of a colour.

—*Seneca.*

PLATO TO STELLA

[*Here is a beautiful poem in one stanza exquisitely translated by Shelley from Plato:*—]

Thou wert the morning star among
the living,
Ere thy fair light had fled:
Now, having died, thou art as Hesperus giving,
New splendour to the dead.

—*Shelley.*

. . . . . .

MACAULAY'S DEATH

We found him in the library, seated in his easy chair, and dressed as usual; with his book on the table beside him. . . . He died as he had wished to die; without pain; without any formal farewell; **preceding to the grave all whom he loved;** and leaving behind him a great and honourable name, and the memory of a life every action of which was as clear and transperant as his own sentences.

—*George Trevelyan.*

. . . . . .

REMEMBRANCE

Blow out, you bugles, over the rich Dead!
There's none of these so lonely and
poor of old,
But, dying, has made us rarer gifts than gold,
These laid the world away; poured
out the red
Sweet wine of youth; gave up the years to be
Of work and joy, and that unhoped serene,
That men call age; and those that
would have been
Their sons, they gave, their immortality.

—*Rupert Brooke.*

. . . . . .

I SHALL NOT PASS THIS WAY AGAIN

I expect to pass through this world but once. Any good work, therefore, I can do or show to any fellow creature, let me do it now. Let me not defer or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again.

—*William Penn.*

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TOLSTOY AND GANDHI

—— : o : ——

Mr. Louis Fisher, the well-known American Correspondent visited Gandhiji at Wardha and became his friend and biographer. His writings, marked by deep sympathy and understanding of the Mahatma's character, have attracted wide attention in India and abroad. In the following article—the third of a series of thirteen articles—he presents an idea of the correspondence that passed between Count Leo Tolstoy the Russian saint and author and Mahatma Gandhi. Texts of letters that passed between these two great thinkers of the West and the East, throw light on the fact that Tolstoy had significant influence on Gandhiji's thoughts and actions specially in the days of his early struggle in South Africa.—[ED. *I.R.*]

DURING the time Mohandas K. Gandhi was studying law in London, he went over to Paris to tour the 1890 great Paris Exhibition. Among other things, Gandhi saw the Eiffel Tower, which was then new. Count Leo Tolstoy, the Russian novelist, had called the tower a monument to man's folly. Gandhhi read this disparaging remark and concurred. This was Gandhi's first, slight acquaintance with Tolstoy.

But in the period of 21 years that Gandhi spent in South Africa, Tolstoy became one of the decisive influences in his life.

In Gandhi's law office in Johannesburg, there were several books about Tolstoy on religious subjects. It was in prison, however, that Gandhi fully absorbed Tolstoy's teachings.

Born in 1823 into the ancient Russian nobility, Tolstoy had wealth, lived in high society, and wrote of love, strife and life, with unprecedented discernment and genius. 'War and Peace', probably the world's greatest novel, 'Anna Karenina', 'Resurrection' and other works all brought him colossal success and international recognition. But his soul always tormented him; the discrepancy between Christianity and Christ troubled him. From early manhood he was a reformer; later he reformed himself.

In central Russia the Slave aristocrat grappled with the same spiritual problems that occupied a Hindu lawyer in South Africa.

Tolstoy formulated his creed in 1884 in a book called 'My Religion', of which, owing to rigorous Czarist censorship, only 50 copies were printed. That year he proposed to give his estate to his wife and thus escape from 'intolerable luxury'; in 1885 he abandoned smoking, meat eating and hunting, and began to take long, cross-country walks. He cultivated this simple life, went barefoot, wore a plain muzhik's smock and trousers, and ploughed, harrowed and planted along with the peasants. In 1891, he actually divided his property among his wife and children and devoted himself to popular education, famine relief, and writing about vegetarianism, marriage and theology. Though he excoriated church institutions, searchers after the true faith made his Yasana Polyana their Mecca. Christians, Jews, Moslems and Hindus and Buddhists came from the four corners of the earth to sit at the feet of the famous nobleman who had drunk his fill of material pleasures and now, nearly 70, sought God.

TOLSTOY'S DISCIPLE

In 1893, Tolstoy wrote a book entitled "The Kingdom of God is Within You'. The name of the volume is the gospel of its author. It was this volume that Gandhi read in prison. It made him a disciple of Tolstoy.

"The history of the church" Tolstoy bluntly affirmed in his book, "is the history of cruelty and horror ···Between churches in the ecclesiastical sense and Christianity, not only is there nothing in common except the name, but they are utterly contradictory and hostile elements". Furthermore, 'every church, with its doctrines of redemption and salvation, and above all, the Orthodox faith (of Russia) with its idolatry excludes the doctrine of Christ'. Impartially, and with icy logic and myriad quotations Tolstoy proved to his own satisfaction that all Christian churches try 'to conceal that true meaning of the doctrine of Christ.'

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Tolstoy confirmed Gandhi in his love of Christ and supplied him with an armful of arguments against those Christian clergymen in South Africa and India who thought a saint needed enrolment in a church.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH TOLSTOY

Gandhi's first personal contact with Tolstoy was in the form of a letter, written in English, and dated Westminster Palace Hotel, 4, Victoria Street, S. W., London, October 1, 1909, and mailed from there to Yasana Polyana in central Russia. The purpose of the letter was to acquaint the Russian novelist with the civil disobedience in the Transvaal, which had been going on for almost three years. Gandhi reported that of the British Indian population of nearly 13,000 in Transvaal 'nearly one-half . . . . have withdrawn from the Transvaal rather than submit to a law which they considered degrading. Of the other half, nearly 2,500 have, for conscience's sake, allowed themselves to be imprisoned--some as many as five times.'

This long letter of Gandhi's also asked Tolstoy's permission to translate and print 20,000 copies of Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindu" on the unrest in India.

In this 'Letter', Tolstoy had made certain remarks about the doctrine of reincarnation, and Gandhi inquired whether, in translation, he would allow this section to be deleted.

In Tolstoy's diary entry for September 24th, 1909 (the Russian calender was then 13 days behind the Western calendar), he wrote, 'Received a pleasant letter from a Hindu of the Transvaal'. Four days later, Tolstoy wrote a letter to Vladimir G. Chertkov, his intimate friend, and, later, the editor of his collected works, saying, 'The letter of the Transvaal Hindu has touched me'.

Under date of Yasana Polyana, October 7, (20) 1909, Tolstoy wrote a reply to Gandhi in Russian.

The Russian text was translated into English by Tolstoy's daughter, Tatiana, who mailed it to Gandhi, Tolstoy wrote,

I have just received your most interesting letter, which has given me great pleasure. God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal. The same struggle of the soft against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence, is making itself felt every year more and more among us here. As to the word 'reincarnation'. I should not myself like to omit it, for in my opinion, belief in reincarnation can never be as belief in the immortality of the soul and in God's justice and love. However, do as you please. . . I greet you fraternally and am happy to have contact with you. (signed) Tolstoy.

SECOND LETTER

Gandhi's second letter to Tolstoy was written in Johannesburg on April 4, 1910, and was accompanied by a copy of Gandhi's little book, 'Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule.' In the letter Gandhi said,

As a humble follower of yours, I send you herewith a booklet which I have written. It is my own translation of a Gujarati writing. Curiously enough, the original writing has been confiscated by the Government of India. I therefore hastened the publication. I am most anxious not to worry you, but if your health permits it, and if you could find the time to go through the booklet needless, to say I shall value very highly your criticism of the writing. I am sending also a few copies of your 'Letter to a Hindu', which you authorized me to publish. It has been translated in one of the Indian languages. I am your obedient servant (signed) M. K Gandhi.

On April 19, 1910 Tolstoy wrote as follows in his diary:

This morning two Japanese arrived. Wild men in ecstasy over European civilisation. On the other hand, the book and the letter of the Hindu reveal an understanding of all the shortcomings of European civilization and even of its total inadequacy.

Next day there was another entry in Tolstoy's diary:

'Yesterday I read Gandhi on civilisation. Very good',

and again the next day:

'Read a book about Gandhi. Very important. I must write to him.'

The reference to the book about Gandhi is the 'Biography of Gandhi' by J. J. Doke, which Gandhi had sent to Tolstoy.

TOLSTOY'S REPLY

A day later, Tolstoy wrote a letter to his friend Cherkov, in which he mentioned Gandhi's letter and Gandhi's passive resistance struggle in South Africa. Referring to Gandhi, he said, 'He is a person very close to us, to me'.

Tolstoy replied to Gandhi on April 25, (May 8), 1910 from Yasana Polyanat. He wrote,

'Dear Friend: I just received your letter and your book, 'Indian Home Rule'. I read your book

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with great interest because of the things and questions you treat in it: the passive resistance is a question of the greatest importance, not only for India, but for the whole of humanity.

I cannot find your former letters, but came across your biography by J. Doss (this is a mistake made by Tolstoy. L. F.) which too interested me much and have me the possibility to know and understand your letter. I am not quite well at present and therefore abstain from writing to you all that I have to say about your book and all your work, which I appreciate very much, but I will do it as soon as I will feel better. Your friend and brother, L. Tolstoy.

The above is the English translation which Gandhi received of Tolstoy's much more literary Russian.

THIRD LETTER

Gandhi's third letter to Tolstoy is dated 21-24 Court Chambers, corner Rissik and Anderson Streets, Johannesburg. August 15, 1910. In this communication Gandhi acknowledged Tolstoy's letter of May 8, thanked him for it and added: "I shall look forward to your detailed criticism of the work which you have been so good as to promise in your letter." Gandhi also informed Tolstoy of the establishment of Tolstoy Farm by Mr. Kallenbach and himself. He said that Kallenbach was writing to Tolstoy about the farm. The letters of Gandhi and Kallenbach, accompanied by several issues of Gandhi's weekly, *Indian Opinion*, heightened Tolstoy's interest in Gandhi. In his diary of September 6, (19), 1910. Tolstoy wrote, 'Pleasant news from Transvaal about the passive resistance colony'. Tolstoy was at this time in a state of serious spiritual depression and was physically ill. Nevertheless, he replied to Gandhi's letter on the day he received it. Tolstoy dictated the letter on the evenings of the 5th and 6th of September (18 and 19). On the 7th (20), Tolstoy corrected the letter and sent it in Russian to Chertkov for English translation.

It was Chertkov who mailed Tolstoy's letter to Gandhi. Chertkov included in the letter of his own in which he said 'My friend, Leo Tolstoy, has requested me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him of August 15th and to translate into English his letter to you of September 7 (new style 20 Sept.) written originally in Russian.

All you communicate about Mr. Kallenbach has greatly interested Tolstoy, who has asked me to answer for him Mr. Kallenbach's letter. Tolstoy sends you and your co-workers his heartiest greetings and warmest wishes for the success of your work, his appreciation of which you will gather from the enclosed translation of his letter to you. I must apologize for my mistakes in English in the translation, but living in the country in Russia, I am unable to profit by the assistance of any Englishman for correcting my mistakes.

'With Tolstoy's permission his letter to you will be published in a small periodical printed by some friends of ours in London. A copy of the magazine with the letter shall be forwarded to you, as also some English publications of Tolstoy's writings issued by "The Free Press."

As it seems to me most desirable that more should be known in English about your movement, I am writing to a great friend of mine and Tolstoy, Mrs. Mayo, of Glasgow, proposing that she should enter into communication with you.

Chertkov sent a separate letter to Mr. Kallenbach.

TOLSTOY'S LAST LETTER TO GANDHI

Tolstoy's own letter to Gandhi was the longest in the whole correspondence, dated September 7 (20) 1910 and translated into English by Chertkov it was mailed to an intermediary in English for posting to Gandhi. The intermediary was ill at the time and only mailed the letter on November 1, so that Gandhi received the letter in the Transvaal several days after the death of Count Leo Tolstoy. Gandhi was not satisfied with Chertkov's English rendering and had it retranslated by Pauline Paklashuk on November 15, 1910. It was published at the time in *Indian Opinion* and also in the Golden Number of *Indian Opinion* in 1914 on the occasion of Gandhi's great victory for civil disobedience in South Africa.

Tolstoy said:

The longer I live, and especially now when I vividly feel the nearness of death I want to tell others what I feel so particularly clearly and what to my mind is of great importance—namely, that which is called passive resistance, but which in reality is nothing else than the teaching of love uncorrupted by false interpretations.

That love..is the highest and only law of human life and in the depths of his soul every human being (as we see most clearly in children) feels and knows this; he knows this until he is entangled by the false teachings of the world. This law was proclaimed by all, by the Indian as well as

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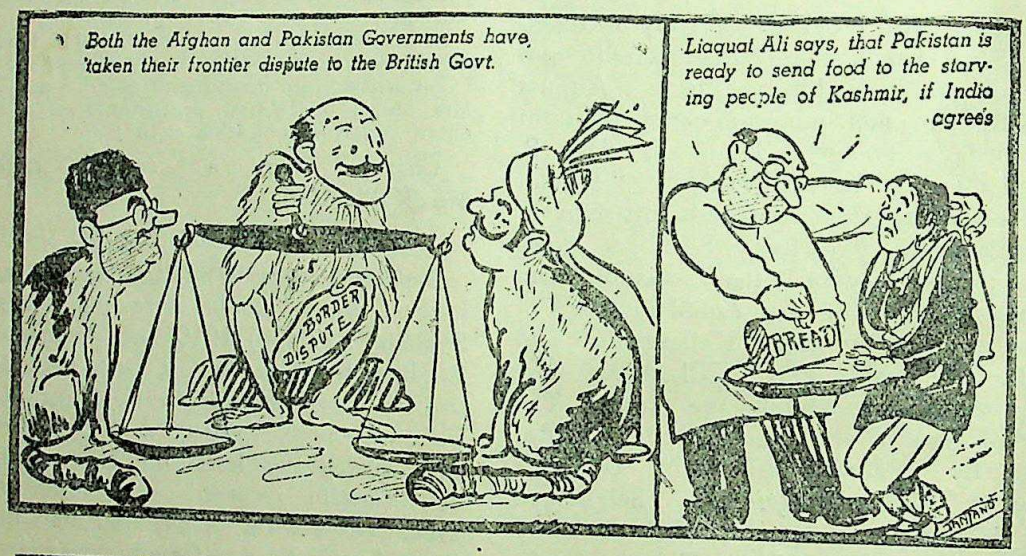
by the Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman sages of the World....

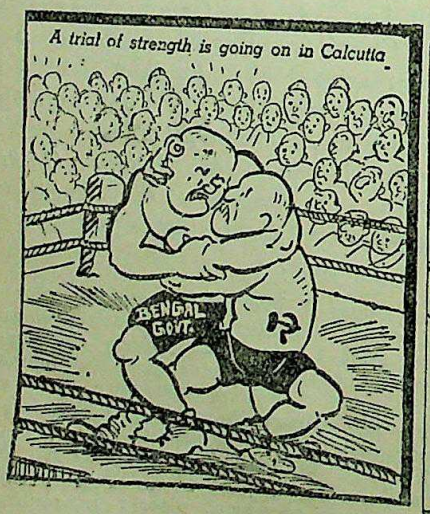
'In reality, as soon as force was admitted into love, there was no more and there could be no more love as the law of life, and as there was no law of love, there was no law at all, except violence, *i.e.*, the power of the strongest. Thus Christian mankind has lived for 19 centuries....'

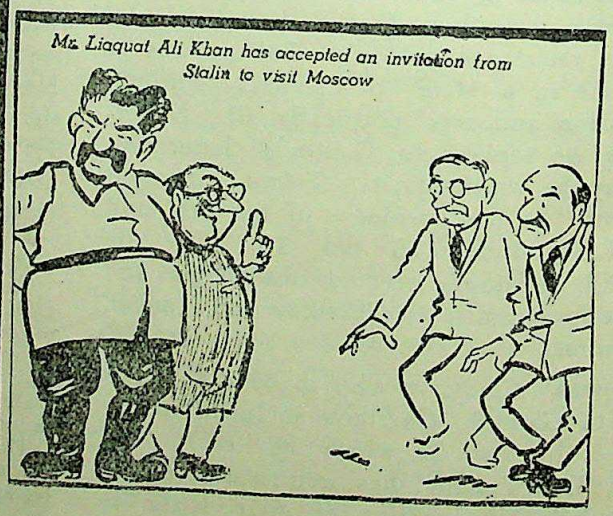
Gandhi's three letters to Count Leo Tolstoy are in the archive of Vladimir G. Chertkov in Moscow.

The texts of Gandhi's three letters in the original English and in the Russian translation, as well as the Russian originals of Tolstoy's three letters and the English translation, of the first two, plus the several diary entries quoted above, appeared in a Soviet collection entitled 'Literaturnoye Nasledstovo' (Literary Heritage), published in Moscow in 1939.

TOPICAL CARTOONS







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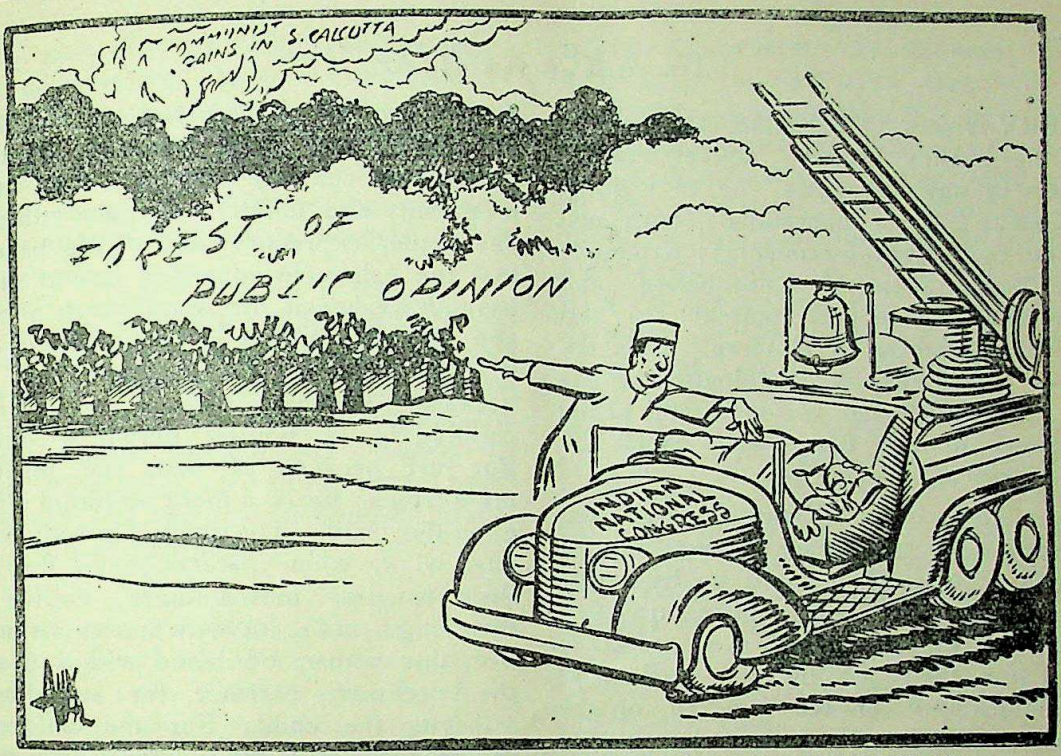
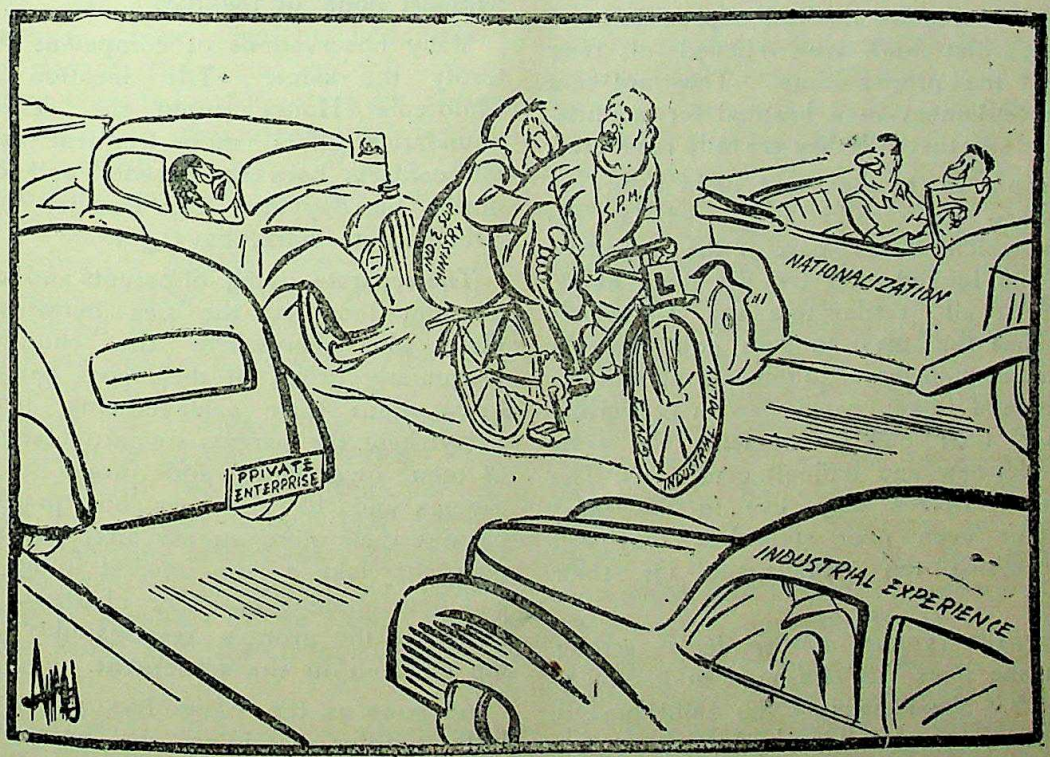


" YOU'LL LOSE THE WHOLE FOREST IF YOU DON'T WAKE-UP ! "



THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, outlining Government's industrial policy said that they had to adopt a middle course between "private enterprise" and "nationalization."

Courtesy : *The Hindustan Times.*

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CHILDREN IN ISRAEL

BY

DR. ANITA KASHYAP

EVERY visitor to Palestine is struck by the healthy, robust, active children he meets in any "Kwutza" he is visiting. A "Kwutza" is a communal settlement based on the following principles: nationally owned land, collective production and consumption, self-labour, mutual aid and collective upbringing of children. It is the last idea considered by sociologists as one of the most interesting and successful social experiments of our time—with which the following article is concerned.

All children in a "Kwutza" live and sleep separately from their parents in the Children's House and are cared for by nurses and teachers who are either qualified members of the community or specially engaged for their job by the settlement. The responsibility for the children of the settlement rests on all settlers jointly and begins before the children are born. Expecting mothers receive medical supervision and adequate diet and are relieved of their duties at the proper time. They are sent by the settlement to a hospital for confinement and stay there till they are fully recovered.

As soon as mother and child return to the village the child is placed in the nursery which forms part of the children's House and looked after by a trained nurse. In almost all settlemants the Children's House has the most modern equipment in accordance with the requirements of modern hygiene and infant care. Jewish proverbial love for their children remains the same also under new and difficult conditions. The settlers themselves may live in the most modest or even poor style but they will think nothing too extravagant for their children.

When the young mother feels strong enough she joins her husband in his daily work and if she is feeding the child herself she goes to the Children's House at the appropriate intervals to nurse the baby. Later she visits him only in her free time usually in the evening and on Saturdays.

Contrary to usual belief this separation of children and parents has not diminished but on the contrary increased the affection of parents and children for each other. As one settler expressed it: "We have seen that the collective education of our children has not weakened the mutual love of parents and children, but has in reality, strengthened it. Nor can this be wondered at. True, because of work, parents are with the children for a limited period of the day. But just because of that, the meeting is more intense, bears a more profound influence upon the child. The quiet, pleasant occasion after work, when parents have thrown off their worries, means more to the child than long hours spent with a nervous mother. For, this mother, burdened with duties, lacks the necessary patience for attending and satisfying the child. For the children too, the meeting with their parents becomes the happiest hour of the day".

Many observations of competent outsiders testify the same. The location of the Children's House within the settlement's boundaries offers more frequent occasions for contacts between parents and children during the day than city families in which both parents work, have got.

The separate living of parents and children has not loosened the ties between them. Here like everywhere the children are particularly proud of their own parents and boast about their achievements, here like everywhere the parents are particularly proud of their own child and quote his bright sayings and like to hear him praised, but besides their more intense affection for their own, they take a deep interest in the welfare and development of other children. They all share the group's responsibility for all the children in the settlement.

As soon as the baby has grown into a little toddler he joins the nursery-school which is of special significance in Palestine. Here children meet whose parents mostly were not born in the country but have

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immigrated from all parts of the world, bringing with them a variety of languages, habits and customs. In the nursery schools and Kindergartens these children are introduced at the earliest possible age into a homogenous society using a common language—Hebrew—which is the language of instruction in all Jewish schools and in the University.

At the age of six the child starts school and now their life becomes an almost perfect replica on a smaller scale of the life of their parents in the communal settlement. For, in addition to attending classes the children work in the agricultural estate which is attached and perform all domestic duties of their school community.

As in the Communal settlement of their parents, so in the school every one shares in the general work. From the very first day at school the child learns that he is expected to do some work. The class rooms and the living rooms have to be dusted and kept clean and tidy, the floors have to be scrubbed, tables must be laid, dishes must be washed, the garden and the orchard watered and tended. All this work is done by the children themselves, the amount varying according to age. The 6 years' old do only a quarter of an hour work of a very light nature, like laying the spoons on the table or picking flowers for the dining room. The 7 years' old do the same work for half an hour. The 8, 9 and 10 years' old have to work a full hour per day and do more responsible work, like washing the dishes after meals or cleaning floors or weeding the garden. From 11 to 14 they do two hours' work per day. After 14 they attend school half day and work half day in the settlement. At 17 years they leave the children's House and become full fledged members of the village sharing fully the work and the responsibilities of their parents.

In this way the children are taught from an early age that it is the obligation of every member of the community to work for the sake of the group. And besides this they learn that there are no social differences between the different types of work. Just as the adult members of the community are accustomed to get their work assigned for the next day by a notice at the board in the dining-room, so the children read every evening the chart at the school notice board which tells them, what work every one has to do the next day. It is customary for the various branches of work to be done in turns, a child being put on to agricultural work for three months and to domestic work for the next three months. The children glance at the chart and without fuss set about doing the job. In this way the child who has been allotted some pleasant work in the garden does not feel superior to the other child who has to clean the bathroom floor because he knows that ultimately all will have a turn of doing every job. They learn to take their share, in doing willingly also the unpleasant work.

The principle of equal sharing becomes the most natural thing to those children. Dr. Infield, the well-known sociologist in his illuminating book: "Co-operative living in Palestine" describes, how he took a five year old Jewish lad from his village to a trip to Jerusalem. He brought him a box of candies. Like any other child the boy eagerly opened the box and took one piece. He could not be induced to take another, because his comrades had not had their share. When he returned home he delivered the box to the nurse. who called the other children of the group and passed the box round. The little boy looked on and when the box reached him, he passed it on saying. "I had my piece, when I got the candy." Everybody thought it normal. These children who never see any money—there is none used in the communal settlement in Palestine—do not develop a desire for private property.

The educational system in the Kwutza develops—on the contrary—those very elements in the children's mental make up, which will render them fit and responsible members of a communal settlement with the pioneer attitude towards work and towards

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their fellow members. Like their parents their ideal and their highest distinction is to be called "a good worker", like their parents they learn to live a life of complete equality and sharing becomes a natural impulse in them.

Like their parents they learn to organise their life on a perfect democratic basis. Automatically children over six years become members of the "Society of Children" which includes all children of a village between six and fourteen. Teachers are leaders and advisers but administration and juridical powers vest in the Society. All problems are discussed in "General Assemblies" where the teacher usually presides. Decisions are enforced by committees of which the Work-Assignment-Committee is the most important. Transgression of discipline, violation of comradeship, negligent work and other misdemeanours are not punishable by the teachers but are submitted to the Assembly. Any penalty is composed by common consent among the children.

The communal upbringing of children is not the attempt to realize some preconceived idea, but has arisen out of urgent necessity. The first pioneers could not spare the women's full share of work in the fields. It was more economical to have one trained person for the group of children than to allow all women to be tied down by domestic work and child's care. Like many other problems arising in this new form of settlement which had no established traditions and no fixed ideology the common care and education of children is the outcome of many years of experimentation and constant physical and mental efforts.

The result certainly has justified the experiment. The Jewish children born in Palestine are called "Sabres," which is the Hebrew name for the thorny thistles one finds everywhere in the country. They share with these plants the same wiry and tenacious character. They have none of the characteristics which distinguished their parents and which was the result of centuries of wandering and insecurity and persecution. These children do not know what fear is, they are not nervous and worried as their parents have had to be all their life. They feel that they belong to the country and that the country belongs to them. They are rough and tough and have lost the sensitiveness and vulnerability of their parents. They are no more intellectuals and dreamers, but hardworking realistic farmers, imbued with the "Kwutza spirit" of sharing and pioneering.

In many settlements the children are given one year to live in the outside world—after finishing school—in order to enable them to compare it with their own system. Though many could get easily well paid jobs in the towns, they are all loyal and deeply attached to their Kwutza and the ideas this kind of settlement stands for. They invariably return to the village either to work with their parents or to form a new group among themselves and to start a new settlement in the desert and the wilderness of their homeland which they have pledged to redeem.

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The Training of Teachers in England

By Mr. S. H. WOOD

Formerly a Principal Assistant Secretary of Britain's Ministry of Education

THE training of teachers is entering upon an extremely interesting phase in England. A new situation has arisen as a result of two events: the Education Act of 1944, and the acceptance by all concerned of one of the major recommendations of the McNair Committee which reported in 1944 on the supply and training of teachers. While present developments are not without their dangers, they are full of promise for the teaching profession, and, therefore, for the schools and the children attending them.

Up to 1944 there were two separate systems of public education for children and young people of school age. There were the elementary schools (infant, junior and senior) designed to meet the educational needs of the great mass of children whose school attendance was limited to the period prescribed by the law of compulsory school attendance, that is, the period covering the years 5 to 14; and there were the secondary schools which recruited the majority of their pupils at 11 years of age from among the intellectually bright children in the junior elementary schools, and kept them until 16, 17 or 18 years of age. There were, thus, parallel systems of elementary and secondary schools from 11 years of age onwards. The scales of teachers' salaries were lower, the classes were larger and building and amenities less generous in the elementary schools than in the secondary schools. Moreover, elementary education was free, but secondary schools charged fees.

The Education Act of 1944, with developments arising out of it, have changed all this. The "elementary" school disappears: education is "primary" for children up to 11 years of age and secondary thereafter; and neither primary nor secondary schools may charge fees. Further, a basic salary scale, with additions for special qualifications, runs through the whole system. Teachers are now paid according to their qualifications, and not according to the nature of the school in which they are teaching; and the age of compulsory school attendance has been raised to 15 with 16 in prospect. Every child of 11 years of age will have at least a four-year course in front of him, and in order to pursue it he will attend a secondary school whether he ceases attendance at 15, 16, 17 or 18.

UNIFIED SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

This unified system of education, with a common basic salary scale for teachers, has gone a long way towards unifying the profession. But the system for the training of teachers was deeply embedded in the old structure. Broadly, there were two ways of becoming a trained teacher. Young people of about 18 years of age could go either to a training college for a two-year course of combined academic and professional study, or to a university for a four-year course, the first three years being spent in studying for a university degree and the last on a course of professional training provided in a university training department.

Teachers from the training colleges almost invariably taught in the elementary schools; but teachers from the university and its training department were prepared chiefly for the secondary schools, though in fact about half of them, generally those who failed to obtain a first class in their university degrees, taught in elementary schools, chiefly in senior elementary schools. There was, however, no connexion between the two systems of training and no constitutional relationship between the 12 universities and the 80 training colleges, except that about 20 years ago the universities, encouraged by the Board of Education, agreed to form joint examination Boards with the training colleges for the examination of training college students, but not for students in the university training departments.

This was a step forward: but an examination nexus is not an organic relationship; moreover, all training courses and arrangements were subject to approval by the Board of Education, now the Ministry of

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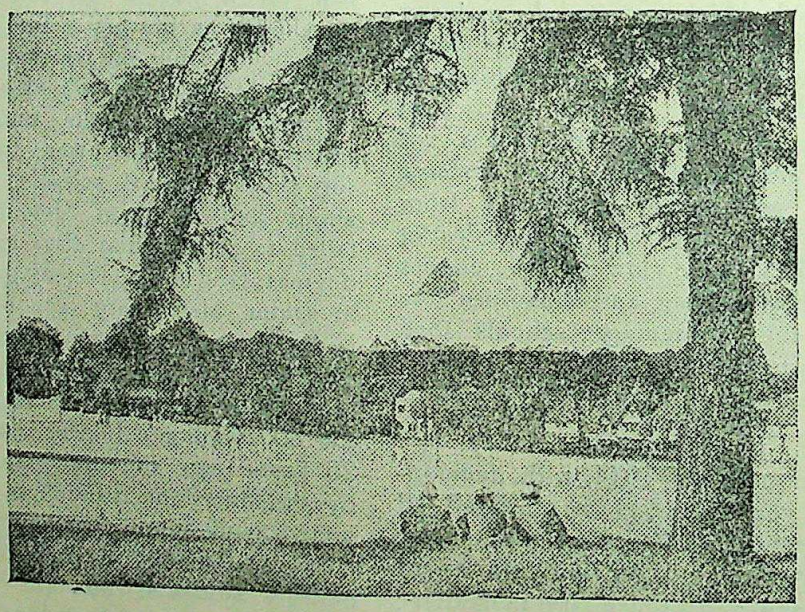
Education. The McNair Committee was unanimous in recommending a closer relationship between three significant partners in the field of training ; the universities, the training colleges and the local education authorities who are the chief "consumers" of teachers. The Committee, however, was divided on the part to be played by the universities in this closer relationship. Half of the members of the Committee recommended that each university should establish a School of Education embracing its own training department and neighbouring training colleges, and that this school should be managed, under the ultimate control of the university, by a body representative of the university, the training colleges and the geographically appropriate local education authorities. The other half of the Committee also urged the closer relationship, but demurred to the idea of the university having over-all responsibility for the new arrangements.

INSTITUTES OF EDUCATION

The whole Committee, however, was unanimous in the view that the partnership should in each area express itself visibly in an Institute of Education which should be not only the centre from which flowed the control of training arrangements but also the focus of educational activity for practising teachers, officers and members of local education authorities and the public at large. A single body, in each area, should be responsible for planning the courses and examining the students in both training colleges and university training departments, and the arrangements so made should no longer be subject to the approval of the Ministry. All three partners have responded to the proposal, and so there are arising a number of Institutes of Education which will be managed jointly by the universities, the training colleges and the local education authorities.



CRICKET ON THE VILLAGE GREEN

Throughout history the village greens of England have been the centre of village activity. Here on the short cropped grass, cricket matches that have remained the talk of the year have been played, and blacksmiths have hit innumerable sixes to the delight of the watchers. Cricket still flourishes on many of these picturesque greens.

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Civil Liberties Conference

PRESIDING over the Indian Civil Liberties Conference at Madras the other day, Mr. P. R. Das, retired Judge of the Patna High Court said that those who valued freedom should come together without delay and organise a "truly democratic party" in India. "I have no doubt," he added "that this party will constitute an effective opposition in the different legislatures."

We quite agree that in a truly democratic State there should be vigilant opposition to keep the Government straight. But civil liberty is not an objective on which there could be different views. Respect for civil liberties should in a democracy become a national habit. If Congress in India is as much wedded to civil liberties as any other party and it would be monstrous to think that it could go back on its tradition and that party alignment could be based on acceptance or rejection of such liberties. Parties in India must be based on well defined political or economic objectives and Congress is not solely to be blamed if there are no such parties emerging at present in India.

The President's thesis was a mixed baggage; much of it will pass for sound sense and powerful advocacy; but his downright indictment of the government is certainly over done. What is one to think of such passages in his address?

"We have to remember in this connection" said Mr. Das, "that we have in India to-day a one-party State just as Hitler's Germany was a one-party State, just as Mussolini's Italy was a one-party State. Such is the prestige of the Indian National Congress that when it decided to fight the election as a party, it was impossible for any other party to make any impression on the electorate."

In the first place it is not a one party government in the centre. It is a composite cabinet of outstanding persons whose views and politics are well known. And if parties with well defined programmes do not grow up how is the Congress to be blamed?

Mr. Das would have done well to have referred to the extraordinary difficulties that confronted the Congress leaders on the eve of the partition and the very brave and courageous manner in which they came forward to shoulder the burdens and responsibilities that the old regime had bequeathed. A word of appreciation for their very arduous task, not all of their own choosing, would not be out of place. And yet Mr. Das is emphatic that

history would record how Congress leaders, once champions of democracy and liberty, abandoned these principles as soon as they came to power, and will not hesitate to say that they did so, to establish Congress dictatorship in the country.

They have suppressed political parties, taken away the freedom of the press and deprived over three thousand persons of their liberty without bringing them to trial.

This is the unkindest cut of all. There is an old Tamil saying that you must first build the wall before thinking of painting it. The leaders of the nation should first make the State secure against aggression from within as from without. And who does not know the dangers that have threatened the integrity of India after the ill-fated partition and how manfully the new Government has carried on amidst difficulties which might well have overborne a weaker set? And yet the need for vigilant attention to civil liberties even within the frame work of political freedom can hardly be overstressed.

Seeing the vehemence of Mr. Das's denunciation of government one would think that we are living under the shadow of a blatant Nazi rule. There is indeed vast scope for improvement in the direction of greater civil liberties. But Mr. Das seems to be fighting imaginary enemies in a fictitious world. He seems to have realised this and relented towards the close of the Conference and he made amends by commending the Nehru Government for the extra-ordinary skill and courage with which they have carried on so far and expressing despair at a possible alternative. "It is my firm conviction", he said, "that Pandit Nehru is needed for this country for the next 10 years."

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R. S. S. and the Government

We welcome the action of the Government of India in lifting the ban on R.S.S. and releasing Mr. Golwalkar the leader of the Sangh and the other workers from detention. Orders have been issued to the Provinces to do likewise. This decision, we are told, is a sequal to the acceptance by the leader of the Sangh of the Government's suggestion to draft the Constitution in the light of their advice. According to the *communique* issued by the Home Ministry, the Sangh leader has undertaken to make loyalty to the Union constitution and respect for the National Flag more explicit in the Sangh's constitution and to provide clearly that persons believing in or resorting to violent or secret methods will have no place in the organization. The constitution will be worked on a democratic basis. The leader has also given the assurance that it would be open to anyone to leave the Sangh without breaking his pledge and admission of minors would be subject to the consent of their parents or guardians. This is as it should be.

Now it was not a happy thing to have these men—however misguided—clapped in prison without trial for any length of time. It will be remembered that the ban was first imposed in February 1948. during the tense situation in the country following the assassination of Mahatmaji. Passions were inflamed and the R.S.S. "with its rank communalism, its aggressive tactics and its militant and secret manœuvres" loomed as a positive menace to the peace and security of our new-won freedom. After a series of warnings, the organisation was declared unlawful and its leader interned.

The situation having returned to normal Government would have done well to take early steps to remove the ban and release the men. Somehow even the good offices of men like Mr. T. R. V. Sastri were not taken advantage of with that sense of relief with which they should have jumped at the opportunity. Now the R.S.S. is a public institution and the public has a right to know the nature of the negotiations which have taken so long to fructify. And then there are rumours of different interpretations of Mr. Golwalkar's letter and the Government's conditions. A White Paper on the subject, such as used to be published even during the bad old British regime giving the gist of such negotiations ought to be made available to the public.

Public interest is to see that personal liberty and freedom of association should not be tampered with except in extreme cases where the safety of the State itself is in peril. We are not a totalitarian State and we must see to it that the security of the State is broadbased on the goodwill of its citizens. A proper adjustment of the limits of State authority and individual liberty could only be made by mutual understanding. "In the lifting of the ban" says Mr. Sastri truly

> I see the beginning of a full and satisfactory mutual under-tanding which is yet to be achieved. The Government of India have still their misgivings about the R. S. S. and its activities. It is up to Mr. Golwalkar to persuade the Government that they were not right in entertaining that suspicion. I will now say nothing more than that it requires sustained efforts on both sides to reach that understanding.

Refugees in Bengal

Bengal, which for some time past has become the problem province of India, is smarting under many grievances—some real and a few imaginary too. But more than anything else it is the problem of the refugees that is causing the gravest concern.

In the course of a lucid analysis of the troubles facing Bengal, *Indian Finance* complains that the Central Government have not paid as much attention to the welfare of refugees from Eastern Pakistan as they ought to have done. "There is an impression," the paper says,

> both among the public of West Bengal and the Government of the Province that the Central Government are taking a light view of the refugee problem in the Province.....There is no escaping the fact that the bulk of the financial burden of resettling the refugees from East Bengal has to be borne by the Centre. Even a very prosperous province would be incapable of shouldering the major part of the burden. A financially stricken province like West Bengal can contribute only very little towards it.

There is no doubt the Prime Minister's recent visit to Calcutta would have opened his eyes to the dire needs of Bengal, and the Centre will take steps to give succour. For what ails Bengal ails all India.

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Food Drive

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, appealed to the nation, through its seventeen-station radio network, for co-operation "in a mighty drive for food production, which is ultimately a war against poverty and ignorance, against malnutrition and high prices." There was nothing new in this appeal, but considering the situation in the country it cannot be repeated too often, what is required is action and quick action. For two years we have gone on making appeals of this kind. It is time that the food problem is put on a war footing and efforts made to solve it as an emergency measure.

"It is a war", the Prime Minister declared, "in which every citizen can be a soldier and can serve his or her country. All of us will have to work hard and all of us will have to tighten our belts".

Reiterating Government's decision not to import food after 1951, Pandit Nehru said :

> We have not fixed that date without full thought and calculation. We intend to stick by that date and we intend by that date to be producing enough food for all the millions who inhabit this country. We have taken into account the possible increases in population and we even dare hope that the individual quota for food then will be somewhat higher than it is today, for today's quota is poor enough.
>
> I am convinced that we can do it and that we will do it. But we shall do it only with a great effort in which vast numbers of our people join and co-operate.

The Prime Minister's warning and adjuration have since been re-inforced by the homely words of our Governor-General. But the public is waiting for the next move in the food front which will convert words into deeds and herald the new era of self-sufficiency in food.

Mischievous

Addressing the Id congregation at Karachi Mr. Liaqat Ali said :

> On this happy day of 'Id' let us not forget the three and half crores Indian Muslims—our blood brothers—who are not free to-day and who are not celebrating this 'Id' as free and independent people.

So this is the Pak Prime Minister's contribution to our peace effort ! Comment would be superfluous.

India and the U.N.O.

Sir B. N. Rao, India's permanent representative with the United Nations Organisation, told pressmen in Madras that India had all along been following a policy of "independence of judgment on each issue" at the various meetings of the United Nations Organisation.

Explaining India's attitude while participating in the discussions at the U.N.O. Assembly Sir B. N. Rao said : "We have never asked ourselves, whom we should support, but what we should support on the merits of each question and then arrived at a judgment."

India, he said, had all along been following this policy, which he believed to be the correct one. "If this policy is consistently followed, it is bound to raise India in the estimation of all other countries."

Congress Working Committee

The Congress Working Committee which held its sittings at the residence of Sardar Patel in New Delhi last month grappled with the two issues which have baffled solution for some months past—the situation in West Bengal (why *West* Bengal and *East* Punjab still? Just as we have retained the good old name of *India* for the country so shall we continue to call the Provinces by their original names, leaving it to Pakistanists to call their part of the Provinces by any name they like). Bengal which has deteriorated considerably and the complaint against the Madras Ministry which was the subject of dispute before the General Secretary who was sent down to make first hand enquiries. The Committee decided at first on holding a general election in Bengal but in view of the strong opposition reported to have been made by Dr. B. C. Roy in far away Geneva, it was decided to postpone the elections till after his return to India and further consultations with him. As regards the Madras issue, the Working Committee has asked Sardar Patel to discuss the matter with the Madras Premier. Public opinion in Madras has demanded a judicial inquiry into the charges made against some Madras Ministers including the Ex-Premier and the present Assistant General Secretary of the Congress.

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South African Nationality Bill

Now that the Malan Government have dealt with the Indian domiciles with a cynical disregard to their rights and feelings (by inducing them to return to India with increased subsidies or accept discriminatory treatment in South Africa) they have turned to the White settlers. Even British subjects are not to be left in peace. The Nationality Bill over which has raged a bitter controversy in the South African Parliament abolishes at one stroke the Status of British subjects.

British immigrants must wait five years for full Union citizenship and the right to vote. Common British nationality is replaced by special Union nationality. The granting of Union nationality after five years' domicile depends on the Minister of Interior, who will decide whether the applicant has a knowledge of "the duties and responsibilities of South African citizenship." The Bill establishes four classes of South African citizens, those by birth—those by descent, and those by registration and naturalisation. At present British immigrants become Union citizens unconditionally after two years' residence.

The idea is to make South Africa the preserve of the Union Whites. That South Africa should discriminate against even the Whites of Britain is a thought too deep for Gen. Smuts' tears. The General and the United Party have passionately opposed the Bill in vain. The General's indictment is that common citizenship in the Commonwealth, the declared objective of the recent London Conference has been rendered impossible by the passing of the Bill. Malan's policy has only provoked racial divisions and encouraged communism among the protected natives. The assurance given by the Minister of the Interior that he would welcome immigrants who could contribute to the building up of South Africa has not carried conviction. According to the *Manchester Guardian*, one of the consequences of the passing of the bill into law would be that about 40,000 British immigrants of the last two years would not be able to vote until 1952. No wonder the controversy has exasperated feelings between the British and Afrikan sections of South Africa's white population.

The Prime Minister in Calcutta

Prime Minister Nehru rounded up his three-day fact-finding visit to Calcutta with an address at a mass meeting in which he called upon the people to fight back Communism and take up its challenge. He asked people to face the Communist trouble squarely and not to run away when a few misguided youngsters threw bombs and missiles.

Undeterred by a bomb incident at a corner of the ground, Pandit Nehru said:

> I have not come to Calcutta to clear up, but to study and understand the situation. During the three days' stay, I have met over 500 persons individually and collectively—Congressmen, opponents of Congressmen, trade unionists, students and refugees. I have now a complete picture of the Calcutta situation and would discuss the matter with my colleagues in the Congress Working Committee and the Central Cabinet before deciding on any steps.

Referring to conditions in Calcutta he said, there were some who thought in terms of bombs and acid bulbs. Government had evidence that this was being done at the instance of the Communist Party of India and was not confined to a few misguided young men and women. It was an organised attempt to create chaos and they should not be tolerated.

Pak Spies in India

Fresh evidence of large-scale espionage activities for Pakistan in India has come to light. The Government of India are intrigued at the publication in a Pakistan journal with date, number, code etc., of a "secret" directive sent to the provincial Governments on the employment of Pakistani Muslims in certain key industries.

The Government of India are impelled to conclude from it that there are many Pakistan spies in India. This is not surprising. It is but natural to expect that in view of the strained relations between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir issue, some agents of Pakistan must be busy ferreting out our secrets. The Central and Provincial Governments are expected to see that no Pakistan Muslim is employed in any of our vital industries and public utility services. Pakistan spies must also be hunted out by our police.

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South Africa and the U. N.

South Africa is becoming bolder and bolder. Its open defiance of the United Nations is exactly on a par with Italy's defiance of the old League. The U. N. General Assembly by its latest resolution called upon the Union Government to settle the Indian issue by Round Table discussions with India and Pakistan, South Africa being a signatory to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. But the Malan Cabinet has gone on adding insult to injury by its attempts, no longer veiled but open and unashamed, to eliminate the Indian altogether from the Union. The atmosphere is charged with racial bias in South Africa. Yet India has not hesitated to approach the Union with the request for an R.T.C.

If India's latest approach, made on the strength of the General Assembly's resolution of May last, fails in its purpose, India will be entitled, as the *Hindu* rightly observes, to ask for some form of collective action against South Africa. Failure on the part of the United Nations to take such action against a member who is definitely guilty of violating one of the fundamental obligations assumed under the Charter will mean open confession of its impotence and effeteness.

South Africa has not hesitated to flout the decisions of the United Nations when she thought they were against her interests. And now she has informed Lake Success that "it shall submit to the organisation no further reports on the Union's administration of South West Africa."

Submission of reports upto now, voluntary and in the spirit of the mandate, had provided opportunity for using the Trusteeship Council and the Trusteeship Committee as a forum for criticism and censure of South Africa.

South Africa has good reason to shun the light of publicity on her racial record in South-West Africa. But the General Assembly, says our contemporary, will have to consider "whether the voteless natives of South-West Africa, like the voteless Indians of the Union, are to be left to the tender mercies of a Government which proclaims its herrenvolkism in no dubious terms."

Marshall Plan for India

Nowhere is the menace of Communism so keenly felt as in America. And now that China has fallen and the Reds are spreading all over Asia, Americans who are jealous of their way of life are anxious to arrest the spread of Communism in the Far East.

Mr. Hubert Humphrey, Democratic Senator of Minnesota suggests that the United States should "immediately" formulate a "Marshall Plan" for India, which he described as a "bulwark of democracy in the Far East".

In a statement published in the Congressional record, Mr. Humphrey said the Communist successes in China

have added to my conviction that it is imperative that our country take action to assure friendship with India to encourage the democratic growth that has rooted itself in India and to help India realize her potentialities.

Mr. Humphrey outlined a three-point plan of assistence to India which should be put into effect at once:

Firstly "A programme in which educational opportunities are advanced for Indian students in our country on the basis of scholarships permitted by our Government;"

Secondly "A programme in which direct financial assistance is given to India under the same terms as our ECA or Marshall Plan programme";

Thirdly "A programme in which technical, scientific and financial assistance is given to under developed areas including India, such as was stated by President Truman in his inaugural address."

Needless to say that India welcomes this proffered aid and looks forward to its fulfilment, in order that she may be able to play her part effectively in the future set up of the world.

Tories preparing for next Election

Mr. Winston Churchill's Conservative Opposition Party issued a policy statement last month in readiness for the next general election in Britain which must take place not later than July next year.

The policy statement contained in a handbook entitled "The Right Road for Britain" welcomed the new status of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, (the Tories are realists and have reconciled themselves to the inevitable) called for new steps to strengthen the Commonwealth group of nations, including a Commonwealth Tribunal and new steps to repel the forces of Communism.

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

A LAYMAN LOOKS AT THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA. Published by the Committee for A Democratic Far Eastern Policy, New York, (N. M. Tripathi, Ltd,, Distributors, Princess Street, Bombay, 2.) Rs. 2.

"Layman" looks at the constitution of India not with the eye of a politician, nor that of a constitutionalist but with the eye of one who belongs to the uninformed ordinary masses of India. His views and conclusions are drawn against the background of former pledges of the Congress and its declarations like the Nehru Report. The Congress which pledges itself to Purna Swaraj and a state of secession from all ties with the British, has come to accept "Dominion Status" and still pursues a policy of close co-operation with the erstwhile ruler. The context and conditions that have brought about a change in the attitude of the top-ranking Congressmen who now guide the destinies of the nation, are critically reviewed by the author and the reader is sure to find much food for thought and a lot of information with which to form his own impressions of the new constitution of India. Though a bit outmoded, the book will be of immense benefit to anyone who is interested in the constitutional set up of the land.

THE THREE PILLARS OF STATE. Issued by The Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Pp. 36, price Rs 2/-

This beautiful little book with excellent photographs seeks to interest the reader in the three-armed defence of India, army, navy and air force. Two further sections are added, about Officers' recruitment and training and the Cadet Prayer. It is more than ever necessary that young men in India are defence-minded and enter the defence services in increasing numbers. This book should reach a very wide circle of readers.

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF CULTURE. Report up to December, 31, 1948. Basavangudi, Bangalore.

This Institute, founded in 1945, aims at, among other things, removing the cultural undernourishment of the great middle class men and women of India' and encouraging independent thought, in terms of fundamental principles, on politics, religion, sociology and business life. It also aims at encouraging a truly cosmopolitan spirit, and the acquiring of "the Spirit-view that humanity is one." Sir J. C. Ghosh stressed in his speech before the Institute the idea that progress of science has demonstrated the fundamental unity of modern intellectual life. The ideas as to the Gandhian concepts of truth and non-violence which were described in the several speeches in honour of the Mahatma delivered at that Institute are worthy of close attention and grasp. Thus we read that the greatest lesson learnt from the Mahatma is the lesson of individual responsibility, the doctrine of standing up for one's self and of doing what one believes to be right. Mr. B. P. Wadia takes us back to the real communism preached and practised by Jesus, by the Buddha and by Shri Krishna. Sir A. R. Mudaliar stressed the concept of tolerance, which, according to Swami Vivekananda was what made India great and blessed, and which is most essential for co-operative effort in all tasks of national regeneration. Mr. Dasappa drew attention to service to the lowly and the outcaste, because the dynamic side of non-violence, *viz.* love, should replace hate, greed and selfishness if this task is really to be effectively done by the higher classes. The lectures delivered under the auspices of the Institute and its other miscellaneous activities and publications indicate a healthy and fruitful infancy which we hope will pass by more fruitful stages into healthy and vigorous adoloscence.

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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION: PROCEEDINGS OF 24th MEETING AT JAIPUR.

As usual this Report contains all the papers bearing on research which were read at the public meeting, numbering 32. Among them are a note on the part played by a Scottish Professor of History in helping in the English conquest of Ceylon, an account of the ancestors of the Rani of Jhansi, a study of the early phase of the struggle between Raghunath Rao Peshwa and the Barbhais, a note on Tantia Topi, and two others dealing with the strength and resources of Indian Princes about 1780. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar who presided over the meeting, stressed on the more than parochial value of the Jaipur records and on the All-India part played by the Rulers of Jaipur in Mughal days. In the exhibition accompanying the meeting were shown documents, manuscripts and paintings affording evidence that in their contact with the Mughal court the Jaipur princes took a deep interest in the cultural life of the age.

The proceedings of the meetings of the Commission and of its Research and Publication Committee urged the compilation of a comprehensive National Register of Archives and of Historical Manuscripts in the various official and private repositories in the country and recommend a form for being filled up, describing the details of the documents that may be discovered and listed in the Register. The other resolutions passed refer to the salvaging, acquisition and interpretation of records, the orderly and efficient conduct of record offices so that the machinery and material necessary may be easily available for an understanding interpretation of our Nation's History.

MY LOVE AND LIGHT. By "Minoopriya" Minoo Publications, Eluru, South India. Re. 1.

Minoopriya's "My Love and Light" a prose poem in ten stanzas is sure to find an echo in many a young man's heart. As C. R. Reddy says in his letter to the author, it is a literature on love in its higher aspects. The sentiments expressed are highly lyrical and are sure to touch deep through readers' hearts.

CONCENTRATION. (A practical course with a supplement on meditation) by Ernest Wood. T. P. H., Adyar. Rs. 2.

To the distracted and bewildered man of our century nothing is more impossible than concentration and meditation. We have come to realise through a good deal of suffering that nothing secular or spiritual can be allowed without concentration. It is necessary not only for the great scientific discoveries but for successful daily life. Many a student is not able to fix his mind on to his book or job.

Mr. Wood's practical manual is a significant contribution towards the psychology of concentration. He is an expert not only in the theory of Yoga but also in the practice. The book gives a detailed six months' course at the end of which the trainee can be reasonably hope to have overcome all distractions. There is nothing extravagant about the assumptions of Wood's doctrines. The best part of the book is the exercises it prescribes. They are graded and highly helpful. The book has passed through several editions and is translated into many languages. The present edition is thoroughly revised and made uptodate.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SECRETARIAL PRACTICE. By Prof. S. A. Sherlekhar, M.A., M.Com. B.Sc., Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay.

THREE-MINUTE STORIES. By A. P. Pereira, Padma Publications Ltd., Lakshmi Building, Sir P. M. Mehta Road, Bombay.

THE ATOMIC AGE (Sir Halley Stewart's Lectures 1948). George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

FOOD SHORTAGE AND AGRICULTURE, By M. K. Gandhi, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

THE FAITH OF ISLAM. A Synopsis. By Mirza Abul Fazl. (S. A. Uranus, Aziz Bagh, Sultanpur Hyderabad, Dn.)

SOCIAL BIOLOGY AND WELFARE. By Sybil Neville-Rolfe. George Allen & Unwin, Limited, London.

AUTHORITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL. By Bertrand Russell, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London.

EQUALITY. By David Thompson, Macmillan & Co., Ltd, St., Martin Street, London.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

July 1. United States of Travancore and Cochin inaugurated at Trivandrum.

—Mao Tse-Tung says China will line up with Russia.

July 2. Dr. John Matthai in London to attend the Finance Ministers' Conference.

July 3. Dr. Lohia and 42 others released.

—Pandit Nehru in Ladakh.

July 4. British destroyer *Redoubt* joins Indian Navy at a colourful ceremony at Chatham (Kent).

—Afghanistan repudiates Pakistan.

July 5. U. N. Kashmir Commission invites India and Pakistan for joint Military talks.

July 6. Lord Soulbury sworn in as Governor of Ceylon.

—Cripps' statement on Dollar crisis.

July 7. Steep fall in price of white metal following Reserve Bank's announcement of sale of Silver on Hyderabad account.

July 8. Sir S. Cripps, speaking in London, gives assurance of Britain's help to India which is assuming leadership of Asia.

July 9. Sir A. L. Mudaliar elected Chairman of the Executive Board of W. H. O.

July 10. Inter-Provincial Board for Malnad development appointed at Delhi Conference.

July 11. London Dock strike.

—Dr. S. Radhakrishnan appointed ambassador to Russia.

July 12. Ban on R. S. S. lifted: Mr. Golwalker released.

—K.L.M. Plane with U. S. newsmen crashes at Bombay killing 45.

July 13. Pandit Nehru has consultations with officials and Congressmen and Journalists at Calcutta regarding Bengal problems.

—Gen. Smuts denounces S. A. Citizens' Bill.

July 14. Bomb outrage at public meeting in Calcutta addressed by Pandit Nehru.

July 15. Top defence talks in Washington.

—U. K. calls for immediate import cuts by Commonwealth.

July 16. Indian Civil Liberties Conference meets at Madras, Mr. P. R. Das presiding.

July 17. Mr. Trygve Lie U. N. Secretary-General proposes World Court for protection of trade union rights.

July 18. Military Conference on Kashmir meets at Karachi.

—London Conference of Commonwealth Financiers concludes.

July 19. Congress Working Committee defers decision on Bengal and Madras problems.

July 20. President Truman's call to U. S. to assume leadership of world for peace.

—Republicans and Federal Indonesian representatives meet at Jogjakarta in conference.

July 21. Textile control relaxed in Bombay.

—Trusteeship Council reports to U.N. Assembly on Malan Govt.'s defiance.

July 22. Kashmir talks adjourned following hitch.

—Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister, Central Cabinet, assures Evacuee Property Conference in Delhi that refugees are bound to get compensation for land left in Pakistan.

July 23. Britain's Dock strike ends.

July 24. Nehru's directive to Premiers.

—Agreement reached between Republicans and Federalists at Jogjakarta Conference.

July 25. President Truman appeals to Congress to approve 1450 million programme of military aid to N. Atlantic and other powers.

July 26. Agreement reached on cease-fire line in Kashmir.

—Bernard Shaw greeted by admirers on his 93rd birthday.

July 27. Tribes in the Pak-Afghan border declare independence.

—Trial of Kazim Razvi by special Tribunal at Hyderabad.

July 28. Congress executive decides on enquiry into Madras Affairs.

July 29. Pak Govt. agrees to pay damage to Afghanistan for incident of June 12.

June 30. Kashmir cease-fire line agreement ratified by India and Pakistan.

July 31. Sir Mirza Ismail and Sir Sultan Ahmed repudiate Liaqat Ali's remarks and re-affirm loyalty to Nehru Government.

—Cricket Board withdraws all charges against Amarnath.

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

INDIA AND HER SAINTS

The highest ideas and ideals, which are exercising the most elevating and ennobling influence upon the minds and hearts of the people all the world over, have been imbibed from the lives and teachings of saints, says Mr. Akshayakumar Banerjea in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for June. It is from them that the people have learnt to think of one God, one universe, one humanity, one Life pervading all the varieties of creation.

They have taught the people to think that Spirit is more real than matter, that unity is more real than differences, that love is more powerful than hatred, that the spiritual interest of human life is more valuable than the material interest. They have infused into our minds the idea that the spiritual good of life is infinite and eternal, while the material goods are all finite and transitory, and that the spiritual good can be attained through the voluntary sacrifice of the material goods in the loving service of the fellow-beings and the realization of the spiritual unity of all phenomenal existences. It is from the saints that people have obtained the message of universal love, universal fellow-feeling and universal sympathy, the message of selfless service, self offering sacrifices, the return of good for evil, the return of sweetness for harshness. Love and non-violence, peace and harmony, equality and fraternity, service and sacrifice, respect for the freedom of the self and others, regard for the comforts and feelings of others, which the saints practise in their own lives and preach in their fellowmen and which they want to be the guiding principles of all social conduct, admit of no restriction on the ground of caste, or creed, or nationality, or racial difference. They proclaim that the unrestricted practice of these virtues is necessary for every man for the realization of his true self, for the fulfilment of the essential demand of his own spiritual nature.

Saints liberate morality from social custom and religion from sectarianism and communalism, and raise them to the plane of universal morality and universal religion.

Under their inspiration people become necessarily peace-loving, inasmuch as they learn to look upon all men as their brothers, as the children of the same Divine Father ,as the finite embodiments of the One Spirit. All selfish propensities, all hostile tendencies, all hatred and fear, all conflicts of interests, all competitions and rivalries (whether individual or collective) they regard as born of ignorance, ignorance about the true character of the self, the true interest of the self, the true good of human life. They seek for emancipating themselves and their fellow-beings from this ignorance and for the realization in this world of the universal spiritual character of the self, through contemplation, all-embracing love, and worshipful service. Their knowledge, their works, their emotions, and sentiments are all cultivated with this spiritual end in view.

All the aspects of Indian culture are saturated with such spiritual idealism. Indian literature and arts, Indian politics and economics, Indian social system and educational policy, the common life of the unsophisticated Indian masses, all reveal the spiritual influence of saints.

However secular in her political self reconstruction Modern India may try to be, she can never get rid of the spiritual influence of the long line of saints, who have been inwardly ruling Indian life for thousands of years. It has been quite in the fitness of things that in the present age India has regained her long-lost political freedom, not under the leadership of a war-lord, or an unscrupulous tactician, but under the holy leadership of a saint, who represented in his inner and outer life; the true spirit of Indian culture, the culture of saints. It was the saintliness of his character and outlook that made him a lifelong warrior, a ceaseless fighter against untruth and injustice, against organized violence and oppression and exploitation, against all forms of hatred and fear in the human society, against all kinds of evils in man's dealing with man. The establishment of peace and order, love and feeling of unity, equality and fraternity, in the whole world, was the object of all his activities. All the methods of his warfare were the applications of the spiritual law.

Free India, observes the writer, must devote her energy to regain herself, to realize India of the saints.

NEWSPAPERS IN INDIA

The number of newspapers and periodicals in India in the several languages are given in *Indian Affairs*:

English	...	868
Urdu	...	571
Tamil	...	305
Marathi	...	243
Oriya	...	49
Malayalam	...	23
Kannada	...	54
Hindi	...	853
Bengali	...	369
Gujerati	...	137
Telugu	...	151
Sindhi	...	8
Assamese	...	7
Punjabi	...	81

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GLIMPSES OF THE HAPPY VALLEY

Kashmir, the Happy Valley is very much in the news today. In 1940, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Kashmir after a lapse of 23 years, he wandered about the Happy Valley like one intoxicated with "the sheer loveliness" of river, and valley and the lake, and the snow-capped peaks. Of Kashmir he said: "It was like the face of the beloved that one sees in a dream and that fades away on awakening." The following are glimpses of Kashmir from what Pandit Nehru wrote nine years ago.

"The loveliness of the land enthralled me and cast an enchantment all about me. I wandered about like one possessed and drunk with beauty, and the intoxication of it filled my mind.

Like some supremely beautiful woman, whose beauty is almost impersonal and above human desire, such was Kashmir in all its feminine beauty of river and valley and lake and graceful trees. And then another aspect of this magic beauty would come to view, a masculine one of hard mountains and precipices, and snow-capped peaks and glaciers, and cruel and fierce torrents rushing down to the valleys below. It had a hundred faces and innumerable aspects, ever-changing sometimes smiling, sometimes sad and full of sorrow. The mist would creep up from the Dal Lake and like a transparent veil, give glimpses of what was behind. The clouds would throw out their arms to embrace a mountain-top, or creep down stealthily like children at play. I watched this ever-changing spectacle, and sometimes the sheer loveliness of it was overpowering and I felt almost faint. As I gazed at it, it seemed to me dreamlike and unreal, like the hopes and desires that fill us and so seldom find fulfilment. It was like the face of the beloved that one sees in a dream and that fades away on awakening.

When I went to China I marvelled at the artistry of exquisite craftsmanship of the Chinese people. India has long been famous for her artisans and craftsmen, but China seemed to me to be definitely superior in this respect. In Kashmir I had the feeling that there was something which could equal China. How beautiful are the articles made by the deft fingers of Kashmir's workers! To look at them was a pleasure, to handle them a delight.

Kashmir has been famous for its shawls for hundreds of years. Yet in spite of this fame the making of these fine shawls, languished and shoddy articles from Western factories took their place. That was the fate also of other fine hand-made articles of Kashmir. A limited tourist trade survived, but, generally speaking, the rich people of India preferred foreign goods to these things of beauty and artistic worth that Kashmir produced.

The National Movement in India, which took a new turn twenty years ago, had far-reaching results in many fields. Our insistence on hand-made products gave a new life to these products, and many a dying industry was revived. Kashmir was affected by this renaissance also, and gradually a new market for Kashmir goods sprung up in India. The All-India Spinners' Association played a leading part in this, and their Kashmir branch became the supplier of hundreds of sale-depots all over India. Yet the pace has been slow and might well have been quicker. This growth of handicrafts has brought work to many of the skilled unemployed, and points the way to prosperity.

Again and again, as I was wrapped in pleasureable contemplation of Kashmir's beauty, I came back to hard earth with a shock when I saw this appalling poverty. Why should these people remain so miserably poor, I wondered, when nature had so abundantly endowed them? I do not know what the mineral or other natural resources of Kashmir are. I should imagine that the country is rich in them, and in any event a very full survey is one of the first steps that should be taken.

But even if no additional wealth was disclosed, the existing resources are enough to raise the standard of living considerably, provided, of course, that they are properly co-ordinated and utilized on a planned and ordered basis. Cheap power is available and many small and big industries can be started. The field for the development of cottage industries and handicrafts is enormous."

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END OF THE PARTY SYSTEM

A two-party system in India would certainly be preferable to a one-party system. Nevertheless, says, Mr. Philip Spratt in *Triveni*, the conditions most congenial to the two-party system do not exist here, so that even if that system is established it will be in some measure artificial. The country cannot expect therefore to enjoy the full benefits of the system.

There is no deep conviction about such tolerance as is extended to the opposition : it hovers on the verge of suppression, and may well be completely suppressed if it becomes powerful. This situation is not favourable to freedom of thought, and it can be said that public life generally, jouralism, literature, the cinema, even the academic world, are still half slave and half-free. The country has not yet felt the full benefit, in other spheres, of its national freedom. Many have been puzzled by the indifference of the public, their failure to celebrate their freedom with the expected outburst of creative energy. Here is part, at least, of the explanation : people do not feel free.

This lack of freedom is not a matter merely of a transition period until the new state is stabilised. It is inherent in the situation.

Power is not in the hands of the capitalists : that might conduce to freedom. Power is mainly in the hands of officials and politicians, that is the state machine. The potential ruling class is not broad enough to challenge this power monopoly. The opposition parties are manned by members of this class, the educated class, but they have to address their appeals to an uneducated electorate, suffering from more or less acute poverty and other disabilities. This can only result—if the opposition have any serious hope of winning majorities in the legislatures—in a competition in demagogy. Such competition may perhaps be better than no discussion at all, but it can hardly be an elevating influence. Moreover it would inevitably provoke disorder, and lead to the suppression of the opposition. There is no room for parliamentary politics in our public life, and the freedom which would flow from it cannot be expected.

The parliamentary era is at an end, then, and this is true of India too. It is necessary therefore to think out new forms and methods whereby the things we value, culture, liberty, and the spirit of democracy, can be preserved.

For the present, while our institutions remain parliamentary in form, they can be used only if not pressed too far. The monopoly of the ruling party cannot be threatened, and it would be wise of the opposition parties to refrain from any attempt to threaten it. But small opposition parties can play a useful part as critics.

MEDICINAL VALUE OF COW-DUNG

There is sufficient evidence in support of the belief held in India that cow-dung is a potent remedy against many diseases to make it a worthwhile subject for fuller investigation.

This is the view expressed by Dr. T. Stephanides writing to the British medical magazine, *The Lancet*. Antibiotics, he says, have been extracted from the soil and from various moulds; it is not impossible that they could be isolated also from cow-dung, with the vast and little-known micro-organic fauna and flora.

Dr. Stephanides' article deals mainly with Greek peasant remedies. He records how in Macedonia in 1917, before he had started his medical studies, he was called to a peasant wounded in the abdomen by a shell-splinter. Several intestinal loops were protruding from the wound, and as the man had been wounded near a cow-shed, bystanders had tried to prevent the protrusion of the intestines by placing a sack of fresh cow manure across the patient's abdomen. He had the man removed to a French field ambulance, where the surgeon in charge declared that there was no hope because liquid cow-dung had soaked into the abdomen. But to the complete amazement of the medical staff, the man survived ; and when Dr. Stephanides passed that way about three months later, he found the man going about his ordinary work.

When 20 years later, Dr. Stephanides mentioned this episode to Dr. T. Sordina, Director and Chief Surgeon of the Corfu Muncipal Hospital, he found that it was not unique. Dr. Sardina described how he was called to a man in a Corfu village, who had been gored by a bull and who had been subjected to first aid with a sack of fresh cow-dung with the result that the pierced abdomen was swimming in liquid manure. To the doctor's surprise, the man made an uneventful recovery.

Dr. Stephanides comments that he might have put these cases down to chance had he not heard about the same time that it is a common practice among the peasantry of some parts of Spain to treat puerperal fever by applications of cow-dung. His informant, who knew Spain well, assured him that this treatment seemed effective.

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SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IN ANCIENT INDIA

A very informative article on the scientific progress in ancient India is contributed by Prof. P. S. Sastri. M.A., M. Litt. to the *Astrological Magazine* of Bangalore. He says that Ancient India shows a tremendous advance in the sciences of Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry and the Natural Sciences. Mathematics was divided into the science of Numbers, Geometry and Algebra. The computation of the lowest and the highest numbers was well-known.

In *Yajurveda*, we come across one, ten, hundred, thousand, lakh, million, ten million, billion and so on. In these Samhitas, it is clearly evident that addition, subtraction, multiplication and division were well-known.

In *Satapatha*, we are informed that the whole of *Rigveda* contains 4,32,000 syllables. It is a little surprising that this number denotes also the total number of years in Kali Yuga. Besides, the decimal system too was in vogue. It is a well-known fact that the Arabs have taken the decimal system from India. As Macdonell points out, "what is quite certain is that our present decimal system, in its complete form with the zero, which enables us to do without the ruled columns of the Abacus, is of Indian origin. From the Indians, it passed to the Arabians, probably along with the astronomical tables brought to Baghdad by an Indian ambassador in 773 A.D.

Algebraical or syllabic representation of the numerals too was very popular in India. Even Aryabhatta has given the principles of arriving at the square root and cube root of any given number. The value of zero too is discussed.

The science of geometry is as old as the Vedas. The construction of the altar is geometrical; and here we have the purely geometrical words: Prama; Pratima, Nidana, Paridhi, Chanda and so on.

In the Sulba sutras, geometry has reached its perfection. We have a perfect knowledge of the angle, triangle and the rest. The best Sulba sutras are those of Baudhayana, Katyayana and Apastamba. These belong to 800 B.C. at least.

Here we have rules for Varga, Trikona, Vritta, various types of angles, and various types of angles, and various figures. We have also a thorough knowledge of the various equations and their utility.

Coming to astronomy and its application proper, we find its ancestry in the vedic literature. The rituals demanded a knowledge of the seasons, and of the movements of the sun, moon, stars and planets.

The Vedic literature has many observations on the Sun, the Moon, Jupiter, Mars, Saturn and Venus. The difference between the lunar and the solar years and the actual assessment of the lunar month are clearly dealt with in the Samhitas and Brahmanas. They were able to arrive at these facts accurately. The sixteen phases of the moon were known well. The *Satapatha Brahmana* tells us that Amavasya or the New Moon Day represents the co-dwelling of the sun and the moon. The six seasons, the inter-calary month, the ecliptic, the movement of the equinoxes were all familiar things here. We hear of the eclipses and the scientific explanation of these. The *Rig Veda* speaks of a quadrant (Turiya) with which a solar eclipse was observed. It is significant that some constellations have been mentioned in *Rig Veda* in connection with the marriage of Surya. The *Aitareya Brahmana* knows that the Sun never sets.

All these facts are startling enough and they reveal the tremendous progress of the ancients in these sciences.

Astronomy being very important, it was included under the Vedangas. The Vedanga jyotisha, as we have it to-day, is a much tampered work and it is too elementary.

Later on, we have Surya, Sukla, Gritsamada, Brihaspati, Vasishta, Saptarishi, Pitamaha, Parasara, Garga, Vriddha Garga, Kasyapa, Asita, Devala, Badarayana, Savitragrantha, Shashtabhda Grantha, Vatsa, Kapila, Bhadatta, Manitha, Devaswami, Siddhasena, Yavana, Jivasarman, Latacharya, Simhacharya, Aryabhatta and other great astronomers and astrologers of great repute. Of all these, the Siddhantas of Surya, Vasishta, Pitamaha, Paulisa and Romaka have become very prominent and are known as Pancha Siddhantas.

Another field which astrology has brought under further investigation is medicine which is as old as *Atharva Veda*. *Yajurveda* has much to say about metals and the chemical action on these.

Charaka and Susruta have given an exhaustive exposition of the metals and of their use in medicine. Patanjali's work on Metallurgy deals with the metallurgical and chemical processes, metallic salts, alloys and amalgams and mixtures. Nagarjuna advances further in his study of compounds.

This brief study enables us to have a glimpse into the progress, achieved by India in ancient times in the astronomical, astrological and other allied fields. These developments were very well utilised in practical life by the ancients.

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TAGORE AND GANDHI

Under the caption "This is my prayer," a recent issue of the *Harijan* published a very precious letter written by poet Rabindranath Tagore to Mahatma Gandhi on April 12, 1919.

This letter, which refers to events in the Punjab culminating in the Jalianwala Bagh tragedy of Apr. 13, was noticed among the preserved papers of Gandhiji. The letter is dated Shantiniketan, April 1, 1919.

"Power in all its forms is irrational, it is like the horse that drags the carriage blindfolded. The moral element in it is only represented in the man who drives the horse. Passive resistance is a force which is not necessarily moral in itself; it can be used against Truth as well as for it. The danger inherent in all force grows stronger when it is likely to gain success, for then it becomes temptation.

I know your teaching is to fight against evil by the help of the good. But such a fight is for heroes and not for men fed by impulses of the moment. Evil on one side naturally begets evil on the other, injustice leading to violence, and insult to vengefulness, unfortunately. Such a force has already been started, and either through panic or through wrath, our authorities have shown us their claws whose sure effect is to drive some of us to the secret path of resentment and others into utter demoralisation.

In this crisis, you, as a great leader of men, have stood among us to proclaim your faith in the ideal, which you know to be that of India, the ideal which is both against the cowardliness of hidden revenge and the cowed submissiveness of the terror-stricken. You have said, as Lord Buddha has done in his time and for all time to come, "Conquer anger by the power of non-anger and evil by the power of good."

This power of good must prove its truth and strength not by its fearfulness but by its refusal to accept any imposition which depends for its success upon its power to produce frightfulness and is not ashamed to use its machine of destruction to terrorise a population completely disarmed. We must know that moral conquest does not consist in success that failure does not deprive it of its dignity and worth. Those who believe in spiritual life know that to stand against wrong, which has overwhelming material power behind it, is victory itself. It is the victory of active faith in the ideal in the teeth of evident defeat.

I have always felt and said accordingly that the great gift of freedom can never come to a people through charity. We must win it before we can own it. And India's opportunity for winning it will come to her when she can prove that she is morally superior to the people who rule her by their right of conquest. She must willingly accept her penance of suffering—the suffering which is the crown of the great. And you have come to your Motherland in the time of her need to remind her of her mission, to lead her in the true path of conquest, to purge her present-day politics of its feebleness which imagines that it has gained its purpose when it struts in the borrowed feathers of diplomatic dishonesty.

This is why I pray most fervently that nothing that tends to weaken our spiritual freedom may intrude into your marching line, that martydom for the cause of Truth may never degenerate into fanaticism for mere verbal forms descending into the self-desception that hides itself behind sacred names."

When Charles Darwin was visiting the country house of a friend, the two boys of the family thought they would play a joke on the scientist. So they caught a butterfly, a grasshopper, a beetle, and a centipede, and out of these creatures they made a strange composite insect.

They took the centipede's body, the butterfly's wings, the grasshopper's legs, and the beetle's head, and they glued them together carefully. Then, with their new bug in a box, they knocked at Darwin's door.

"We caught this bug in a field," they said: "Can you tell us what kind of a bug it is, Mr. Darwin?"

Darwin looked at the bug and then looked at the boys. He smiled slightly.

"Did you notice whether it hummed when you caught it, boys?" he asked.

"Yes," they answered, nudging one another.

"Then," said Darwin, "it is a humbug."

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THE KEY TO PROGRESS

F. L. Brayne, the author of "Socrates in an Indian village" is a well-known authority on rural problems in India, having been long conversant with Rural Reconstruction work in the Punjab. In an article in the May number of the *Aryan Path*, Mr. Brayne points out that all recent efforts at reform have been confined to one section of the Society. All plans have been for the men and to them alone has the appeal been made. The standard of living, however, is the standard of the home and that means the standard of the women who keep the home.

And yet there are no plans for the home! Half the population is female and there is nothing for them! Can this be the cause of the general failure to arouse the enthusiasm of the village for a programme of uplift and betterment?

Mr. Brayne offers a suggestion: Instead of planning from the top downwards—and never reaching the home—suppose we start from the home and from the woman that keeps the home and plan upwards. How can the home be improved?

The home and the village can be cleaned and tidied and brightened till they are as good as any other home and village on earth, and at very little expense indeed. Ventilators, windows, drains, manure-pits, latrines, flowers, chimneys, better cooking grates, hay-boxes, chaff-cutters, flour-mills, properly constructed wells, cost little or nothing but knowledge and effort. The house-wife can be taught sewing, knitting, making and mending clothes, food values, cooking, child-welfare, and many other things that will turn her home into a paradise.

Will the housewife accept these new things or will she be as resistant as her menfolk? No one can say for certain, as no large-scale attempt has ever been made to enlist the village women for the uplift campaign.

Indeed, many of the first essentials of a comfortable village-home have not been designed, much less brought to the house-wives in every village.

The women work hard, are house-proud, clean and tidy. The protection and welfare of her home and children is the strongest instinct of the mother. At present, however, the village women are even more bound by custom and superstition than their menfolk. And their ignorance is greater. They have far fewer sources of knowledge than the men have. Very few go to school and none join the Army or go away from home to work; hardly one in a hundred is literate. "But no one who have ever attempted to teach the women how to make their homes brighter has any doubt of the answer to the question."

U. S. POPULATION

The population of the United States rose to 146,571,000 persons in 1948, the U. S. Census Bureau reports. This represents a population increase of 14,900,000, or 11 per cent, since 1940. Most of this gain—about 13,600,000—is attributed to natural increase, the excess of births over deaths.

The remaining 1,300,000 gain is the result of immigration.

The Bureau notes a very rapid growth of the child population, with the number of children under 10 years of age increased by about 6,800,000. The greater part of this growth was in the population under five years of age. A high birth rate and a declining mortality rate among children increased this group by about 4,600,000 to 15,106,000—a gain of 43 per cent.

The population of 65 years old and over increased by about 2,000,000, or 22 per cent, to 10,542,000.

During the period covered by the report, there was a shift in the relative numbers of males and females in the U. S. population. The sex ratio (the number of males per 100 females) declined from 100.7 in 1940 to 99.1 in 1948. The decline was greatest in groups over 45 years old. Among persons under 20 years of age, there were 104 males for every 100 females.

MARSHALL PLAN

Professor Robertson, of Cambridge, writing in *Lloyds Bank Review*, considers that an essential condition for the success of the Marshall Plan is systematic revaluation of West European currencies in terms of one another, and of the United States and Canadian dollars, or the European Recovery Programme will be in perpetual difficulties and the Western Hemisphere "will rightly be deaf to European appeals." If European Governments dare not face devaluation, because they fear inflation, they and even Britain still face a long and hard task.

The Latin countries, it is suggested, cannot meanwhile be reproached by the British, who have discarded control by interest rates and have chosen to establish unprecedented public health services. Europe's obscure problems are made ten times more obscure by meaningless prices and fanciful exchange rates.

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

INDIA'S PROTEST

The Government of India has lodged an emphatic protest with the South African Government against the Asiatic Land Tenure (Amendment) Act passed by the Union Parliament on June 30.

They have stressed that the restrictions imposed by the new Act make the position of Indians in South Africa much worse than in 1946. Such treatment in their view violates the Charter of the United Nations.

A Press note issued in this connection on July 11, by the Secretary of the External Affairs Ministry says: "The Asiatic Land Tenure (Amendment) Act which was enacted by the South African Union Parliament on June 30, is the latest anti-Asian legislation in the Union of South Africa. Until the recent enactment, persons of Asian origin could occupy property in prohibited areas for purposes of trade and business so long as they had the necessary trading licences. The New Act amends some earlier Acts with a view to preventing Asians from occupying any new property in the prohibited areas even for purposes of trade. In effect, therefore, the latest Act imposes territorial segregation on Asians in respect of their practice of trade or profession. The Act also provides that a particular person or company will be presumed to be Asiatic unless the contrary is proved by the person or company concerned. It also gives powers to local officers to visit Asian permises at any hour of the day or night in order to satisfy themselves that the premises are not being occupied in contravention of law.

"Since the passage of the Gold Law of 1908 in Transvaal, the Government of India have been consistently opposed to the segregation in any form of persons of Indian origin in South Africa. Such treatment, in their view, violates their principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The restrictions imposed by the new Act make the position of Indians in South Africa much worse than it was in 1946."

PLAN TO REPATRIATE INDIANS

A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry expressed "surprise and disappointment" at the reported suggestion of Dr. T. E. Douges, Minister of the Interior, South Africa, that the Indian population in South Africa could be repatriated to India without substantial addition to the population of India.

Over 90 per cent. of persons of Indian origin in South Africa, the spokesman said, were born in South Africa. "Not only are they citizens of South Africa, but they know no other country. It would be as logical or ethical to ask for their expatriation, repatriation describes the process inaccurately, as to urge that persons of British or Dutch origin, whose forefathers settled in the Union, should be sent back to their original homes."

The spokesman added: "The fact that the number of South African citizens of Indian origin is small compared to the total population of India is no argument for expatriating them.

The correct approach to this problem is along the lines of helping the Indian in South Africa to become a contented member of society by the removal of discriminatory laws and other disabilities."

APPROACH BY INDIA AND PAKISTAN

India and Pakistan have made a "tentative approach" to the South African Government for a round-table Conference on the basis of the U. N. resolution on the position of Indians in the Union.

NEW INDIAN PARTY IN S. AFRICA

A new political Party, the Natal Indian Union Nationalists, has been formed in Durban. It has been founded by Indians on the principle that South African Indians owe allegiance to the Union and to no outside country.

The Party's constitution states that its aims are to give allegiance to South Africa, "land of our birth and adoption, and to co-operate with the responsible authorities for the welfare of the country."

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East Africa

INDIANS IN TRINIDAD AND MAURITIUS

Indian leaders in Trinidad, Mauritius and British Giuana met in London recently to exchange views on common problems with some of London's Indian colony and Indians from East Africa.

There was general agreement that the treatment of Indians in South Africa concerned Indians throughout the world.

The question of dual citizenship—whether Indians overseas could be citizens of a British colony and at the same time citizens of India—was discussed.

Dr. K. D. Kumria, Medical practitioner in London, who with Dr. Ganesh Sawh was host to visitors, said Indians in all colonies would actually have to retain the nationality of the country where they had spent their lives.

But with the coming of independence to India, hopes had been raised in the minds of Indians overseas that perhaps they could now look to her for more support in their colonial problems.

Mr. Ananthbeejadhur, Editor of *The Advance*, Port Louis, Mauritius, on which island live 260,000 Indians out of a total population of 440,000 thought dual nationality was not feasible as one could not have a State within a State.

East Asia

INDIAN CLUB HOUSE IN SINGAPORE

Singapore's 70,000 Indians are to have a club house soon. The Singapore Indian Association, founded in 1923 and revived in 1946, after the Japanese Occupation, has taken the matter in hand.

Plans for the Club House building estimated to cost about Rs. 2,00,000 have been approved by the Government and the Singapore Municipality and work is expected to commence early next month.

The Commissioner-General for South-East Asia, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, will lay the foundation-stone in September. The Singapore Government have allotted free of cost an area of about 4½ acres on the Balestier Plain in North Singapore, for the Club House.

British Guiana

INDIANS IN BRITISH GUIANA

Indians in British Guiana, numbering nearly 176,000—the largest racial majority there—out of the total population of about 330,000 enjoyed as much of civil liberties and political rights as the Englishmen in the country, says Mr. D. P. Debidin, member of the Legislative Council of British Guiana, and Indian Advisory Committee to the Government.

Mr. Debidin is now on a visit to India to discuss with the Government of India its future policy towards Indians in British Guiana with particular reference to their repatriation and resettlement.

Most of the Indians in British Guiana were from the United Provinces and Madras, he said. Nearly 30,000 Indians there, he pointed out, were entitled to be repatriated at the cost of the Government of British Guiana.

"If the Government of British Guiana implemented their statutory offer of giving land or money equivalent to the return passage to these emigrants, then the majority would prefer to remain in British Guiana and accept this offer", he said. The few who still wanted to return to India would do so for sentimental considerations.

Great Britain

INDIAN STUDENTS IN BRITAIN

Some 3,000 men and women from India and Pakistan, according to *The Times* Educational Supplement, are now at educational institutions in Britain. Of these the number in the schools and colleges of the University of London is larger than that of all the University centres in Britain combined.

Plans for the extension of educational facilities in London (including the establishment of 34 county colleges) at a capital cost of £29,000,000 (Rs. 38.67 crores) have been drawn by the Education Committee of the London County Council.

The cost of the county colleges would be £14,000,000 (Rs. 13.67 crores) and the plan also includes new technical, commercial and art colleges with modifications to existing colleges—costing £14,000,000 (Rs. 13.67 crores) and improvements in the provision of evening institutes to cost £,1000,000 (Rs. 1.33 crores.)

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MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS ✱ DEPARTMENTAL ✱ NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

AGRARIAN REFORMS COMMITTEE'S REPORT

The Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee has submitted a comprehensive report dealing with the various agricultural problems facing the country. It has recommended:

1. Planned organisation of industries allied to agriculture calculated to absorb surplus population in agriculture.

2. A scheme of rural welfare service catering to the needs of rural population on the lines of social security principles.

3. A new scheme of land assessment varying with the price-level operated through a Government-cum-popular machinery on progressive basis.

4. Formation of land tribunals and wage boards for establishing harmonious relations between the landed and landless agricultural population.

5. Fixation of minimum wages for agricultural labour.

6. Greater contiguity of employment through employment exchanges.

7. Organization of agricultural labour unions.

8. Fixation of remunerative prices for agricultural products.

The Committee has also suggested the scaling down of old debts of agriculturists and wiping out of such debts in cases of agricultural labourers and organisation of a unified system of agricultural credit agencies for cheap and prompt rural credit.

A new machinery of land management for the development and cleaning of agriculture is also recommended.

The Committee has suggested prohibition of sub-letting and grant of occupancy rights to sub-tenants.

NO SEPARATE CONSTITUTION FOR STATES

The constitution of the States and States Union will be incorporated in the Constitution of India to enable them to form as units approximating to those of the provinces. As States they will have no separate constitution.

This decision was reached at a conference of the Premiers of the States and States Unions and officials of the States Ministry and of the Constituent Assembly, held at the State Ministry on July 18.

The provisions of the Draft Constitution are to be amended in the light of the decision.

In actual practice, the only sphere in which the Dominion Parliament has not so far exercised its authority is in respect of federated taxes in Indian States. In this connection, it is pointed out, the Indian States Finance Committee has already submitted its report calculated to bring about fiscal integration and place the financial structure of the States on the same footing as that of the provinces. Amendments to the relevant articles of the constitution will have to be made.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S DIRECTION TO P. C. C.

The Congress Working Committee which met at Delhi on July 18 under the chairmanship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel passed a resolution directing all Provincial Congress Committees not to pass any no-confidence resolutions against Congress Ministries.

If the Provincial Congress Committees had any grievances against the Congress Ministries, the Working Committee suggested, these should be brought to the notice of the Central Parliamentary Board or the Working Committee itself.

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

PT. NEHRU'S ADDRESS TO CALCUTTA CONGRESSMEN

Addressing about 100 Congressmen at Government House, Calcutta on July 14, Pandit Nehru exhorted them to close up their ranks and boldly face the manifold problems confronting the province and the country as a whole.

He deplored the state of Congress affairs in the province and said that the Congress there seemed to have become purdanashin. The Congressmen did not hold public meeting as they were afraid of small incidents of violence here and there. There was enough of constructive work for Congressmen to-day but there seemed to be a tendency in them to evade the real work and involve themselves in power politics.

Pandit Nehru said that Congress workers in Bengal to-day needed more courage and it was high time that they pursued the principles of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji taught them to be bold and courageous. That was the fundamental basis of his teachings. But what was happening in Calcutta? A handful of men would threaten and make people come down from the tram cars. They would silently watch acts of arson and damage of public property. This was the worst type of cowardice which Congressmen always abhorred.

Pandit Nehru referred to the policy of the Communist Party of India. Indian Communists, he said, were out to create chaos and disorder as they did not have the well-being of the people in their hearts. They sabotaged production and made every attempt to create conditions unfavourable to the nation's growth. For their own party ends, they indulged in acts of violence and tried to create an explosive situation. By such means, he added, the Communist Party would not be able to dislodge the Government or conquer India. If the Communist Party of India continued its present policy of terrorism and disorder, a military rule would naturally follow. Such circumstances gave rise to Nazism and Fascism, he said.

DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY

Mr. P. R. Das, retired Judge of Patna High Court, delivering the Presidential address of the Indian Civil Liberties' Conference at St. Mary's Hall, Madras, on July 16, observed:

> History will record how the Congress leaders, champions of democracy and liberty, abandoned these principles as soon as they came to power, and did not hesitate to say that they did so, to establish Congress dictatorship in the country. They have suppressed political parties, taken away the freedom of the Press, and deprived over 3,000 persons of their liberty without bringing them to trial.

Mr. Das pointed out that they had in India to-day an one-Party State just as was Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. Such was the prestige of the Indian National Congress that when it decided to fight the elections as a party, it was impossible for any other party to make an impression on the electorate. He deplored the decision of the Congress to fight the election as a Party, and said the object of the Congress as a national organisation was over with the attainment of independence.

One-party system, Mr. Das explained was irreconcilable with a democratic State. Actually, the draft Constitution so far accepted by the Constituent Assembly, left it open to the Executive Government to suppress political parties, to interfere with the freedom of the Press, speech and association, to put people in jail without bringing them before courts of law, and thus to pave the way for dictatorship. . . .

Mr. Das quoted the statement of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, who refused to follow the example of India. Mr. Attlee in reply to a question by Sir Waldron Smithers had said:

> I do not know whether Sir Waldron has studied the somewhat drastic measures that are being taken by Provincial Governments in India, and whether he and his party generally support the power to detain without trial on suspicion of subversive activities and a number of other things which are generally regarded as rather dangerous here.

Mr. Das pointed out that every Indian ought to hang his head in shame and humiliation. "I cannot conceive of a greater condemnation of what is happening in India to-day."

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TRIBUTE TO NEHRU GOVERNMENT

High tribute to Nehru Government for the way in which they are tackling the various problems facing the country since the attainment of independence have been paid by the British diplomat, Lord Killearn, formerly Supreme Commissioner for South-East Asian countries, in an interview to the U. P. I. at the Madras aerodrome. He said: "The way in which the Nehru Government and your leaders are tackling the various problems facing the country after the attainment of independence is remarkable. I am happy to say this."

"KASHMIR CANNOT JOIN PAKISTAN"

Addressing the workers of the National Conference at the residence of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah at Srinagar on July 6, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that he felt quite certain that Kashmir would not and could not join Pakistan at all.

Pandit Nehru said: "We have told the United Nations that India would not play the part of an aggressor in the Kashmir dispute. We shall never launch an attack, but if Pakistan launches the attack we shall give a fitting reply as behoves a big country. There is no doubt that there is a "cease fire" agreement in Kashmir at present, but in view of how feelings of the peoples in Pakistan are being whipped up against Kashmir and India, we have to remain alert and be prepared for any eventuality. There should be no slackening of vigilance on our part."

CHANDERNAGORE

The Government of India and the Government of the French Republic, in a joint communique on July 11, urged the people of Chandernagore to see that no activity disturbed the tranquillity of the city during the period of transition, in which the two Governments would together examine and put into effect the results of the referendum of June, 1949.

During the delay, which must elapse between the time the new regime shall replace the present one, the communique says, it is necessary that the actual administration should continue to function without hindrance and that order should be maintained.

EVACUEE PROPERTY

"The Custodian of Evacuee Property did not function properly in Pakistan. All non-Muslim property in Pakistan however, has been declared as evacuee property," observed Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Leader of the Indian delegation, explaining the failure of the Karachi Inter-Dominion Conference on Evacuee Property.

Mr. Ayyangar who was addressing a Press Conference at Delhi added: "India's latest attempt to check the migration of Muslim capital to Pakistan, is described as an infringement of the January Agreement."

Mr. Ayyangar said that Pakistan's leaders refused to discuss the main issue of urban and rural property of evacuees on the plea that Pakistan had no adequate data as yet on the subject. "I would describe the ending of the Conference, as an indication that, for time being, we have not been able to reach an agreement.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN FOR MOSCOW

Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Chairman of the Universities Commission, has been appointed India's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the U.S.S.R. the Ministry of External Affairs announced on July 11.

Dr. Radhakrishnan told the P.T.I. that he would leave for Moscow after completion of the report of the Universities Commission.

"We expect to complete our report by the end of August and soon after I will leave for Moscow," he said.

U. N. ECONOMIC COMMISSION

Mr. P. R. Srinivas, Editor of *Indian Finance*, has been appointed a consultant to the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Mr. Srinivas left for Bangkok by air on July 13. The ECAFE is now conducting an enquiry into the dollar requirements and balance of payments position of the ECAFE countries. In this enquiry experts from various countries will assist the Commission.

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EDUCATIONAL

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR ARTISTS

To stimulate folk art, the Government of India have decided to award eight scholarships of Rs. 2,500 each during 1949-50 to promising artists, it is learnt. The award is aimed at developing art in the context of rural life in India.

The awards are to be made on the advice of a committee of experts who will scrutinise the applications and inspect exhibits submitted by the applicants. The candidates will be expected to stay in villages and participate in the general life of the villages and encourage villagers in decorating their houses. Candidates will also be required to decorate one village school each and three other village schools in the adjoining areas.

The scheme is an experimental one. Some of the recipients of a similar scholarship last year exhibited their works in London recently and have since attained international fame.

BRITISH INTEREST IN ASIAN HISTORY

The annual prize offered by the Royal Asiatic Society for the best essay by a student at a British University on a subject connected with Asia has been presented to Mr. N. S. Adams of St. John's College, Cambridge. The subject this year was "The Rise and Fall of the Mahratta Power in India."

Professor Turner, Director of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, said that the contribution by Mr. Adams was of exceptional interest. He had demonstrated that there was more behind the rise of the Mahratta Power in India than a mere lust for plunder.

Professor Turner reminded the Society that the annual award was intended to rouse and maintain interest in studies of Asian history. One of the early winners of the award was Lord Scarbrough and it was not without significance that Lord Scarbrough had retained his interest in Asian affairs. It was as a result of a Committee headed by him that the Scarbrough Report had been presented to the Government. Its recommendations were now being carried out.

EDUCATION BY RADIO

Radio programmes already form a regular part of education in the Madras Province. There are already over 140 schools equipped with wireless and the number is being increased. All-India Radio, Madras has issued its schedule of radio lectures for the first three months of 1949. These are in three languages—English, Tamil and Telugu—and cover a wide field. There are lectures on literature and history no less than on scientific subjects. This kind of lecture makes education more interesting as well as more widely instructive.

PROF. P. N. BANERJI

"In saluting the University of Calcutta, we simultaneously and proudly salute the most distinguished of her sons", said Dean David Thomson of the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the McGill University, introducing Prof. P. N. Banerji, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, and one of the three Commonwealth Vice-Chancellors who were honoured with Doctorates of Law at a special Convocation held at Ottawa.

Mr. Thomson described Prof. Banerji as a scholar of international repute and referred to the Calcutta University's activities in guiding hundreds of students in advanced studies and in having 40,000 students affiliated to its colleges.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING SCHEMES

15,000 young men and women have been so far trained under the Government of India's Technical and Vocational Training Scheme, it is learnt.

The present need of the country for trained technicians is about 30,000 skilled workers per year. There are to-day 450 Government training centres scattered all over the country where about 19,000 trainees are undergoing trainings for technical and vocational trades.

FRENCH HONOUR FOR SIR C. V. RAMAN

Sir C. V. Raman, Director of the Raman Research Institute in Bangalore, and Nobel Laureate in Physics, is elected an Associate Member of the French Academy of Science at Paris.

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ALL INDIA LAWYERS' CONFERENCE

Explaining the need for a conference of lawyers from all parts of India, Dr. T. J. Kedar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, of the All India Lawyers' Conference at Nagpur said, the foremost purpose was the establishment of an All-India Bar. The integration of 600 States had made it absolutely necessary for them to have an All-India Bar, and in its establishment, he added, there would be no need to maintain different grades of lawyers such as Vakils, Pleaders and Advocates.

Over 600 delegates from Provinces and States attended.

Delivering the Presidential address at the All-India Lawyers' Conference, Dr. Pal, who was one of the Judges on the International War Crimes Tribunal for the Far East, endorsed the recent suggestion made by the Chief Justice of India about the formation of one Bar for the whole of India.

He said that apart from the dual system still prevailing in the High Courts of Calcutta and Bombay, there was the invidious distinction between lawyers enrolled in High Courts and those enrolled in mofussil courts. "We have enough of the caste system elsewhere, and I believe that free India would not tolerate unnecessary stratification anywhere in our national life," he declared.

Dr. Pal said that the past 50 years had witnessed a steady expansion of activities of the State and the local self-government institutions all the world over. This expansion had necessitated the rise and growth of a system of administrative tribunals as a necessary part of the legal machinery. The functioning of administrative tribunals in this and such other fields need not be regarded as an unwarranted encroachment upon the established doctrine of the supremacy of law courts over official action.

He urged lawyers to realise that it was possible to view in these administrative tribunals a supplementary system of social justice more expeditious than ordinary courts of the land.

RESOLUTIONS

The urgent need of separation of Executive from the Judiciary at the earliest possible time and the necessity of its being given effect to forthwith, is voiced in one of the resolutions adopted by the Conference.

The resolution opines that Government should maintain the independence of the Judiciary and as a step in attainment of the same should recruit members of the Bar exclusively for judicial posts.

The Conference also adopted a resolution viewing with alarm the recent legislations giving powers to Provincial Governments to imprison without trial and ousting or restricting the jurisdiction of the High Court in such matters. The resolution stated that these enactments were retrograde and reactionary and an encroachment of the fundamental rights of the subjects and totally contrary to natural justice.

The Conference disapproved of the policy of the Provincial Government of vesting judicial powers in civil and criminal matters in persons or bodies having no legal training, and the policy of the Government precluding lawyers from appearing before the said persons or bodies.

By another resolution the Conference demanded that the Bar Council be made autonomous and invested with full and exclusive powers for admission of members to the Bar and for control of professional conduct of lawyers and that High Courts and Chief Courts should cease to have any power in these matters.

A resolution demanding the immediate abolition of capital punishment was also adopted by the Conference.

FEDERAL COURT ADVOCATES' ASSOCIATION

A Federal Court Advocates' Association has been formed in Delhi with Sir N. P. Engineer, Advocate-General of India, as President, Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand as Vice-President and Mr. K. M. Munshi, as General Secretary.

Several eminent lawyers, including Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Mr. M. C. Setalvad, are members of the Committee.

The aims of the Association are to promote and protect the privileges, interests, and prestige of the Federal Bar, to promote and maintain a high standard of professional conduct among the members of the Bar in India, and to establish an All-India Lawyers' Association.

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TRADE AND FINANCE

SALE OF MILITARY STORES TO PAKISTAN

Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Minister speaking at a Fauji Mela at Palampur, (Kangra District) said that the Government of India had sold to Pakistan Rs. 15 crores worth of surplus military stores and had not received anything in payment.

He said when India was divided she had Rs. 250 crores worth of military stores which were to be divided between the two Dominions. According to an agreement between them Pakistan was to have the cost of her share of the stores to India within 30 days of the receipt of the stores. India sent to Pakistan rupees one crore worth of stores and waited for payment but no payment was made. India then sent another Rs. two crores worth of stores, to which also no payment was received. More stores were sent until India had supplied rupees 15 crores worth of stores but even then Pakistan did not pay a single pie. Thereupon the sending of stores were suspended.

FINANCE MINISTERS' AGREEMENT IN LONDON

Finance Ministers representing ten countries agreed at their secret six-day dollar talks in London to recommend their governments to follow Britain's example in making dollar cuts, a communique announced at the conclusion of the talks on July 18.

Without specifically mentioning the hundred million sterling cut this year in British dollar purchases announced by Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps, the communique said:

"Immediate steps necessary to check the continuing heavy drain on the central reserves of the sterling area were discussed and the ministers concerned agreed to recommend to their Governments' action comparable in its results to that already decided upon by the United Kingdom."

The communique endorsed the statement issued after talks in London between the economic "big three" of Britain, America and Canada calling for a "pattern of world trade in which dollar and non-dollar countries can operate together in one single multilateral system."

It added: "It was agreed that a lasting solution of the sterling area's difficulties could not be found without a very substantial expansion of the areas' earnings of dollars and the most effective use and development of the resources of each component part. "Practical and positive measures designed to this end were discussed and accepted for recommendation to Governments.

TRADE AGREEMET BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

The Government of India and Pakistan have ratified the trade agreement signed between them on June 24, at Karachi for the mutual supply of certain essential commodities for the year 1949-50. The Agreement will remain in force for a year from July 1st.

Under the Agreement, the Government of Pakistan has agreed to export to India five items, namely, four and a half lakhs bales of cotton, twenty-seven lakh pieces of hides and skins, four million bales of raw jute, 15,000 tons of rape and mustard seed and two million maunds of rock salt.

Half of raw cotton will have to be purchased by India by the end of February and the balance by the end of August next year.

India will, under the Agreement, supply 33 items, namely: 150,000 bales of mill-made cloth, 100,000 bales of cotton yarn, 150,000 yards of canvas, 2·50 millions tons of coal, 50,000 tons of jute manufactures. 5,670 tons of chemicals, 71,000 tons of edible vegetable oil including vanaspati, 2,500 tons of paints and varnishes, 6,000 tons of linseed oil, 10,000 tons of hardwood, 2,500 tons of bauxite, 2 million maunds of sea salt, 64,000 tons of steel, 16,000 tons of pig iron, 500 tons of electrical steel sheets, 7½ million cubic feet of pitching stone and ballast, 5,000 tons of washing soap, 2,500 tons of asbestos cement, 2 million lbs. of tobacco, 2,000 tons of myrobolams, 100 tons of ferrosilicon, 100 ferromangnase, and Rs. 2550,000 worth of railway stores.

The two Governments have agreed to grant export and import, licences at least upto the quantitative or monetary limits for the commodities to be supplied under the agreement.

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WOMEN'S PAGE

ARE WOMEN POLICE OF ANY USE?

Are women an "ornamental auxiliary", to India's police force?

"No," say the police chiefs of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Nagpur and Lucknow, where women are enrolled in the police force.

"Yes", says a Minister in Madras where there are no women in the police force.

Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, the Madras Finance Minister told a woman member of the provincial legislature that in the Government's view women constables could only be "an ornamental auxiliary to the men force and they will not be able to do their work."

Views to the contrary, however, were expressed by police chiefs in other provincial capitals.

LEGAL GAINS OF MARRIED WOMEN IN U.S.A.

Studies of the civil rights of women in the United States, made by the United States Women's Bureau, indicate that some of the greatest legal gains made by American women in the last century have related to the ownership and control by married women of their earnings and property.

"Progress has come generally through the enlightenment of society and its desire to make laws conforms with every-day custom," the Bureau says.

One hundred years ago marriage deprived a woman of her rights to property and personal earnings, the Bureau points out. To-day the 43 States of the United States, "have in varying but effective ways eliminated the bulk of these deprivations."

WOMAN ARCTIC EXPERT

As an ardent amateur student of Arctic lore, Miss Louise Arner Boyd set out in 1926 to hunt polar bears. To-day, after seven polar expeditions, this American geographer, photographer and author is one of the few internationally recognized women Arctic explorers.

WIVES' EARNINGS ARE SEPARATE PROPERTY

Current laws in the U.S. affect nearly 8,000,000 married women. In 21 States and the District of Columbia a woman's personal earnings are made her separate property by specific laws, while in 15 others general statutes are interpreted to have the same effect. The remaining 12 states operate under community-property laws which provide joint ownership, by husband and wife, of earnings and property accumulated through co-operative efforts during their marriage. In six of these, the laws specifically give the wife control over her earnings, even as a part of the community estate. Four of them give her similar control over any community property listed in her name. Married women may dispose of their separate property by will. In case of death without a will, most states provide that the widow or surviving husband inherits similar portions of the deceased spouse's estate.

GIRLS IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES

In ever larger numbers educated Indian women and girls all over the country are to-day crowding the service professions, and are proving their mettle against men, reports the *Hindustan Times* and adds:

Military telephone exchanges, which until a year ago were operated almost exclusively by men, are to-day being worked by girls who now form the majority of the staff in most of the military exchanges throughout India.

Thousands of calls are being handled every day by these girls, who have been found to be as efficient, if not more, as men operators in their exacting duties.

Likewise, there are to-day many more Indian girl typists and workers in Government and business institutions in the country than ever before—a sign of their growing self-confidence and of the urge for economic independence.

WHICH ONE?

Somebody hissed when the professor was lecturing. A deep silence followed while the man thought fast and came up with, "There are only three things that hiss: A goose, a snake, and a fool. Come forth and be identified."

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GENERAL

COMPENSATION TO REFUGEES

The two-day conference on evacuee property convened by the Ministry of Rehabilitation, concluded at Delhi on July 22 after a dozen more speakers had criticised the Government of India's "mild policy" towards Pakistan.

Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister of the Central Cabinet, told the Conference that the Government of India were out to get as adequate a compensation as possible for the lands that had been left behind by refugees in Pakistan. "We are bound to get compensation", he said. "It is a question of time".

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar stated: "Compensation will be paid. It may not be in the shape of cash or in the form which refugees might desire to have. It may be partly in land, partly in house property, partly in cash perhaps, but very probably partly in the shape of some kind of bonds if we have to make advances before a final settlement is made. But we have got to think out all these various forms and see how best we could alleviate distress, how best also we could equip the refugees, who have been hard hit, to settle down in life, and feel that they have made a permanent home in this country with the prospect of making the best of their own lives".

Mr. Ayyangar said amidst loud cheers: "On none of the fundamental issues raised in this conference is there any difference between those who represent the Government and those who represent refugees."

UNDERGROUND CABLE SERVICE

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Minister for Communication in the Government of India, disclosed at Patna that the Centre had a Rs. seven-crore scheme to lay underground cables for operating telegraph and telephone services between Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

The first underground cable link would be laid between Calcutta and Bombay. An order for cables for this link had already been placed with Japan.

With underground cables, the prevalence of line trouble during stormy or rainy whether would be averted.

GANDHI MEMORIAL IN WASHINGTON

The United States House of Representatives has passed a bill to erect a memorial in Washington to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Bill gives authority to the India League or any other body organised for the purpose, to erect within five years a memorial "testifying to the wisdom and leadership of Mahatma Gandhi as a philosopher and statesman" on a ground selected by the United States Fine Arts Commission.

The Bill must receive Senate approval before it becomes effective.

It was sponsored by Representative Celler (Democrat, New York) and had the support of the State Department and the Fine Arts Commission.

The memorial would be presented to the people of the United States without cost to the Government.

The cost of maintenance would be borne by the organisation undertaking its creation in the terms of the original bill.

REVITALISING CONGRESS

Pandit Jwaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, it is learnt has addressed an important communication to all Provincial Governments emphasising the need to take immediate steps to "overhaul" and "revitalise" the Congress organisation.

In this "supreme task", Pandit Nehru is understood to have advised the Provincial Governments to hold periodical meetings with the heads of Provincial Congress Committees "to take stock of the situation."

In his communication, Pandit Nehru is stated to have drawn particular attention of the heads of Provincial Governments to the results of the recent by-election in Calcutta, and warned them against a repetition of such defeats which seriously threatened the reputation of the "premier national organisation."

SIR A. L. MUDALIAR

Sir Arcot Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, was elected Chairman of the Executive Board of the World Health Organisation at the opening of the Board's fourth session meeting at Geneva, last month.

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MECHANISATION IN OUR COUNTRY

BY DR. J. C. KUMARAPPA

———:o:———

IN India our land is considerably limited. It has to feed nearly one fifth of the world in population. Hence we cannot afford to be wasteful in our methods. The recuperative power of land becomes a very important factor in our calculations. When we cultivate a piece of land we are taking certain elements out of it. The land recuperates itself through various means within a certain time. We have to allow that time as well as rotate the crops grown so as to fit into this cycle. This is a highly technical proposition, as this recuperation conditions the pace of our production from land. If we produce larger crops by more intensive cultivation we shall be reaching the stage of exhaustion soon after which the land will become fit only for jungle growth or will remain a desert. Hence it will be necessary for us to draw on our resources with considerable thought.

We may say, in some respects, America is in the position of a rich man's son who draws on his capital in addition to his income for his current requirements, while India is like a self made person who is to equate his expenditure with his income. Therefore, the rate of production in India has to be well-balanced with the possibilities of the soil conditions. In America they are constantly converting cultivable land into grass and forests with the deplating fertility and drawing on better lands by reclamation. Lands that have been dislodged are open to the menace of erosion which washes away the cultivable soil. Because of their constantly drawing on virgin soil it becomes increasingly important to use tractors. While they use tractors they also have access to the necessary fuel in their land. If we produce food on the basis of mechanisation while the needed fuel for the motive power is not available in India, we shall be in a very precarious condition. Our bullocks would have died out and at a time when fuel—crude oil and kerosene—is not available we shall have to die like flies, as bullocks for the needed power, cannot be grown overnigh

Our methods have to suit the conditions of our country. Our agricultural practices are largely conditioned by the vagaries of the monsoon. In attempting to control this the authorities have tried in some parts schemes of irrigation based on power. When electricity is available cheaply electric pumps are used for irrigation. The effect of this has been, we have been drawing on a very small fraction of the water that is showered on the land during the monsoon estimated at about 6 per cent, while the

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balance runs waste into the sea and even out of this 6 per cent the benefit is for the rich. Those who can afford to instal electric pumps draw whatever water is available for their own fields. The poorer sections lose even that which they have, as their own wells and tanks, to which alone they have recourse, dry up as the pumps work. With the advent of the pump the sub-soil water-level sinks too deep for the wells and tanks to function. Not only this, but even old trees die out as the sub-soil level sinks below the level of their roots. These dried up trees are cut down and the land is exposed to erosion.

The drawing on sub-soil water in this manner may not affect the land in cases like the Gangetic plain and the river deltas which are sometimes even water-logged, but in most parts of the country where the water table is already low it will have a very adverse effect. Conditions in our land, therefore, indicate that what is needed is not the more intensive exploitation of the sub-soil water, but the conservation of the major part of the water that runs waste into the sea. In other words, more than electric pump, we require small dams put across streams, rivulets and rivers to hold back some of nature's gift in store. Here is one instance where the much vaunted mechanical aid in the form of electric pump fore-shadows ruin and desolation to the countryside.

These instances only show the need for a comprehensive well-thought-out plan, unrelated to the greed of vested interests, bearing closely on the natural conditions that prevail in our country, and which will be within the pattern of life indicated by nature for a tropical country like India dependent on the monsoon. At the present, the schemes that have been put out do not give any signs of having taken such a comprehensive view of our needs. So we must warn our farmers from taking a step in the dark with promises which will prove to be short-lived.

India, Pakistan and the Durand Line

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

University of Lucknow

THE solicitude which the Afghan Government has of late been showing for the frontier tribesmen is a matter which directly concerns Pakistan. But, it would be a mistake to regard it as something of no consequence to India, for the tension between Pakistan and Afghanistan over the question of a sovereign Pathanistan makes the Frontier situation much too combustible for the ultimate security of India.

The idea of a sovereign Pathanistan originally mooted by the Congress leaders of the N-WFP as an effective counterblast to the League move for Pakistan has now given the Kabul Government a long-awaited opportunity to demand a virtual revision of the Anglo-Afghan frontier line laid down by the Durand Commission. Even a superficial study of the Anglo-Afghan relations during the last century would serve to show that the tribal land has

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always been a bone of contention between Afghanistan and British India. The recently developed tenderness of the Afghan Government for the Pathans of the tribal area is therefore neither a novel symptom, nor an entirely unintelligible move. The Afghan Government's refusal to accept the Durand Line as an international border is the latest phase of an imbroglio which originated with the introduction of a forward frontier policy in the last century. The present dissension has its roots in the past.

In order to understand the historical background of the Afghan attitude, it is necessary to recall the circumstances which gave birth to the scientific frontier policy of the Government of India in the latter part of the 19th century. The necessity for an advanced military frontier in the border country between Afghanistan and India was increasingly felt during and after the Second Afghan War when the intrinsic unsoundness of the previous line of defence became apparent to the British military strategists. The quest for a scientific frontier gave rise to the grandiose idea of pushing the Indus line to the vicinity of Kabul and Kandahar. The fall of the Conservative Ministry and the resignation of Lord Lytton interrupted the scheme. But the very fact that Lord Ripon, the Liberal Viceroy, who changed his predecessor's policy and methods in various details, did not relinquish the new frontier line from the Khyber to Pishin and Sibi showed that the cry of "Back to the Indus" was now finally given up by the British Government. This new frontier line was necessarily the result of a compromise between the Forward School which had advocated the retention of the Kandahar line, and the Stationary School which urged that the Indus was the natural limit of India.

DURAND'S MISSION

In their natural anxiety to close the Afghan War without the least delay, and with good grace, the Government of India, however, overlooked for the time being the imperative need for a proper delimitation of the Anglo-Afghan boundary in the tribal no-man's land. In Lord Lansdowne's time, the Forward Policy again came to the forefront owing mainly to the influence of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts. The revival of this policy led to the mission of Sir Mortimer Durand, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, to Kabul in 1893. This mission, the importance of which has been generally overlooked, forms a landmark in the history of Indo-Afghan relations. Its objects were, *firstly*, to assert a definite right of suzerainty over the tribal country, *secondly*, to demarcate a scientific frontier in accordance with the views of the Forward School, *thirdly*, to rectify the existing anomalies in the matter of India's defence line, *fourthly*, to tackle the problem of tribal unrest and modify the closeborder system on the frontier, *fifthly*, to curtail the Afghan Amir's right to suzerainty over the tribal land, *sixthly*, to prevent the possibility of Afghan expansion and interference in the extreme north including Chitral and Gilgit, and, *lastly*, to define the Indo-Afghan boundary for purposes of preventing chances of future doubt or friction, and complete the demarcation of the Afghan

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boundaries after the work of the recent Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission on the northern border of Afghanistan.

Sir Mortimer Durand succeeded in bringing about an amicable settlement regarding the frontier delimitation, and the agreement which was finally approved and signed by the Amir defined the respective spheres of influence in the tribal country. In other words, the borderland was partitioned between Afghanistan and India. The new boundary popularly known as the Durand Line was jointly demarcated by British and Afghan Commissioners in 1894. It runs from north to south through the tribal area, deviding it into two zones.

The demarcation of the Durand Line could hardly be palatable to the Afghan Government, and it had to accept it reluctantly, merely because it could not have resisted the British Government over this matter. Afghan resentment was due to a number of reasons. First, the old and traditional right of the Kabul Government to suzerainty over the entire Pathan country was now challenged and circumscribed. Second, Afghanistan could no longer seek expansion in the only direction where expansion was feasible. Third, Afghanistan lost a serviceable buffer between its dominions and British India. Fourth, Afghanistan's military position was adversely affected by the sudden advancement of the British military line. Fifth, the manner in which the boundary line was drawn was hasty and shortsighted, for it was wrong to leave only a part of Waziristan to the Amir when the majority of the Wazirs were kept on the British side and it was equally wrong to bifurcate the Mohmand country in the same manner. Sixth, the Durand Line accentuated lawlessness on the frontier, which has been a constant source of anxiety to the Afghans. And, lastly, chances of friction and misunderstanding between India and Afghanistan were now definitely aggravated, for mischiefmongers could always escape from one side to the other, and find shelter in accordance with the usual tribal code of honour.

ETHNIC ABSURDITIES

The Durand Line does not satisfy the essential conditions of a sound military frontier for the Indian sub-continent. Militarily, it is not a satisfactory defence line. It does not follow clearly defined and recognised natural features. For example, salients have not been avoided in the manner in which they should have been done. As such, it is a haphazard and unscientific frontier. But, the worst feature of the line is the violation of ethnic considerations, which shows an utter lack of imagination and foresight. The enormity of the ethnic absurdities was heightened by the fact that the wishes of the Pathans themselves were not consulted at all. They were treated like pawns in a diplomatic bargain, and were divided like so many cattle.

Now that the British have left, and India has been partitioned, the Afghans are naturally eager to rectify their eastern defence line, and, if possible, to re-establish a buffer state in the shape of Pathanistan between their country and Pakistan. That is why they have chosen to support the demand for a separate Pathanistan in the tribal country. The considerations on

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which the Afghan move has been based may be thus summed up. First, the people across the frontier are essentially Afghan by race, and, as such they have the right to form a separate state of their own. Second, the choice between Pakistan and India given to the frontier people was unfair and undemocratic. Third, the Durand Line must be revised now that British rule in India has come to an end. Fourth, the Pathans themselves are keen on guiding their own destinies as an independent people. Fifth, the Pathans do not like to be treated as pawns in the game of international power politics. Lastly, the conditions in Pakistan are considered to be unfavourable to the realisation of Pathan rights and to the promotion of Pathan culture and genius.

As a matter of fact, however, the tribal people are not exactly what the Afghans call them, "their kith and kin." They have never before acknowledged Afghan suzerainty, except nominally, and have jealously, preserved their own individuality. Having long been kept under Indian control, their country has now become part and parcel of the Pakistan defence system Hence, the Afghan interest in the proposed scheme for a Pathanistan gives rise to a number of questions. Does it portend a possible conflict between Afghanistan and Pakistan? Will it lead to an international dispute, requiring arbitration by the U N O? Will there be an armed revolt in the Frontier Province? Will there be a show down between the Pathan leaders and the Pakistan Muslim League? Is it likely that Russia has inspired the Afghan move and will eventually intervene in the quarrel? Could there be a general conflagration all over the borderland, leading to a mass attack on the Indian Union? Will the impasse in the border country have its repercussion on the Kashmir situation?

WHY PATHANISTAN?

There are strong arguments both for and against the demand for Pathanistan. It is necessary to weigh them carefully. On the one hand, it may be urged that the bond of religion alone cannot keep the Pathans loyal to Indian Muslims, for even during Muslim rule in the past the frontier people had always been hostile and troublesome. A rebellious land would be a thorn on the side of Pakistan. Besides, it would lead to needless friction between the Punjabis and Pathans, and provoke foreign, and especially, Russian intervention, thereby causing a serious international problem. In any case, the Pathan movement would remain a permanent source of trouble to the Pakistani Muslims, for the Pathans do not like their domination. The allegiance of a part of the tribal area to Afghanistan is also a standing argument for the creation of a separate homeland for the Pathans in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

On the other hand, there are counter-arguments against Afghanistan's demand. The Durand Line is duly acknowledged and recognised border which Pakistan has inherited from the British, and therefore its legality cannot be questioned at this late hour. The tribal country is also too poor to maintain an independent status as a state, and Afghanistan too is not in a position to promote the economic development with its own slender resources. Again, if the Pathan country comes under the influence of the U.S.S.R., it would prove to be a menace both

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to Pakistan and India. Without the Durand Line, the defence of Pakistan would be adversely affected in any case. The Indus frontier is useless under modern conditions. The invaders have always come through the passes, and so they must be checked beyond the passes and not on the Indus border itself. In modern warfare, a river is an obstacle. Besides, the Indus has never been a frontier, and even the Sikhs had to go up to the Peshawar line along the Khyber. Again, there is no guarantee that tribal unrest and frontier raids would not increase with the creation of Pathanistan.

Now, let us see, if the partition of India affects the defence system on the North-West frontier. According to one view India has no cause for worry on the score of Pakistan's dispute with Afghanistan. The arguments in support of this view may be thus summarised. First, Pakistan's trouble would be to the advantage of India, for if Pakistan is preoccupied with the Pathan problem, she would not be a menace to India's defence on the North-West frontier. Second, Pakistan would be forced to seek India's friendship and goodwill, if her dispute with Afghanistan is kept alive with the demand for Pakistan. Third, the present deadlock in the tribal country would facilitate a quicker return of peace in Kashmir. Fourth, Pakistan will become a useful buffer state between Russia on the one hand and Afghanistan on the other. Lastly, the frontier problem might lead to a joint defence system between India and Pakistan to the mutual benefit of both.

INDIA'S ANXIETY

It is on such grounds as these that it has been asserted that India has no cause for anxiety over the tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Reasoning such as this, however, betrays a lack of a grasp of the realities of the situation. The position of Russia in Central Asia in the perspective of the division of the world into two armed blocks makes India's position much more hazardous today than it could have been in the past. It is true that Pakistan's difficulty may temporarily prove to be India's opportunity, but can it be seriously argued that India's own defence will not be jeopardised, if Pakistan's frontier system breaks down? Whether Pakistan will serve the purpose of a buffer is a question which cannot be answered so soon. With its inadequate financial and industrial potentials Pakistan cannot attain a dependable stability in the near future. Far from being a barrier, it may prove a burdensome neighbour on India's most vital land frontier. As for the hypothesis that Pakistan will be obliged to seek India's goodwill, it is only proper to remember that an excess of complacency in a matter like this is wholly unwarranted. To argue that Pakistan's break with the Pathans would solve the Kashmir problem, is only to imagine solace where it does not exist in fact. If anything, the trouble in tribal area will aggravate India's anxiety in the matter of frontier defence. The emergence of some joint defence arrangements is also not likely in the near future. In any case, there is no reason for undue optimism in this matter. In short, the hazards and responsibilities would outweigh any possible advantages resulting from a conflagration on the North-West Frontier.

A careful consideration of the respective viewpoints leads to the conclusion that the problem of the Durand Line affects

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India also to some extent, for the N-WFP is a link in the chain of the Indian continental defence system and India cannot allow it to be used as a base by any foreign power. It is, however, equally clear that an equitable revision of the Durand Line is overdue ultimately in the interests of Pakistan herself. The strategical imperfections of the line need rectification as much on military as on ethnic grounds. The boundaries of Waziristan and the Mohmand area require a satisfactory readjustment. It is India's interest to see that Pakistan has a scientific frontier, but it is equally necessary to bring about an amicable settlement of the problem of the Durand Line. If necessary the whole question needs to be referred to the UNO in the interest of international goodwill and world peace.

CEYLON'S PRESENT-DAY LEADERS*

BY MR. G. VENKATACHALAM

INDIA and Lanka are one. The narrow Palk Strait divides only to accentuate that unity. The ties that bind these two countries are older than the Himalyas and stronger than the earth-crusts that geologically unite them. Lanka, in reality, is only a physical fragment and a cultural projection of India.

Sita's captivity in Asokavana, Rama's battle with Ravana, Arjuna's romance with Chitra, Mahinda's mission to Tissa, Sanghamitta's pilgrimage to Anuradhapura, Ellala's epic fight with Duthagamanu, Pallavamalla's lifelong friendship with Manavamma, and the Chola and Pandya marriage alliances with Lanka's Kings were all merely incidents in that long connection.

All that was best and lasting in Lanka's history, her religion, arts and even language, went from India. The lion story of the Sinhalese—a sort of cock and bull story—goes back to India. Vijaya's adventures with his companions are part and parcel of Indian legend in that fair island.

Ceylon's past was as great and glorious as any country's and her great kings like Devanampiya Tissa, Duthagamanus and Parakramabahu were as wise and strong as any king in the world's history. The ancient cities of Anuradhapura and Polannaruwa rivalled in beauty and grandeur even Rome and Persepolis; the holy city of Kasi was their equal as a seat of learning.

Lanka's art heritage was no less great. Her skysoaring dagobas of Abhayagiri and Lankatilaka, her chastely chiselled carvings of Isuramuniya and Polannaruwa, her famous frescoes of Sigiriya and Damila Mahasaya still impress one with their imperishable beauty and greatness. Two of the world's oldest historical records, the Mahavansa and Suluvansa, belong to Lanka.

So much for the remote past.

Even in the very immediate past Ceylon produced some outstanding men, men gifted with vision, courage and character. The High Priest Sumangala, the silver-tongued bhikku Megittu-watte, the saintly

* A chapter from a new book to be published by Nalanda, Bombay.

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statesman Ponnambalam Ramanathan, the scholar-administrator Sir Arunachalam, the good Christian politician James Peiris were some of the veterans.

SIR BARON JAYATILEKA

The last of this noble band was the lately lamented Sir Don Baron Jayatileka, Ceylon's first ambassador to India. A scholar by instinct, circumstances drove him into politics. A rebel in his younger days, he died a moderate. As a Buddhist who did his best for his religion he was popular; as a politcian who tried to serve his country he was a failure.

A good man, simple of heart, gentle of manner, courtly and kind, he could have been a more popular figure but fate had willed it otherwise. He was a much misunderstood man, not because he was ambitious and self-seeking—that most men are, especially in public life—but because he was too cautious and calculating to give the right lead to people hungering for freedom. That was his tragedy.

Sir Baron was a self-made man. By sheer force of character and perseverance he rose to the position of Ceylon's number one politican and public man. He served his countrymen truly and well and to the best of his abilities. He was not an inspired leader but a man of sober and practical outlook, and considering the time and the circumstances in which he lived he did not do badly.

Next to politics, education was his passion. He started his life as a teacher, and after his return from Oxford he played a prominent part in the educational advancement of the Ceylonese, first as a Principal and later as the Chief Minister and the President of the Buddhist Theosophical Society, which is the foremost educational body in the island, controlling hundreds of schools and colleges.

He had great regard for India and Indians, in spite of the anti-Indian measures he was forced to accede to in his capacity as Home Minister; and his last job as Ceylon's Representative in India was dear to his heart, as he told me in person, but cruel death has snatched him away before he could substantially and successfully bind the two peoples with the silken cord of mutual love and understanding.

MR D. S SENANAYAKE

His successor, both to the leadership of the Council of State and in public life, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, is cast in a different mould, and in many respects is his antithesis. Aggressive, dominating, rude and reactionary, Mr. Senanayake is what he looks, a tough guy. A son of the soil, he is a very much "stick in the mud" person, both in living and thinking. He makes a fiery patriot all right, but at what cost?

Lacking in imagination (a common curse with most politicians) and devoid of vision, he had been pursuing a narrow isolationist policy for his country which had nearly ruined his countrymen and his reputation. The global war and Ceylon's strategic position saved the situation. His cry "Ceylon for the Sinhalese", however sentimentally right, had nothing substantial to back it up except popular prejudice.

He played upon the passions of his people and became a popular hero. He carried on his anti-Indian agitation, both inside and outside the Council, openly and

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barefacedly. He had a young colt of a politician to kick vigorously along with him, and they both had a merry time for a brief while. Soon sanity set in and they saw the error of their ways, if not the folly of their policies.

As a Sinhalese patriot he has much to his credit. His Minneriya agricultural scheme, when he was Minister of Agriculture, is a laudable attempt though a wild one. If instead of the malaria-ridden Minneriya had he chosen the obviously more fertile regions round about Tissamharama for his costly experiments the results might have been more fruitful.

However dangerous as a politician—and all nationalists are dangerous politicians—he has certain sterling qualities as a man. Strong, independent, unbending, uncompromising and uncorruptible, Senanayake is a man to reckon with in Ceylon, and had he only the mild manners and serene scholarship of the late Baron he would have been a not unworthy successor.

MR. C. W. KANNAGARA

The teacher from the South, the unassuming and unostentatious Mr. C. W. Kannagara is one of the silent politicians who, unrecognised and often unrewarded, serve their country's interest through good and evil report. A man with marked ability and sincere nature he brought into being the long-desired University of Ceylon, and to this solid work, if not for anything else, the people of Lanka are greatly indebted to him.

THE ENFANT TERRIBLE OF CEYLON POLITICS

The Hon.'ble Mr. S. M. R. D. Bandaranaike is the *enfant terrible* of Ceylon politics. He had everything that birth, education and wealth could give to become a national leader but he chose to be a communal firebrand. His father, Sir Solomon Bandaranaike, was a "yes-man" of the Government, who owned vast landed properties and lived in the legendary style of the Lords of England with country mansions, hunting dogs and a retinue of servants.

The young Bandaranaike did not follow in the footsteps of his father. In fact he revolted against everything for which his father stood. A born politician philanderer, he flirted with many things in his life, with Socialism in his Oxford days, with charka and rural welfare work in his early career, with nationalism and Buddhism in his gamble for power, and is now one of His Majesty's Ministers in the Ceylon Council of State.

His youthful idealism is a thing of the past: his ambition to be the Jawaharlal of Lanka has gone for ever. With a little power in his hand he transformed himself into a little Ceasar and thundered wrath and fury against all and sundry especially against the poor helpless Indian coolies. He became the symbol of anti-Indian revolt, and even a man like Senanayake stood stunned and perplexed. He carried his bias too far and soon became a nuisance in his own country.

MR. PONNAMBALAM

His counterblast, both inside the Council and in public life, is the Tamil State Councillor, Mr G. G. Ponnambalam. He is also a fire-eater but a more compromising type. Cambridge-educated, he thinks it his duty to oppose everything that his Oxford-returned opponent says or does. Equally ambitious and audacious he refuses to knuckle under or give in to the bumptious pretensions of the

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major community leader. Both these men play with politics and with the lives of their respective countrymen.

PROF. SUNTHRALINGAM

The ex-professor C. Sunthralingam is another strong man from Jaffna who has entered politics to fight the extreme elements in the majority community. A brilliant mathematician, he resigned from the Indian Civil Service to serve the cause of education, and with the advent of strong party politics and communal feeling he thought it was his duty to gird up his loins and join the fray. He can hit hard and is as robust in his politics as he is in his health.

MR. GEORGE D'SILVA

George E. d'silva of Kandy is a good and generous hearted man, always in trouble with money and men. He wanted to be everything, a politician, statesman, trade-commissioner, an ambassador, and finally managed to be a minister. His pro-Indian proclivities are well known and he is a man of goodwill and fellowship. His predecessor in office, the late Mr. W. A. d'Silva, was an intellectual aristocrat while George is an out and out democrat, a man of the people.

MR. COREA, THE LABOUR MINISTER

Anothar pleasant natured politician and a man of culture is the Proctor from Chilaw, the Labour Minister G.G.E. Corea. A man of broad views, he tried to tackle the Indian labour problem in a sympathetic manner and made several visits to India to arrive at a reasonable settlement. If he did not succeed it was not his fault. The opposition and prejudices were too much for him.

The minority community, the Jaffna Tamils, once led the island in politics, law, medicine and the services, especially the last, and do so even now. But their present day leaders, compared with giants like Sir Ramanathan and Sir Arunachalam, are mediocre men with no vision, push or enterprise. The civil services, however, possess some brilliant men.

COMMUNISTS IN CEYLON

The Communists in Ceylon, known as the Sama Samajists, are of the Trotskian brand, and though small in numbers have made themselves felt in the political life of the island. Most of their leaders, fine young men with courage and idealism, are either behind prison bars or in exile, and like most of the Indians or Chinese Communists they are foreign educated and widely-travelled men.

The real founder of the Sama Samaj in Lanka are the two Goonawardenes. Philip and Leslie. Philip was the brain of the party and its chief inspirer. A convinced Marxist and rebel at heart, he had an adventurous career as a revolutionist in Spain and in America before he returned to Ceylon. He suffered imprisonment and had given the slip to his captors in Europe long before he broke out of the Kandy jail with his comrades.

A silent strong man, Philip Goonawardene is a born schemes, a clever plotter, cool, calculating and daring, a sort of a little Lenin. Ceylon is too small a country for his revolutionary activities. And like all revolutionaries he is a good man at heart, gentle in his ways, modest in appearance, selfless and friendly, a man who wouldn't hurt a fly in his normal life but wouldn't mind liquidating men for a cause.

Leslie Goonawardene, a product of the London School of Economics and a pupil of Prof. Laski, is the purse-power behind the party. The only son of a wealthy landlord of Panadura, his fond father had high hopes

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that his son would follow the Christ as an ordained priest, but the son chose to follow Marx. Fair, young and sweet-natured, Leslie doesn't give one the impression of a Red rebel or an elusive pimpernal as he has proved to be.

N. M. Pereera and his charming wife Selini are two of the stalwarts of the Sama Samaj, but the most lovable of them is Dr. S. A. Wickremesinghe, the one-time Councillor of Matara. If ever a dreamer hypnotised himself into believing that he is a man of action, it is this doctor. Sensitive, generous and sincere, politics is the last thing for a man of his temperament. A successful doctor and a real poor man's friend whom the villagers love and trust, he preferred the shoddy, slippery way of politics to straight service which is his natural dharma.

When he decided to practise in London for a period he deliberately chose the East End of the city to show his practical sympathy with the working classes and the poor. In his own home-town of Matara, in Southern Ceylon, when he set up practice it was more for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings of the poor villagers than amassing a little fortune for himself, which he could easily have done. Even the rich took advantage of his goodness and seldom paid their bills.

Lanka is a lovely land and the Ceylonese are a generous people, and some of my happiest days have been in their island and among them; and if I have tried to recollect and record here some personel impressions of their leaders it is only with a view to bring about a better understanding between the two countries which have so much in common and which I feel sure cannot be cut asunder by the machinations of any scheming politicians or self-seeking statesmen.

"THE NEW REPUBLIC"

A PLATONIC SYMPOSIUM

BY PROF. P. R. KRISHNASWAMI, M.A.

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THE New Republic is a term which may apply to India after her rebirth on the 15th August 1947. But the Republic has not realised herself yet. Peculiar and perplexing problems confront the infant constitution. Food shortage continues to oppress the nation and imposes a disastrous strain on the administration. Democracy is understood to lower the standards of efficiency everywhere and the anxiety is felt for the securing of the best men to carry on the administration and keep the country safe. Labour has created no end of trouble and we look forward to see the wisdom and strength arise, necessary to control labour and lead it to its highest productive power. The conflict between different interests and different classes, if not between different religions and different castes, has demanded an urgent solution which will unite all and inspire them to achieve the common glory of the nation.

Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world. What is the poet's dream

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to-day becomes a reality tomorrow. It is a blessing to have ideas and ideals inducing us to strive towards a higher perfection. As the proverb says, where there is no vision the people perish. Human nature has reacted to its contemporary age generally in the same way. It is regarded as an age of transition, or it is an age of decadence, while others are complacent and think it an age of glorious achievement. The problems of social existence remain unsolved for ever and afford endless scope for discussion, though in the earlier centuries it was more often the political oppression which provoked ardent spirits to conjure up imaginary states in which men might live happily.

Plato's Dialogue of the ideal Republic has served as an inspiration to all later European writers. In the course of a discussion on justice the ideal type of a state is elicited. Goodness, truth and beauty are to be cultivated in that state, to the exclusion of all things repugnant to them. A social ideal rather than a political pattern is the objective of Plato's work. After the different occupations necessary in the state like building, husbandry, weaving, and trade, comes the profession of soldiers. The rulers and soldiers form the guardians of the state, and these must be the cream of the community. The education of the guardians becomes the great concern of the state. The qualities necessary in a ruler are stated to be the desire for knowledge, hatred of falsehood and love of truth, contempt for sensual enjoyment, indifference to money, high-mindedness and generosity, justice and gentleness, a quick understanding and good memory, and a musical and regular and harmonious disposition. The people are classified according to their capacity, and the classification is not unlike the division of caste. The accidents of birth are also recognised, "a golden parent will produce a silver child and a silver parent a golden child." The rulers are to allot, ruthlessly, the children to the classes for which they are intrinsically fit. Socrates does not wish even wives and children to be private property. The women are to be eligible for any position in the state. Mating is to be arranged hygienically by the guardians. Justice lies in making the whole state happy, and not only any one class in it. The soldier coming to the fore creates Timocracy which is followed successively by Oligarchy, Domocracy and Tyranny.

Sir Thomas More's Utopia (Greek word meaning "nowhere") was written in Latin and published in 1516. Utopia is divided into cities and cornland and pastures. The citizens live in farm-houses by turns so that they may all learn agriculture. No man is to be idle, but every one need perform only six hours of work in the day. In the cities, the head of the household fetches his necessaries from the market without any payment. The citizens dine together in common halls, because the food there is superior in quality to what may be prepared at home. Before marriage man and woman are to examine completely the body of each other. In religion all faiths are to be tolerated.

Inequality in the distribution of wealth and the excessive toil necessary for raising produce are the two sore points recognised by the creators of an idle state. Gonzalo, in Shakespeare's play the Tempest, pictures

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a commonwealth which gets on well without administrative instruments being in evidence.

> All things in common nature should produce
> Without sweat or endeavour. . . . . .

Gonzalo's idea is traceable to a passage in an essay of Montaigne's, referring to a society maintained with little art. The Commonwealth of Oceana by James Harrington, published in 1656 pictures an ideal government in which property in land is so limited that no one can overpower the rest.

Samuel Butler's Erewhon (reversed spelling of Nowhere) published in 1872 is just a satire of little constructive value. In Erewhon a sick person is liable to be put in prison, and a criminal into the hospital. Excessive virtue is a fault, and Deformatories are there to correct it. "News from Nowhere" by William Morris, published in 1891 pleads for justice and equality among men and has an artistic bias to make the human race handsomer than before.

It is now 72 years since "The New Republic" was published. The author, W. H. Mallock, an Oxford scholar, was born in 1849, and this year, the centenary, is an appropriate occasion to revive the memory of the book. 1877 marked a time of striking new ideas in England. A gallaxy of brilliant intellectuals appeared there. Ruskin, Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, Huxley and Tyndall, were among the lions of the time, and it was a happy thought of Mallock to evolve a discussion of current social problems, in the manner of Plato's Republic, by brilliant interlocutors gathered for a holiday at a country house. Delightful parodies of the writings of the well-known men are woven into the book.

At the dinner at the country house, along with the items of food, the subjects of conversation are also prescribed in the menu card. The Aim of Life, Town and Country Society, Art and Literature, Love and Money, Riches and Civilisation, and the Present are the topics. The decreasing faith in a personal God and in personal immortality is mentioned by the host, and Mr. Herbert (Ruskin) remarks bitterly: "it was once thought a characteristic of the lowest savages to be without a belief in a future life. It will soon be thought a characteristic of the lowest savages to be with one."

A notable comment is made on the subject of sin: "Nothing is good or bad, but thinking makes it so; and the superstitious and morbid way in which a number of entirely innocent things have been banned as sin, has caused more than half the tragedies of the world." Fourteen years later, was to appear Hardy's Tess of the D'Urbervilles, the "story of a pure woman," but the idea is anticipated. Mr. Saunders says: "We think it for instance a very sad thing when a girl is as we call it ruined. But it is we really that make all the sadness. She is ruined only because we think she is so." Mr. Saunders expects the future will go far, some day, towards solving the great question of women's action by its recognition of prostitution as an honourable and beneficent profession. Mr. Storks (Huxley) quotes from the lettar of an American physician that the strain of higher education is most prejudicial to the functions of maternity. The fulfilment of women's rights must logically lead to the extinction of the human race.

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Dr. Jenkinson, a progressive religious thinker, preaches a sermon tracing the development of philosophy from the Greek times and reconciling modern science with Christianity. The Darwinian theory presents no terror for him. He points out that Christianity has its roots reaching back with many ramifications into the Western and Oriental thought of preceding centuries. He also states that the usual pessimistic view of the world is due to the wrong interpretation of evil. If evil is understood to be only undeveloped good "we shall learn to put a stop to all those fretful wailings over the badness of our own times of which we hear so much—wailings over the unbelief of our neighbours, the corruption of society, the misery of the poor, the luxury of the rich, or the decline of commercial morality."

Mr. Stockton (Professor Tyndall) speaking as a scientist denies emphatically that science can destroy religion or poetry. "Is not science essentially religious, essentially poetical—nay, does it not deepen quite boundlessly the religion and poetry already existing in the world, and fuse the two together, as they were never fused before?"

Discarding the formulation for Plato's ideal state, on the subject of justice—every one to mind his business and not interfere with others—Laurence says the people in the real state are to be divided into the rich and the poor, who are also the happy and the wretched, and justice is that which helps this state of things to continue.

Mr. Luke (Matthew Arnold) wants society to have real culture; wants it to think reason and read, and not merely dance, hunt and shoot. Mr. Rose (Walter Pater) wishes to have London rebuilt on the artistic principles of the Italian Renaissance.

Another speaker points out that the conception of love was higher at the time than in previous ages. To illustrate this Novalis is quoted to have said that if all the human race were a single pair of lovers the difference between mysticism and non-mysticism would cease.

In the new republic of India we are carried off our feet by an avalanche of measures of social amelioration : the rescue of the tenant from the landlord, and appropriation of temple endowments for social purposes, prohibition, the abolition of horse-racing, the securing for women of equal rights of inheritance, and the abolition of poligamy, are a few of these. Obviously we want a whole body of thinkers to consider these problems calmly and set down their findings in books of literary value. The English writers who have recorded their conceptions of the ideal state have left a guidance for India to benefit as well. More wrote his beautiful book too long ago to touch us now. Bacon's New Atlantis is concerned all with scientific research, and Harrington with political reform, Samuel Butler was but a mocker, and William Morris too much of an artist. Only Mallock comes nearest a comprehensive discussion of the problems of social existence.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

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"THE INDIAN REVIEW," (12 as.), published by G. A. Natesan & Co. in Madras, contains a number of interesting articles. This *Review* is level-headed in its policy and provides a fine example of decorous constructive journalism. Its format is neat. . . . Readers who appreciate an unbiassed survey of the political panorama will find it in The Indian Review—*Illustrated Weekly of India.*

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THE NATION'S HEALTH

By Dr. JIVARAJ N. MEHTA

[In the following paper specially addressed to men of the Indian Administrative Service, Dr. Jivaraj Mehta, Adviser to the Government of India's Ministry of Health, (since appointed Minister for Public Works in the Govt. of Bombay), gives a bird's eye view of the state of the Nation's Health and the health administration in the country at different levels.—Ed. *I.R.*]

PRESENT STATE OF HEALTH

THERE is nothing to be proud of about the country's health at the present moment. In every community there are three classes of persons; namely those whose level of health is so low that they are victims of disease, others who, while they manifest no definite signs of sickness, are yet so devitalised that the possible range of their physical and mental achievements is considerably restricted, and a third class consisting of those who are blessed with an abundance of life and vigour. We might say straightway so far as this country is concerned, the people who belong to the third class are very few in number. No doubt, data regarding positive health are more difficult to collect than those relating to sickness and mortality, yet it is possible to assess the nation's health by collecting statistics relating to incidence of disease and the mortality rate. When we compare the Indian mortality rates with the rates obtained in other countries, we get an idea of the extremely low level of health in the country. Barring perhaps Egypt, India has the highest death rate in the world, namely, 22·4 per thousand population; whereas the expectation of life in U.K. is 58.74, in India it is less than half that figures *viz* between 26 & 27. Figures for expectation of life tell the same tale as the mortality figure, because they express, in terms of the probable length of life of the individual, the cumulative effect of the specific mortality rates at different ages in respect of the two sexes; the higher the specific death rates in a community the smaller will be the expectation of life. We get the same picture when we compare the figures for infant mortality. Deaths under one year in India are four times those in England. When we analyse the causes of death in the country, the figure under 'fevers' tops the list being nearly 3·6 millions A large proportion of deaths registered under 'fevers' is due to malaria. It is stated that over 100 million people suffer from malaria annually. It is also necessary to bear in mind that malaria is by far the most important disease in all the tropical and sub-tropical countries of the world. It is rightly called Public Health enemy No. 1, so far as India is concerned.

Next in importance is tuberculosis. It causes 500,000 deaths annually. Over 2½ million people suffer from active disease. Other important causes of death like cholera, small-pox and plague are also prevalent in an epidemic form from time to time in this country. There are certain endemic diseases like leprosy, filariasis, guineaworm infection and hookworm, which are responsible for a considerable amount of ill-health.

CAUSES OF ILL-HEALTH

This is a rather depressing picture of our nation's health. What then are the contributing factors which have resulted in the low level of health in India? The maintenance of public health requires the fulfilment of certain fundamental conditions, which include the provision of an environment conducive to healthful living, adequate

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nutrition, the availability of health protection, preventive and curative, to all members of the community, irrespective of their ability to pay for it and the active co-operation of the people in the maintenance of their own health. The large amount of preventible suffering and mortality is mainly the result of an inadequacy of provision in respect of these fundamental factors. Sanitation is at a very low level particularly in the rural areas where 88 percent of the population lives. Malnutrition and under-nutrition reduce the power of resistance of an appreciable section of the population. You are fully aware of the food situation in the country at the present moment. A state of emergency has been declared, so far as food is concerned. Without proper and adequate food it will be impossible to maintain positive health. Food should not only be adequate but also be satisfactory in so far as essential constituents are concerned. There should be proper amount of protein, fat, carbo-hydrate and vitamins. Again lack of general education and health education add materially to the difficulty of overcoming the indifference with which the people tolerate insanitary conditions which necessarily increase the sickness rate.

INADEQUATE HEALTH FACILITIES

The great inadequacy of the existing medical and preventive health organisation has also very largely contributed to the low level of health of the nation. First and foremost, we have not got sufficient number of trained health personnel. Whereas in the United Kingdom there is one qualified doctor for every one thousand of population, in India we have only one for every 6,300 of population. The state of affairs has been made worse by greater concentration of doctors in urban areas whereas the vast majority of the people live in rural areas. As regards nurses India can boast of only one nurse for every 43,000 of population, while in the United Kingdom there is one for every 300. The same sorry tale can be told of other classes of health personnel as well. The number of hospitals and dispensaries are also totally inadequate. The quality of service rendered in these institutions also leaves much to be desired. The institutions are so understaffed that in most of them a doctor can hardly devote more than a minute for every patient. The number of beds available for treatment of diseases is also very inadequate. Whereas the United States can boast of 10.4 beds per thousand of population and the United Kingdom 7.14, India has less than 0.25 per thousand of population.

CAUSES SUMMARISED

To sum up, the factors responsible for the low level of health in India include among others prevalence of defective nutrition among a large section of people, inadequate facilities for health protection, a group of social causes consisting of poverty and unemployment, illiteracy and ignorance of the hygienic mode of life, and certain other social customs such as early marriage, etc. The continued prevalence of such conditions for many generations has probably helped to create in the minds of the people an attitude of passive acceptance of the existing state of affairs. This attitude will have to be overcome and their active co-operation enlisted in campaign against diseases if any lasting improvement in the public health is to bo achieved. . . .

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ORGANISATION AT CENTRE

So far as the Technical Health Organisation of the Centre is concerned, we have the Ministry of Health with the Minister in charge, and the Directorate General of Health Services with a Director-General in charge attached to the Ministry of Health. Before August 1947, there were two departmental heads on the technical side, the the Director-General of Indian Medical Service and the Public Health Commissioner. On the recommendation of the Bhore Committee the two posts have been amalgamated into one namely the Director-General of Health Services with a view to bring about an integration of curative and preventive health services in the country. The Director-General has a certain number of deputies and assistants under him. There are four main sections in the Directorate, namely,. the Medical Section which is concerned with medical and hospital administration, medical, dental, nursing and pharmaceutical professions in general, medical education, technical training, etc., (2) the Public Health Section, dealing with different aspects of public health including port health quarantine, international health affairs, environmental hygiene, etc., (3) Planning and Development Section and (4) Drug Control Section which includes medical stores as well. The Director-General is also associated with the promotion of medical research in India. He is the Administrative head of the medical research department maintained by the Government of India. He is also the Chairman of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Indian Research Fund Association which is the largest body concerned with the promotion of medical research in India. The Director-General also participates in the Health activities of a number of voluntary organisations either as a Chairman or as a member. These organisations include the Indian Red Cross Society, the Tuberculosis Association of India, the Indian Council of the St. John's Ambulance Association and the Leprosy Relief Association, etc. etc. He is also a member of certain committees concerned with health activities, such as the Central Committee of the Pasteur Institute of India, the Governing Body of the School of Tropical Medicine. It will thus be seen that apart from the technical advice he places at the disposal of the Central Government, he is able to assist in promoting the activities of a number of voluntary organisations.

In order to control medical and allied professions, legal provisions have been made by enactment from time to time by the Central Legislature. The Indian Medical Council Act, the Dental Council Act, the Central Nursing Council Act and the Pharmacy Council Act have been enacted with a view to regulate the respective professions they represent. There have been 40 and odd enactments during the last 100 years in relation to public health in the country. Since the unified authority like the Ministry of Health has been formed, all these enactments could be brought together under a comprehensive public health act which will bring together as many health functions as possible under one authority, and relate the exercise of health duties still left for administration by other authorities, to the general health administration of the country so as to

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permit of the enforcement of desirable minimum standards of performance in the different spheres of activity.

PROVINCIAL HEALTH ORGANISATION

According to the new Constitution the Provincial Government will be the chief executive authority in respect of health administration of the province. The health administration of a province is in the charge of a Minister responsible to the Legislature. Until recently the Provincial Ministers had two technical advisers who were responsible for the administration of the Medical and Public Health Departments, respectively, but during the last one year or so a number of the provinces have followed the footsteps of the Centre and have brought the curative and preventive health services under a single administrative head. It is hoped that the Provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bihar will also bring about the same integration as was recommended by the first Health Ministers' Conference. Till August 1947 the post of the head of the Civil Medical Service in the Governor's province was reserved for officers of the Indian Medical Service. With the abolition of the Indian Medical Service, since the attainment of independence, the Provincial Governments have been allowed to choose their own men as the Heads of their respective medical departments. The reservation of posts for any class of officers has been done away with. This is as it should be because the selection of administrative heads should be only on merit.

While in certain provinces the preventive health service has undergone a considerable development during the past two decades, in others no such expansion has taken place. In these under-developed provinces there is no organised health staff for rural and urban areas in the districts, though there are Directors and Deputy Directors of Public Health at the head-quarters. Even now in many provinces legal provisions are scattered over a number of Acts. Madras, no doubt, had led the way in the enactment of a consolidated Public Health Act. It is hoped that all provinces will soon have similer Acts before their Legislatures.

It would be useful to have an idea as to what a well developed health service should be. The obejectives that should be kept in mind in planning a national health service are:

1. The services should make adequate provision for the medical care of the individual in the curative and preventive fields and for the active promotion of of positive health;

2. These services should be placed as close to the people as possible in order to ensure their maximum use by the community which they are meant to serve;

3. The health organisation should provide for the widest possible basis of co-operation between the health personnel and the people;

4. In order to promote the development of the health programme on sound lines the support of the medical and other allied professions is essential. Provision should, therefore, be made for enabling the representatives of these professions to influence the health policy of the country;

5. In view of the complexity of modern medical practice, laboratory and

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institutional facilities of various characters should be available;

6. Special provision will be required for certain sections of the population, for example, mothers, children, the mentally deficient, etc.;

7. No individual should fail to secure adequate medical care, curative and preventive, because of inability to pay for it. National Health Insurance would be an important means of doing so: and

8. The creation and maintenance of as healthy an environment as possible in the homes of the people as well as in all places where they congregate for work, amusement or recreation.

The old adage, 'prevention is better than cure' has acquired greater significance as the result of achievements of modern preventive medicine which have reduced the sickness and mortality rates to a considerable degree. The preventive measures which are started for the control of infectious diseases have now included in its scope, measures designed to develop the sense of well-being in the individual and his capacity to enjoy his work and life to the fullest possible extent.

OUR AGRICULTURE

By Mr. P. N. SAMPATH

YEAR after year, we have been passing through semi-famine conditions. The hardest pinch is being felt in certain months of each year. Food scarcity has become a seasonal visitation, as regular as the seasons. It is depressing indeed to find that we have not been able to get out of this vicious circle of recurring food crisis. We should not seek comfort from the fact that ours is not the only country that is acutely ill off in food economy.

Famine is the disease of all agricultural countries. India is, and always has been, mainly agricultural, under conditions peculiarly exposed to famine. What are those conditions? The prosperity of the Indian peasant in any particular year depends much upon the rainfall being tolerably normal in amount and seasonally distributed. Agriculture in India is a gamble against nature. Agricultural depression can result as much from excessive rains as from insufficient rainfall. However, not every failure of the rains causes famine, as people are not generally dependant on the out-turn of a single harvest. But, scanty rain-fall covered over a continuous period of years is a factor for famine.

Secondly, the agriculturist, until very recently, has had to find for himself without any appreciable aid from the State. India being a deficit country in the matter of food-stuffs, has had to import millions of tons of food, year in and year out. During the placid times before the War, those imports were coming in without any difficulty, and the then Government did not give any serious thought to the fostering of the creed of self-sufficiency. The recent war had burst the bubble of this complacency and we are thus in a sorry plight. To-day the cry is 'Grow More Food'. More slogans cannot be the 'Open Sesame' to agricultural sufficiency and prosperity.

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Indian farmers are noted for their perseverence and patience, more often amidst adverse circumstances. Their sincerity and skill are beyond question. This is what Dr. Voolkar says in his Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture: "At his best the India Ryot is quite as good as, and in some respects superior to the average British farmer, while at his worst it can only be said that this state is brought about largely by an absence of facilities for improvement which is probably unequalled in any other country."

Hitherto the Indian farmer has been antipathetic to the progress which Science can bring about, owing to the dread of novelty and the ignorance fostered by illiteracy. Now he is at least, really awakening to the realities of his position, and is now fully prepared to take action, if only someone will show him the way. The arduous character of manual and bullock-power labour is most marked in rice-cultivation. Indigenous implements and water-lifts of cheap primitive construction are those used in our country-sides. These primitive methods and implements may be good in themselves, but they are not conducive to large turnouts and better results.

Modern famine policy is thus a struggle against nature. As such it has two objects, the one remedial and the other protective. The system of land holdings as they are today, in scattered bits and fragments, with rampant absenteeism of landlords, and the abject indebtedness of the cultivating folk, certainly is not 'the good ground' on which the seed of our Government's honestly conceived plans can be expected to take root and grow. We must find a new basis for achieving our ends. We want a reorientation of our agricultural economy and method. Complete socialisation of Agriculture, as it is in Russia, may be far-fetched for our present reckonings. But let us ponder over what Lenin, the practical socialist leader has said:—" We could increase the productiveness of labour and economise human effort by two or three times if we could effect a transition from small individual economies to collective farms." Now Russia's food needs are being met by her own production. Russian State farms are worked with wage-labour. The landless labourers are actively absorbed in this way. There are also collective farms formed out of a combination of small farmers for purposes of mutual benefit at minimum production cost. This co-operative spirit has yielded the best results. We in India can safely experiment with the Russian systems of farming.

Our farmers must be systematically educated and trained in the use of modern agricultural machinery. The widespread illiteracy of our rural population is a deterrent to quick progress in this sphere. The Government propaganda machine should be mobilised to the fullest extent to fulfil this great and difficult task. The work of rural reconstruction should follow two separate but complementary and correlated lines of work, synchronising with each other. One will deal with the provision of a natural and healthy system of rural education. The education imparted should be relevant and suited to the genius of the rural people. The other line will take up the problem of the soil, of conjoined

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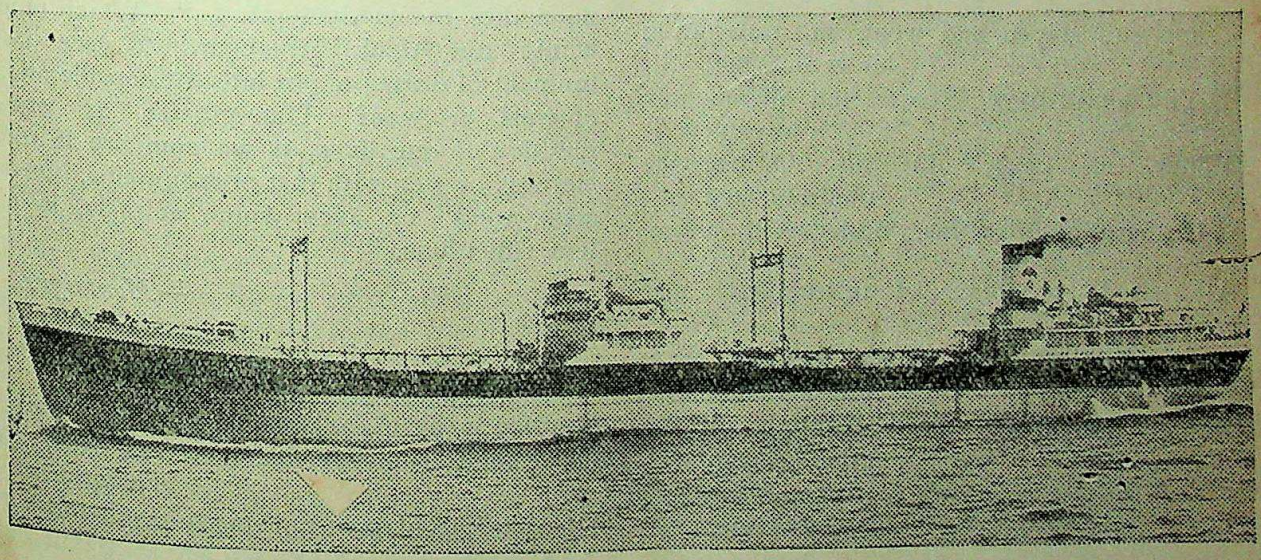
efforts conducive to conservation, economy and efficiency, in making most of the resources of the land and labour now existing, and improving the same.

New irrigation works should be undertaken, utilising our river and canal wealth most suitably and fully. This is a matter of less difficulty comparatively, though hardly of less importance. Irrigation works can do much but they are not absolute insurance against famine.

Provision of Agricultural capital on easy terms, and storage, marketing and transport facilities are equally important. The Government can help in the procurement and distribution of manures and supply of good seeds, by a more liberal and elastic system of Government loans and grants-in-aid to needy agriculturists, by instilling the co-operative spirit in the village folk, and by helping the banks which go to the aid of the agriculturists. Insurance of livestock, insurance of crops against hail, protective posts, building up of food and fodder reserves, are some other protective measures meriting serious consideration by the Government. To offset the tendency of our rural people to migrate to urban and suburban areas, the Government can invest country life with suitable amenities. The now spiritless serfage must be converted into a resolute peasantry by slow means. The vast expanse of waste lands in the country which are at present producing nothing but bracken, broom and heath must be brought under profitable cultivation. The aim should be to put every rood of land to the best use.

When such a small country like Great Britain, primarily a manufacturing country, could establish a sort of self-sufficiency in food in a period of 30 years, there is no reason why we cannot do the same thing provided we go at it with diligence and devotion.



MOST MODERN TANKER

The 15,000-ton turbo-electric super-tanker "San Sylvestre", built by a British shipbuilding company of Haverton Hill, is claimed to be the safest, most efficient and most comfortable ship of her kind ever built. While compressed air will keep out the sea even if she is holed below the waterline, a single lever will set all her fire fighting appliances going, and gas released will make it impossible for a fire to spread. A special pumping system will enable the tanker to discharge her cargoes of petrol in record time.

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

YET, O! STRICKEN HEART

In these memorial verses Stevenson offers some kind of consolation to the bereaved. It is true that death in the full bloom of youth and beauty is a grievous thing and the cant of consolation an outrage.

"Yet, O stricken heart, remember, O remember
"How of human days he lived the better part."

He lived through the "singing season" and departed ere the day of sorrow. "Yours the pang, but his, O his, the undiminished, undecaying gladness." Would you have it otherwise?

Doomed to know not Winter, only Spring, a being
Trod the flowery April blithely for a while,
Took his fill of music, joy of thought and seeing,
Came and stayed and went, nor ever ceased to smile.

Came and stayed and went, and now when all is finished,
You alone have crossed the melancholy stream,
Yours the pang, but his, O his, the undiminished
Undecaying gladness, undeparted dream.

All that life contains of torture, toil, and treason,
Shame, dishonour, death, to him were but a name.
Here, a boy, he dwelt through all the singing season,
And ere the day of sorrow departed as he came.

Reading these verses one recalls the more familiar dirge of Shelley on Keats:

He has outsoared the shadow of our night;
Envy and calumny and hate and pain,
And that unrest which men miscall delight,
Can touch him not and torture not again.

THE INEVITABLE

What matters it when it shall come to pass, since it is inevitable?.....What folly to torment ourselves about passing into a state of exemption from all torment! As our birth brought us the birth of all things, so will our death bring us the death of all things. Wherefore it is as foolish to weep because a hundred years from now we shall not be alive, as to weep because we were not living a hundred years ago. Death is the origin of another life. So did we weep, so much did it cost us to enter into this life, so did we strip off our former veil on entering into it.

Nothing can be grievous that is but once. Is it reasonable to fear for so long a time of such brief duration? Long life and short life are by death made all one; for the long and the short are not in things that are no more. Aristotle tells us that there are little creatures on the river Hypaires that live but a day. The one that dies at eight o'clock in the morning dies in its youth, that which dies at five in the afternoon dies in its decrepitude.* Which of us would not think it absurd to see this moment of duration put into the consideration of weal or woe? The greater or lesser duration of our lives, if we compare it with eternity, or yet with that of mountains, rivers, stars, trees, or even some animals, is on less ridiculous.

—*Montaigne.*

. . . .

NOTHING IS HERE FOR TEARS

Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise, or blame; nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

—*Milton's* SAMSON AGONISTIS.

* To insects the twelve month has been an epoch, to leaves a life, to tweeting birds a generation, to man a year."—*From Hardy's 'Journal' at the close of* 1865.

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LINES ON A DEAD MISTRESS

It is said that Hardy did not simply make poetry out of life; he made life into poetry. The truth of his poetry, says Lucas is ruthless: "its only comfort lies in the tenderness of its sensitive imagination and the splendour of its quiet sincerity." He stripped life of its illusions and loved Truth better than Beauty. "Let there be truth at last Even if despair," he sang. And in these lines on a dead mistress we hear the poet speaking in a quiet voice "that echoes through his moods of gentle, hopeless irony."

I need not go
Through sleet and snow
To where I know
She waits for me;
She will wait me there
Till I find it fair,
And have time to spare
From company.....

What—not upbraid me
That I delayed me,
Nor ask what stayed me
So long? Ah no!—
New cares may claim me
New loves inflame me,
She will not blame me,
But suffer it so.

. . . .

THE PITT NOSE

The Pitt nose has a curious history. One can watch its transmigrations through three lives. The tremendous hook of old Lord Chatham, under whose curve empires came to birth, was succeeded by the bleak upward-pointing nose of William Pitt the younger—the rigid symbol of an indomitable *hauteur*. With Lady Hester Stanhope came the final stage. The nose, still with on upward tilt in it, had lost its masculinity; the hard bones of the uncle and the grandfather had disappeared. Lady Hester's was a nose of wild ambitions, of pride grown fantastical, a nose that scorned the earth, shooting off, one fancies, towards some eternally eccentric heaven. It was a nose, in fact, altogether in the air.

—*Lytton Strachey.*

CALVERLEY'S NERVE

Calverley in his schooldays was a classical prodigy and knew more about Latin and prosody than the masters who were supposed to teach him. But, like all wayward youths he seldom read his school books. But there was no catching him out as the following story will show.

It was Calverley's duty to prepare a Latin theme to be submitted on a certain day at a *viva voce* examination. He appeared among the rest with the customary exercise book, but the pages of the book were blank. Only at the last moment had he remembered that his presence was required in the lecture room. The examiner called upon him to read, and his companions, knowing the state of the case, anticipated a storm. They were disappointed. Calverley stood up, cool as the dew, and proceeded without the least hesitation and in calm fluent tones to read from his book the exercise which he had not written, and of which not a word, up to that moment, had been composed.

Here is another. When he was a Freshman he was at a party at the Masters' Lodge, they asked him for a song He went to the piano and began to sing in Italian.

"Soon," wrote Seeley, who was present, "a murmur passed among us undergraduates that his Italian was purely fictitious. So it was. If you listened attentively you found the song a mere string of nonsense made up of some dozen Italian words that every Englishman knows—contralto, sotto-voce, impresario, etc. . . ."

CONSISTENCY

A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds.....Speak what you think now in hard words and tomorrow speak what tomorrow thinks in hard words again, though it contradict everything you said to-day. "Ah, so you shall be sure to be misunderstood?" Is it so bad, then, to be misunderstood? Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton, and every pure and wise spirit that ever took flesh. To be great is to be misunderstood.

—*Emerson.*

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PHILOSOPHY

I shall not know until the end what I have lost or gained in this vast gaming-house, where I shall have passed some three score years, dice—box in hand, *tessaras agitans*.

What do I perceive? Forms. And what besides? Forms. Of the substance I know nothing. We walk among shadows, ourselves shadows to ourselves and to others.

If I look at a rainbow traced as a cloud, I can perceive it; for him who looks at it from another angle, there is nothing.

A fancy common enough among ths living is to dream that they are dead, that they stand by the side of their own corpse, and follow their own funeral. It is like a swimmer watching his garments stretched out on the shore.

Philosophy, that habitual and profound meditation which takes us away from all that surrounds us, which anihilates our own personality, is another apprenticeship for death.

—*Diderot.*

. . . . . .

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE BRAVE

To set the Cause above renown,
To love the game above the prize,
To honour, while you strike him down,
The foe that comes with fearless eyes:
To count the life of battle good,
And dear the land that gave you birth,
But dearer yet the brotherhood
That binds the brave of all the earth.

—*Henry Newbolt.*

. . . . . .

LINES TO THE MEMORY OF PITT

Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon-light is quench'd in smoke,
The trumpet's silver sound is still,
The warder silent on the hill!

—*Scott.*

. . . . . .

OVER THE DEAD

Weep bitterly over the dead as he is worthy, and then comfort thyself: drive heaviness away; thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself.

—*Ecclesiasticus.*

ON GOING A JOURNEY

I cannot see the wit of walking and talking at the same time. When I am in the country, I wish to vegitate like the country. I am not for criticising hedgerows and black cattle. I go out of town in order to forget the town and all that is in it. There are those who for this purpose go to watering places and carry the metropolis with them. I like more elbow room, and fewer encumbrances. I like solitude when I give myself up to it, for the sake of solitude; nor do I ask for

"—a friend in my retreat
whom I may whisper, solitude is sweet".

Is not this wild rose sweet without a comment? Does not this daisy leap to my heart set in its coat of emerald? Yet if I were to explain the circumstance that has so endeared it to me, you would only smile. Had I not better keep it to myself, and let it serve me to brood over, from here to yonder craggy point, and from thence onward to the far distant horizon? I should be but bad company all that way, and therefore prefer being alone.

Give me the clear blue sky over my head, and the green turf beneath my feet, a winding road before me, and a three hours' march to dinner—and then to thinking! It is hard if I cannot start some game on these lone heaths. I laugh, I run, I leap, I sing for joy.....

—*Hazlitt.*

. . . . . .

SORROW AND SONG

We look before and after
And pine for what is not:
Our sincerest laughter
With some pain is fraught;
Our sweetest songs are those
That tell of saddest thought.

—*P. B. Shelley*

. . . . . .

HAD WE NE'ER LOVED SAE KINDLY

Had we ne'er loved sae kindly
Had we never loved sae blindly,
Never met, or never parted,
We had ne'er been broken-hearted.

—*Burns.*

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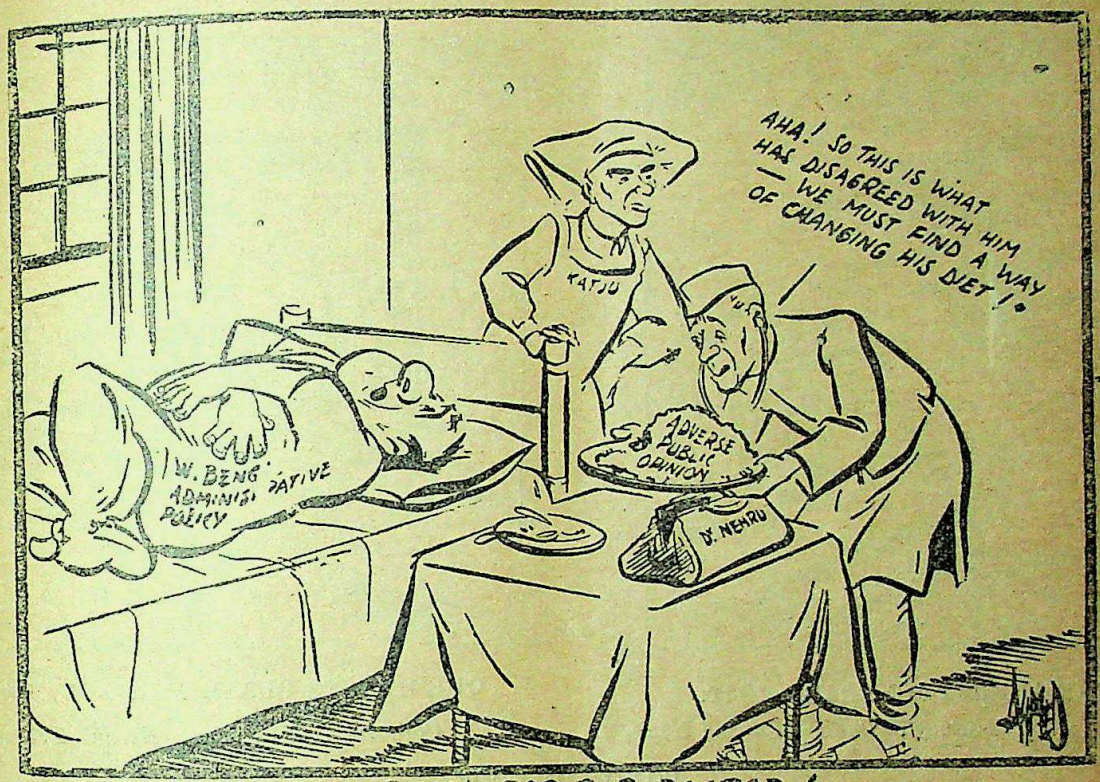
TOPICAL CARTOONS

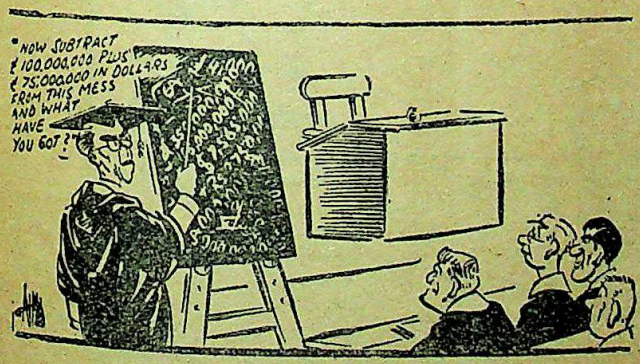
—:o:—



NO DILEMMA FOR THE DOCTOR!

Pandit Nehru, reviewing the situation in West Bengal, said that the people were dissatisfied with the Government and so they could not allow the situation to deteriorate further.

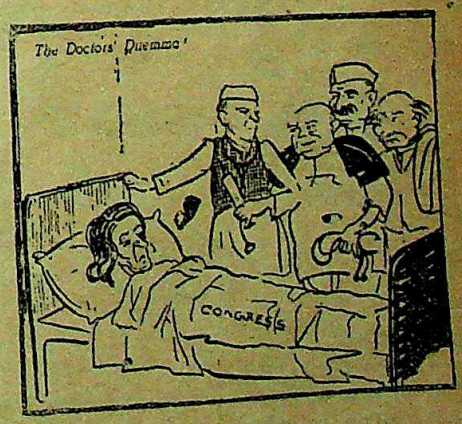
Courtesy : *The Hindustan Times.*



ATTENTION, PLEASE

Sir Stafford Cripps has asked Commonwealth countries to follow Britain's lead by cutting dollar imports by £75,000,000.

Courtesy : *The Hindustan Times.*



Courtesy : *Free India.*

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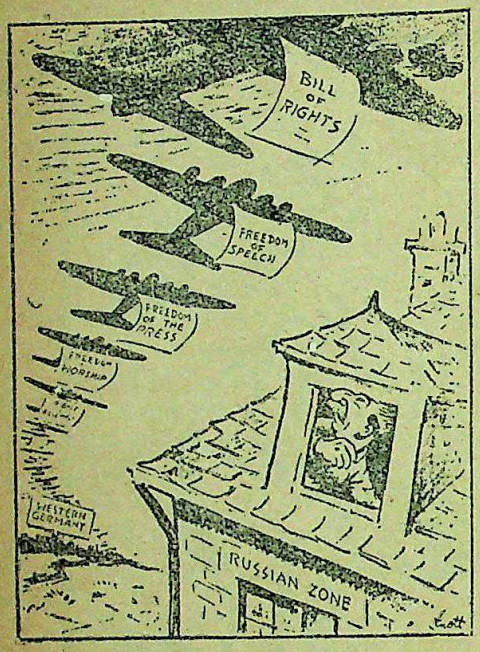
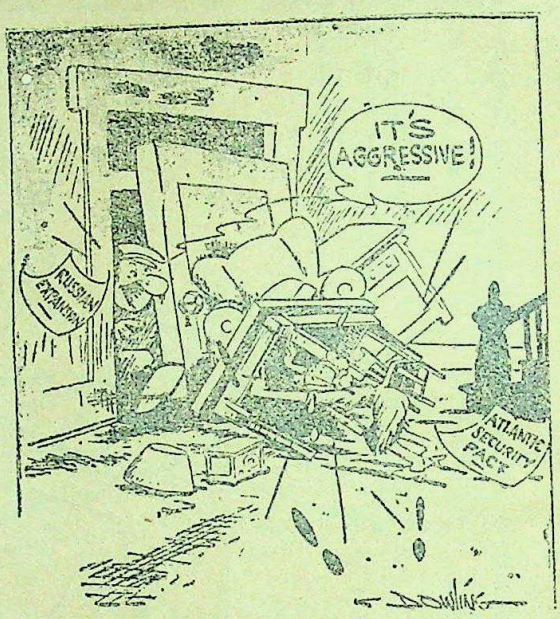


THE AIRLIFT HE FEARS MOST.

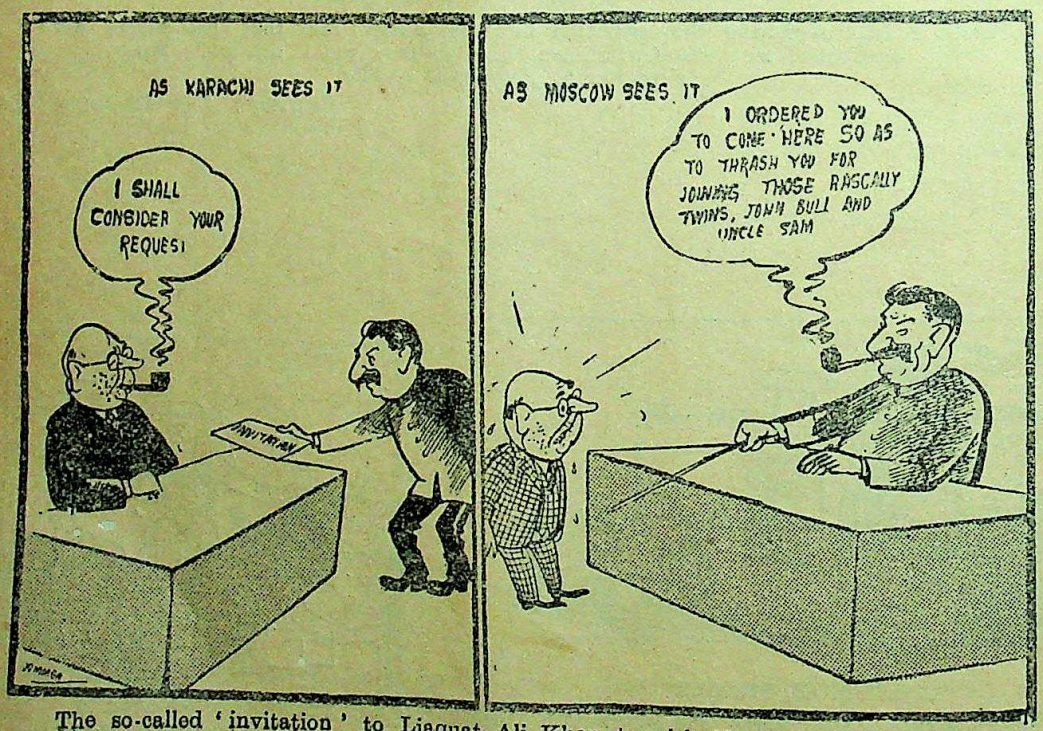
Courtesy: *Dallar Morning News.*



OUR HEARTS BLEED FOR YOU, JOE

Courtesy: *New York Herald Tribune.*

POINTS OF VIEW



The so-called 'invitation' to Liaquat Ali Khan to visit Moscow is, in fact, a 'summons', says a Bombay report.

Courtesy: *The Leader.*

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TRIBUTES TO LATE MR. G. A. NATESAN

SHERIFF'S PUBLIC MEETING

A Public meeting of the citizens of Madras to condole the death of Mr. G. A. Natesan was held at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on Wednesday the 17th August, at 5.15 P. M. The Hon. Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja, Premier of Madras, presided. The meeting was attended by leading citizens including Judges of the High Court and other prominent men.

SHERIFF'S OPENING SPEECH

THE Sheriff of Madras Sri C. M. Kothari opening the proceeding said :

It is my sad duty to-day to convene this meeting of the citizens of Madras to bemoan the loss of Mr. G. A. Natesan. Gentlemen, he was a pioneer journalist and great worker in the cause of political and social freedom. His zeal for the Indians overseas was so great that he devoted almost the whole of his time to that noble cause. His manifold activities in the legislatures and in the municipality are well-known not only to the people in Madras but also throughout the whole of India. I would not like to anticipate the speakers of to-day. I may mention that as the convener of this meeting, I have received messages from all kinds of persons, persons who had very great regard for the late Mr. G. A. Natesan.

He then requested the Hon. Mr. Kumaraswami Raja, the Premier of Madras, to preside over the meeting. The Hon. Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja then occupied the Chair.

MESSAGES RECEIVED

Requested by the Chairman, Mr. S. Narayanaswami of Messrs. Chitra & Co. read the following messages :

H. E. SRI C. RAJAGOPALCHARI

Governor-General of India

Mr. Natesan is one of the honourable citizens whom Madras will not forget. The reading public of India should be ever grateful to him for embalming the memories of our great men in well-written books which the poor man could buy. Mr. Natesan's affection for me was remarkable in that it bridged a wide gulf in political opinion and activites. He was one about whose manifold virtues I as well as many others have had occasion to offer tributes of praise before this. But this is a citizens' meeting convened by the Sheriff and it gives me great satisfaction that I am enabled through this message to express my esteem alongside of others. I believe the first popular edition of the Gita with Dr. Besant's English translation was printed by Natesan, a service of which any printer and any Hindu may be proud and which any family may count as a great honour to be cherished as an heirloom.

DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

President, Indian National Congress

A meeting to condole the death of the late Mr. G. A. Natesan comes none too soon. He was one of those early stalwarts that had built the foundations of Indian Nationalism. He had served India long and hard. His work is abiding. He was dear to all his fellow workers and was particularly kind to me in spite of the different schools of politics to which we belonged. He was one of those cultured Moderates who inspired not merely respect but affection in others for themselves and reciprocated the same from themselves to others. Few are they indeed who are able to command the respect of their opponents in public life. That order of stalwarts is now fast passing away and one belonging to the passing generation cannot help expressing regret over the irrevocable past which we shall never see again. Nor shall we feel depressed over the bricks that lie in the foundations of the political mansion on the topfloors of which, it is the privilege of succeeding generations to besport themselves. The latter are in the limelight while the former occupy the umbras and penumbras of Indian Nationalism.

H. E. KRISHNA KUMARSINHJI BHAVSINHJI

Governor of Madras

I am a comparative newcomer to Madras, but Sri Natesan's fame had long transcended the boundaries of this Province and he was as well known in North India as in the South. His career was one of unqualified distinction and of public service. He was one of the oldest friends of Gandhiji with whom he found common ground first while working for the cause of Indians in South Arica. His activities since then covered many fields. He was a politician and a journalist, but above all, he was a great patriot and a servant of the country. He numbered among his friends and associates people of the most varied and diverse views—Statesmen like Gokhale and Sapru, scholars like Radhakrishnan and Dr. P. C. Roy, and a host of others. He took at the same time a most active interest in the local affairs of Madras being a Counciller of the Corporation, a member of the Senate and Syndicate of the Madras University and holding at one time also the office of the Sheriff of this Town.

In the field of journalism, the *Indian Review* was started by him in 1900. This journal has most deservingly earned a very high place in this country.

His death early this year was a great loss not only to this city, not only to this Province, but to the whole country.

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H. E. SIR MAHARAJ SINGH

Governor of Bombay

Mr. Natesan was an old and valued friend. He served the country in many public capacities. For many years he was prominent as the distinguished Editor of the *Indian Review* to which he devoted his life. He lived to see it one of the leading monthly magazines in India. With many I mourned his departure from our midst and paid a tribute to his memory in Bombay.

H. E. M. S. ANEY

Governor of Bihar

Mr. Natesan was a great journalist and a publicist. Being a man of sober temper and balanced judgment he was able to present to the public a considered and dispassionate view on every important subject. More than anybody else he has done his best to bring the leaders of India into closer touch with the younger generations of the country by publishing their handy sketches and cheap editions of volumes of their speeches. He worked hard when he was a member of the Legislature, both Central and Provincial. Owing to his sweet temper he was respected alike by the rulers and the ruled. He had friends in every circle and as far as I know. He was always ready to lend his helping hand to anybody who sought his assistance, if he was in a position to do some good to him. I am glad that a meeting is going to be convened by the Sheriff of Madras to condole the death of this distinguished son of Madras Presidency. I have no doubt that the large number of his friends and admirers who are scattered throughout the country and even outside, will all heartilly extend their sympathies with the object of the meeting which you propose to hold. I wish it success.

H. E. SIR H. P. MODY

Governor of United Provinces

It is a matter of satisfaction that the citizens of Madras propose to honour the memory of the late G. A. Natesan. I knew him for many years and respected him for his knowledge, judgment and spirit of public service. He belonged to an order which is fast disappearing but it is well if the present generation occasionally pauses and thinks of the contribution to political awakening made by men of the type of the late Mr. Natesan.

HON.'BLE MR. B. G. KHER

Premier of Bombay

It is very appropriate that citizens of Madras are meeting to condole the death of the late Mr. G. A. Natesan. Mr. Natesan tried to serve the cause of his country fearlessly and in spite of difficulties at a time when to be patriotic was frought with some danger. He was an honest man and had the courage of his conviction. It is only proper that citizens of Independent India should pay their tribute of respect to him. I whole-heartedly join you in doing so.

MR. A. A. HAYLES

Editor of "The Mail"

I knew the late Mr. G. A. Natesan for many years and always treasured his friendship. He was one of the frankest of our public men, always speaking the truth as he saw it even at the risk of incurring displeasure, and was a valiant defender of the rights and privileges of the citizens. His death robbed Madras of a great personality. Our most sincere tribute to him would be in emulating his frankness, his courage and his loyalty to the causes of truth, justice and fundamental freedoms.

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

Mr. G. A. Natesan, whom I was proud to acknowledge as one of my oldest and the most steadfast friends was one of the pioneers of journalism in Madras and as a Publisher he did much to diffuse amongst the people a knowledge of our scriptures from Epics and Puranas and of the personages who made history in our land. He was an ardent patriot who was a friend of all groups and parties and who worked and befriended alike Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Besant, Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Wacha and Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar.

Public life in South India owes much to him and the cause of Indians abroad was specially dear to him. He also did good work as a legislator. Taken all in all he was one who by his love for his country and his genius for generous friendship made a place for himself which is difficult to fill.

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

Let us recall with gratitude Mr. Natesan's unremitting devotion to the interests of his country upto the very last.

Mr. Natesan belonged to that galaxy of patriotic leaders whom Madras had the unique distinction of claiming as her own citizens in the years not so long past—Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Sir Bashyam Iyengar, Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer and the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri to mention only the most prominent among them. They were really high class men as we all know, men of character as well as brains in politics. India needs such men more than ever to-day. May the memory of such departed leaders be fresh in the land and inspire us all to follow in their footsteps.

DEWAN BAHADUR V. BASHYAM IYENGAR

In the death of G. A. Natesan we have lost a veteran publicist who rendered valuable service to the public of this land throughout his long life.

His memory richly deserves to be perpetuated.

THE CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

The Premier then addressed the meeting:

We have assembled here to-day to place on record our profound feelings of sorrow at the loss of one of the prominent men of South India, the late Mr. G.A. Natesan.

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It is not, as if the voice of condolence over his loss is raised today for the first time. Mr. G. A. Natesan, departed from this world seven months ago, steeping his family members, relatives and a large circle of friends and adherents, in deep mental pain and sorrow. Their feelings of sadness at the loss of their beloved fellow-being, were already expressed individually and in the Press in the early months of this year. But to-day we have gathered here to express sorrow collectively on behalf of the citizens of Madras. An elderly politician and a public man as he was, it is but fitting that the citizens' feelings of sadness should be recorded publicly in a congregation like the present one, convened by the Sheriff of Madras and represented by men of several sections and shades of opinion.

It is hardly necessary for me to tell you about the personality and public activities and attainments of the late Mr. G.A. Natesan. Because, he was a very familiar figure and was occupying a prominent place in the public life of Madras. I doubt if there could be anyone who did not know or hear of Mr. Natesan. Not knowing him is not knowing the leading and popular monthly journal, *The Indian Review*. Everyone, who claims to have some connection with journalism, either as contributor of articles, or regular subscriber or as a casual reader of journals, could not afford to miss the *Indian Review* and its featuring. The late Mr. Natesan belonged to the early school of politicians, whose patriotism and services for the cause of India contributed, in no small measure, to the growth and development of the Indian National Congress, though he was at variance with its creed and policy of the later days. Most of us here cannot claim to be his contemporaries in politics. He started his political career very much earlier, than most of us did. His initiation into politics took place very much earlier than that eventful chapter in the Indian politics, started by Gandhian creed of non-violent non-co-operation. With regard to most of us, who claim to be public-men and politicians, our political life should be taken as having commenced from the historic moment of the Satyagraha sponsored by Gandhiji in 1919. And a few of us could trace the commencement of our political life a little earlier, *i.e.*, to the days of Besantine Home Rule Movement. But the late Mr. Natesan belonged to a much earlier school of politicians, whose political activities should be taken as having really paved the way for the enlargement of the National Congress in the later days.

I cannot claim to have knowledge of the activities of the late Mr. Natesan in his earlier life. My acquaintance with his journalistic activities cannot go earlier than 1918 or 1919 when, as a student, I was much attracted with the thought-evoking articles in his journal. The *Indian Review* was born at the beginning of this century. In those early days, it was not easy to start a magazine of the calibre of the *Indian Review*. So far as South India is concerned, the *Indian Review* could indisputably take the credit of its being the first journal of its kind. This novel adventure in journalism in those days could be attributed to the many-sided attainments and the youthful enthusiasm of Mr. Natesan. His special training in journalism, which he underwent on the completion of his collegiate career, would seem to have caused an urge in him for embarking on journalism independently. Necessarily, he had to face difficulties in the beginning ; but being a man of courage and vision he faced those difficulties and succeeded. The Indian Review made a steady progress and became a popular organ, ventilating its views on politics, literature, culture and various problems, social, economic, educational etc. Mr. Natesan made his mark on his generation by his personality and his many-sided contributions. His ability and enterprise as a journalist got him prominence in the public life of the country. He made his mark of distinction as a journalist and publisher of books.

The variety of articles and subjects in his journal, catering to the variety of tastes and views of the readers, would speak well of his versatality and journalistic acumen. His affability is reflected in his possession of a large circle of friends of different nationalities whose valuable contributions stand as a unique feature of his journal. His journalistic capacity alone would not have brought to him so much of eminence as he attained. For his acquisition of a place of distinction in the public life, his active political career in the Satyagraha period was responsible. The early history of the Congress and its Madras Session (1914) were inseparably bound up with his activities.

The cause of Indians in South Africa stirred his mind deeply. In those early stages of the fight which Gandhiji heroically put up in South Africa in defence of the elementary rights and amenities enjoyed by our nationals there, the late Mr. Natesan championed our cause by the might of his pen. It might be said without fear of contradiction that he was one of those, who created and shaped public opinion in our country, making us alive to the gross injustice and inhuman treatment meted out to our countrymen there. The late Mr. Natesan's journalistic activities in that respect attracted Gandhiji and greatly pleased him. So much so when Gandhiji came on his first tour to South India it was given to Mr. Natesan to be his host, during his sojourn in Madras. In fact, it was he who introduced Gandhiji in South India. Thus, he earned a unique honour rarely achieved by others.

However, when our country's politics took a different turn with the usbering in of Satyagraha movement by Gandhiji, there was parting of ways between him and Gandhiji, of course in political sphere only. Moderation in political ideas was the tone of political school to which late Mr. Natesan belonged. He could not compromise with the extremism propelled by Gandhian creed of non-co-operation. But the difference in political creed and persuasions did not in the least affect the personnal affinity between him and Gandhiji. He remained to the very last as one of the personal friends of Gandhiji.

Since the advent of Gandhian era of extremism in politics, the *Indian Review* became an exponent of the moderate school of thought, and it remains even today as an organ of moderate views. The political aspect apart, his services to India from the point of view of cultural aspect, were immense.

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The expositions of our ancient lore and of matters literary, economic, social etc., found a congenial place in the issues of his journal and his publications. Prominent among them were the valuable contributions of late Dr. Annie Besant, whose novel method of approach and interpretation of Gita attracted the public mind. By giving a prominent place to such matters in his publications, Mr. Natesan really served a noble cause, bringing a new enlightenment on matters relating to our ancient lore. He took a keen interest in the field of education. His interest in the civic affairs of the City were well-known. Public life in Madras owes a great deal to Mr. Natesan for his stimulating interest in all matters of Indian concern. His connection with the Senate and Syndicate of the Madras University needs no special mention.

To do honour in memory of such a prominent personality, we have assembled here to-day. I deem it a great privilege to be given an opportunity in associating myself in expressing feelings of sadness over the loss sustained by the public, and in conveying our sympathy to his bereaved family. In his demise the public life of Madras have faced a heavy loss. But he was not a figure to be forgotten by the people easily. His services to the Society and particularly the ideals that he set up in the sphere of journalism have made his name a living force in the memory of the people. I hope that the same ideals of his would continue to work through the medium of his publications and also through his journal, the *Indian Review*, which he has left behind him as a heritage to the cultural and literary world. May his soul rest in eternal peace is my prayer to the Almighty.

MR. JUSTICE BASHEER AHMED

The Hon. Mr. Justice Basheer Ahmed Sayeed then moved the following Resolution:

This public meeting of the citizens of Madras places on record its sense of the great loss which the country has sustained in the death of Mr. G.A. Natesan, a veteran journalist, a pioneer in the publication of national literature and a patriot who dedicated his life for the socio-political and moral uplift of his countrymen, and it conveys its sympathy to the members of the deceased's family.

In doing so he said:

My association with the late Mr. G. A. Natesan extends over a period of 25 years. I was no doubt a batcha when he had reached the height of his political fame. Mr. G. A. Natesan was a member of the Corporation Council when I entered the Corporation in the year 1926. For nearly ten years I was associated with him in the work of the Council of the Corporation, and I have had splendid opportunities to watch the way in which he worked for the civic welfare of this big city of Madras. He always brought to bear on the problems that arose in the Council his wide experience, his ripe commensenre and his impartial judgment. In the educational sphere also, I have had the privilege of having been associated with him. On the various authorities of the Madras Corporation, he was a prominent member and I also imbibed something of his courage and something of his clear exposition of things in a manner fearless of consequences. Mr. Natesan I have always looked upon as a friend, philosopher and guide to me in both the places, —not merely in the Corporation but also in the Senate and in the Syndicate of the University of Madras Mr. Natesan was a public leader of no small merit. His contribution to the public weal of this province will be remembered for a long time to come. He was a most successful journalist. His magazine, the *Indian Review*, has been one of the most popular of organs to stimulate knowledge and public opinion. His *Review* contributed a great deal in shaping public opinion on many matters that affected vitally the interests of this country. The most important thing, however, which interested Mr. Natesan during his life time and in regard to which he devoted a good deal of his time, was the cause of Indians in South Africa. He laid the greatest emphasis on our position in South Africa and he did his best to find out how it could be remedied with advantage to both the countries. In the course of the exposition of the cause of Indians in South Africa, he cultivated many friendships of persons who valued his friendship and who admired his courage and his devotion to the cause.

As has been already remarked, his services to the cause of literature in the dissemination of patriotic literature and religious lore have been unsurpassed; we should at the same time remember that he was able to do this dissemination of knowledge—relating to subjects like economics, politics, religious problems, etc.,—at such cheap cost that every one was able to get access to the books published by him on those subjects. If any person wanted to know anything about any leader in India, he had simply to walk into Mr. Natesan's bookshop and buy the required literature.

Mr. Natesan was in the earlier days of the Congress, an ardent Congressman. As the Premier has pointed out, before the Gandhian advent to this country in the field of politics, Mr. Natesan was a prominent Congressman. His part in the Congress session that was held in the year 1914 was very laudable and it was spoken of in high esteem by all those who knew him then. No doubt, he was till the end, an ardent Moderate in politics. The extremist qualities did not appeal to him; but yet, that did not at any time stand in the way of his appreciating the work done by the Congress or by Congressmen. He was always very charitably disposed both in his personal life as well as in his political outlook and that accounted for his having cultivated friendships and intimate acquaintances with most of the prominent leaders of the Congress in his days. Mahatma Gandhi, C. Rajagopalachari and a host of others in the Congress sphere were his personal friends. Politics and political views did not interfere with social relationship which he maintained throughout with his friends. Even so, when I was in the Congress, my friendship with him was never interfered with, though we did not often agree with each other on matters concerning, even on occasions, civic welfare and civic amenities. Nevertheless, his genial temperament and the loyalty which he owed to his

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friends were always a great point in his favour. One example of the friendship which he carried on right through in spite of his friend having changed, was the one which existed between himself and the late Mr. Yakub Hasan. Mr. Yakub Hasan was with him in the beginning as a moderate politician. Later on, Mr. Yakub Hasan became a Congress politician; but as between him and his friend, there was absolutely no gap, no difference. Mr. Natesan continued to be a very steadfast and loyal friend of Mr. Yakub Hasan till his last moment. And if he, Mr. Yakub Hasan valued any friendship, it was that of Mr. Natesan. They were both inseparable. I quote this also as an example of Hindu-Muslim unity, unity, concord and goodwill. It is a very good example for all of us to emulate.

I do not think, friends, I should detain you longer. What I should on this occasion remind you about is that Mr. Natesan was a patriot of the highest order . . . . he was loyal and steadfast and gained the esteem of all his friends, and that in spite of differences; his friends regarded him with the utmost respect and were always loyal to him and trusted by him. He was practically the one moving soul in all public movements and public meetings held for the discussion of important public problems. On all such occasions, he did his best and contributed much to the solution of the various problems of the day. So that, if we are to-day to honour his memory, we should decide to some extent at least, as far as it lies in our power, to emulate his example. I have therefore great pleasure in commending this resolution to your acceptance. Thank you, Gentlemen.

THE MAYOR'S SPEECH

Sri S. Ramaswami Nayudu, the Mayor, of Madras, seconding the Resolution, spoke in Tamil to the following effect:

It is our practice to honour great leaders both during their lifetime and on their death. Sri Rajagopalachari and the Premier have referred already to the qualities of head and heart of Mr. Natesan. He was a great friend of Mahatma Gandhi. The history and life of the great leaders of our country have been written in books which he published and thus he brought them prominently before the eye of the public. His activities on the various bodies such as the Corporation and the Senate were actuated by a sense of common good to all people, high and low, irrespective of caste and creed. He was a moderate of moderates in politics but that did not stand in the way of his gaining many friendships in the various political spheres. He was one of the greatest leaders of his day in the Madras City. By this resolution placed before you just now, we are expressing our keen feelings of sorrow at his demise and are conveying them to his family. I second the resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Justice Basheer Ahmed Sayeed.

MR. C. R. SRINIVASAN

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, President of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, and Editor of *Swadeshamitran*, supported the resolution in these words:

Mr. President and friends: I have known the late Mr. G. A. Natesan for well over thirty years and as years rolled by our friendship developed into intimacy. He really belonged to an earlier generation of stalwarts whose size and importance made many people miss the wood for the trees. Among such a galaxy of great men, that he should have achieved a place of importance shows the stuff of the man. Friends, I will let you know a secret. I will tell you how he achieved that greatness. His talent really lay in discovering talent in others and in sharing his knowledge with the world. There was not one man of prominence whom he did not contact in his adolescent years. There was not one man who had anything of credit in him, whom Mr. Natesan did not know. In fact, it is true to say that whoever did not know him, wrote himself down as a nobody. I have told you where his talent lay, now let me tell you where his genius lay. It was in his friendship, the catholicity of his friendship that transcended the bounds of caste, creed and community, that trancended the physical bounds also of this province and this country and travelled right through the world. He made and maintained friends all over the world. It would be true to say that he was a friend of all and enemy of none (Hear, hear). That is really the lesson that he has taught us.

About his achievements in the various fields of his endeavour, those who spoke before me and those who have sent the messages have referred to them. I do not want to detain you by cataloguing them; but undoubtedly the one thing that made him prominent all over India and all over the world was the stream of political liberation—nationalist India's back-ground—that created the urge for Swaraj in this country, that developed the momentum for Swaraj in this country. And having done that he lived to see that achieved in this country (Applause). Friends, I admired him because he was a great synthesising influence in values, because he brought together men of various creeds and different political views and harmonised their activities for the service of the motherland. He was a man who was able to achieve many things out of almost impossible material, and over and above all that, he was a gentleman to his finger tips, a man who had a word of cheer, understanding, sympathy and goodwill to all who had the privilege to know him. I join with you all in sending our prayers for his eternal peace (Applause).

DR. V. K. JOHN

Dr. V. K. John, leader of the Opposition in the Madras Legislative Assembly, spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Sheriff and gentlemen: I consider it a great privilege to associate myself with the tributes that have been paid to the late Mr. Natesan and support the motion so ably moved by the proposer and seconder and supported by Mr. Srinivasan. Mr. Natesan showed great wisdom in choosing a business for a profession that lent itself to public service. His activities covered a very wide field. As a printer and publicist, as a patriot, as a parliamentarian, a politician and public worker, Mr. Natesan achieved very high

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reputation and achieved great success. I should however think the greatest quality in the late Mr. Natesan was his capacity to make friendships and to retain friendships.

He was in friendly relations with almost every public figure in his time. I remember as the Secretary of a Students' organisation in 1916, when I went to Gandhiji to invite him to deliver a lecture to us, Gandhiji said that so long as he was in Madras, his conscience was kept by Mr. Natesan, and I had to approach him first. I approached Mr. Natesan afterwards and later Gandhiji addressed our meeting. Mr. Natesan's capacity for friendship I do not think is possessed by any living man whom I know. He has done very great service to this country and to this province, and in particular to this City. I think therefore it is only fair and proper that the Sheriff of Madras should convene a meeting of the citizens of Madras and place before them a resolution which I have the honour and the privilege to support (Applause).

SRI K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AYYAR

Mr. K. Balasubramania Ayyar, said :

Mr. President, Sheriff of Madras and gentlemen ; My friendship with Mr. Natesan was a precious part of my inheritance. Mr. Natesan was a life-long friend of my father and was closely associated with him in all public movements during his life-time. Mr. Natesan's career as a publicist coincides with the history of the freedom movement in our country from the beginning of this century. He was an outstanding figure in the public life of our country and exhibited great organising talents, lofty patriotism and keen grasp of public affairs. . . . He founded the great publishing house of Natesan & Co., which has contributed not a little to the publication and propagation of useful literature, political and religious for the last 50 years and which celebrated its Golden Jubilee in July 1947 when he was presented with a public address in recognition of his meritorious services. He founded the *Indian Review* in 1900 and was its editor till his last days. It has been all these years a first class monthly magazine which threw open its hospitable pages to the fearless expression of views by all parties and shades of opinion, and to the sober discussion of all sides of every question, political, social and economic. In his death, India lost a veteran journalalist. As a leader of public opinion he established intimate contact with all the great men of India from Dadhabai to Gandhi and co-operated with them in all their activities. He it was that in Madras established an organisation for helping Mahatma Gandhi in his passive resistance movement in South Africa during the years 1908-1914 and during that period began his friendship with the Mahatma which continued throughout the period of their lives. It was with Mr. Natesan he stayed enjoying his hospitality when he (Mahatma) came to Madras in 1915. During the progress of years this friendship ripened into intimacy and affection and in August 1947 hearing of Mr. Natesan's illness through a common friend, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his characteristic way, a cryptic letter to him in which he said " You have no business to be ill. Your work is not yet finished."

In this connection I wish to refer to a very revealing incident narrated by Kaka Kalilker, a great friend and colleague of Gandhiji in the *Khaddar Malar* writing his reminiscences of Bapuji thus :

"During the Congress Sessions in Bombay in 1915. I had the privilege of spending some time with Bapuji. One day I noticed him searching furiously for something in agitated mood. I asked him : and he replied that he was searching for a small pencil. I offered to give him another pencil. But he said "I want the small pencil I am searching for". "You do not understand," Kaka, he said. "I should not lose that pencil. It was given to me in Madras by the young son of G. A. Natesan. How can I afford to lose it ?"

During the years preceding 1920 Mr. Natesan was a leading congressman. Though, afterwards, he was not a member of the Congress, he was always its staunch friend and helped in many ways the great leaders of the Congress in their historic struggle for freedom. His activities in Madras covered many fields. As a prominent member of the Corporation of Madras for many years and as a member of the Senate and Syndicate of the Madras University he did yeoman service to the cause of Local Self-Government and education. He was a member of the Council of State and also a Member of the Indian Tariff Board and was also the leader of the Indian Delegation to the Empire Parliamentary Association held in Canada in 1928. As a member of the Tariff Board he boldly recommended protection for the indigenous steel industry.

His sterling virtues endeared him to one and all in Madras irrespective of caste or community. He had many friends in all communities, European and Indian and in all strata of society. In fact, he had a genius and a flair for friendship. He possessed all those qualities which are necessary for creating friendships both among the young and old and for maintaining them in spite of the vicissitudes that usually affect friendships. He was deeply attached to his friends and was intolerant of any unfounded disparaging remarks that might be made to him by others behind their backs. He held friendship sacred and he never played fast and loose with it. In fact, he never betrayed a friend. He was very tolerant of the views of others and political differences never affected his friendship. In this respect, his life furnishes a very illustrious example for all politicians in our country. His name was a household word in the City of Madras. He will be long remembered by the citizens of Madras as a great and valued friend of all communities here and as a great public worker.

The resolution was then put from the chair and passed, the audience standing.

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Independence Day

THE 15th of August in India as the 4th of July in the United States of America is a day of remembrance and dedication. It marks the beginning of a new era of freedom and is rightly observed with the pomp and ceremony befitting the occasion. On the second anniversary of our independence we dedicate ourselves anew to the service of the nation. In so doing we cannot do better than recall the language of the American Declaration which remains one of the greatest charters of human liberty for all ages and climes. The representatives of the thirteen United States of America declared unanimously:

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

It is up to us to be guided by these noble thoughts enshrined in noble words.

The Leaders' Messages

Fortunately the leaders at the helm of the State to-day are men truly inspired by the lofty teaching and example of the Father of the Nation. They may not have lived up to the high aims and ideals of their great Master, they may have faltered in this or that task and succumbed to frailties common to the flesh, but their sense of duty and faith in the great destiny of the nation have never wavered. With firm faith and determination, with courage and no little wisdom they have steered the country clear of rocks and shoals, striven for order and unity within and security from aggression without, and no doubt won distinction both for themselves and for the nation. The prestige of the country among the nations of the world was never higher.

Striking a note of cheer in their messages, the leaders have counselled the people to have the same faith and courage and adhere to the path of duty shown by the Father of the Nation. The Governor-General Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said:

> People do not realise how much more fortunate we are in our resources and in the conditions in which we live than many other people among the nations of the world. Our men and women are not less honest than men and women in other parts of the world. Nothing is gained by depression and by needless self-abasement. Confidence is the foundation of achievement.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India made a spirited appeal to the people to set themselves against violence and disorder and extend their full labour and co-operation in tackling the manifold problems that face the country.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the aged Deputy Prime Minister who is convalescing in Bombay, said:

> If we reflect deeper on the problems that face us, I find no room for despair or despondency. If for a moment we reflect on the problems which we have successfully faced, the difficulties which we have effectively countered and the obligations which we have faithfully discharged, I have no doubt, we shall see rays of light which would penetrate through the gloom which surrounds us and would fill us with hope and courage.

Much remains to be Done

The leaders are alive to their short-comings and are certainly aware that much remains to be done. Freedom from foreign domination has been won but the other freedoms—like freedom from want and freedom from fear—are eluding us. As has been truly said:—

> The Common Man in India to-day, duly grateful to the memory of Mahatmaji and to leaders of the stature of Nehru and Patel, finds that freedom from bondage has not brought in its wake freedom from want or even freedom from fear. He wants good food, cheap and enough. He wants decent clothes to wear and at least a good hut to live in. When he falls sick, as he does often, he wants free and efficient medical attendance. He wants to

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feel that he is being permitted to enjoy his due share of the wealth of his nation and that he is not being exploited unscrupulously. He wants prices to go down and plenty to come back. And in almost every one of these his modest desires he finds himself disappointed and blames the government for it, as he has been trained to do during the past thirty or forty years.

Hence the absence of that joy and exhilaration which we witnessed on the first anniversary of our independence last year. Altogether it is a good sign that leaders and people alike are fully conscious of our short-comings and it is but just and natural that the first flush of enthusiasm should be sobered by thoughts of all that should be done to fill the gap between promise and performance. It is time the leaders talked less of their achievements during the last two years—however valuable and praiseworthy these achievements may be—and concentrated on the greater tasks that lie ahead of us. For "many and tough", as the Governor-General reminds us are the problems which the Governments in India are tackling. Let us hold fast to the anchor of our faith, and carry on. There will be time enough to think of long term plans for the distant future and carry the so called message of India abroad when we have set our own house in order. Let us remember first things first.

Kashmir and Pakistan's Politics

Evidently Pakistan is in no mood for a peaceful solution of her outstanding differences with India. The Chief of the U. N. delegation for Kashmir was congratulating himself only the other day that things at this end are shaping so well that he was ready packing for Kashmir. But Pakistan having definitely declined to carry out her earlier commitments, the U. N. has now no option but to call off the talks preliminary to the plebiscite. The expulsion of the raiders is a pre-requisite to any kind of settlement. But Pakistan is not prepared to disband or disarm the so called "Azad Kashmir" forces. In a communication to Pandit Nehru in December last, Dr. Lorenzo a former Chairman of the Commission stated that it was the Commission's intention that "there should be large scale disarming of these forces though it would not be possible to require withdrawal from the territories of genuine inhabitants of these areas." Now India insists on this disarming, as otherwise the fair Valley whose defence has become our responsibility, will again be at the mercy of the invaders. To those who have been following Pakistan's tactics in all her dealings with her neighbours, her collaboration with the tribes-men and raiders would be no surprise. From the beginning those in authority in Pakistan have not been straight. They protested at the U. N. Assembly that Pakistan troops never set foot in Kashmir soil. When the U. N. Commission was about to arrive in the Valley, fearing detection, the Pakistan Government declared they could not dissuade their nationals from helping their fellow sufferers! Strange logic for a State exercising authority over its citizens. Then it was discovered that apart from arming the tribes their own forces were actually participating in the fray. This "fraud and deceit" as Pandit Nehru bluntly said, has become habitual with her statesmen. Her Foreign Minister, once Judge of the Federal Court in the late British regime, was making unabashed statements and thundering untruths at the international forum.

Here is the unenviable record of Pakistan politics as set forth by the P.T.I. correspondent;

> When the Indo-Pakistan issue first came up before the Security Council, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sir M. Zafrullah Khan totally denied that his Government had anything to do with the 'Azad Kashmir Forces'. When the Commission made on-the-spot enquiries it was revealed that the Azad forces were under the overall command and technical direction of Pakistan. The next discovery was the presence of Pakistan troops themselves in Jammu and Kashmir State. When the U. N. Commission passed the resolution there was no clear idea as to the exact strength of these raiders and it was put at five battalions but subsequent enquiries by the Commission itself confirmed that it was much larger and the actual strength is said to be over 32 battalions.
>
> These and other points, it is stated, the Commission was prepared to include on the agenda for preliminary discussion but Pakistan was not prepared to have any discussion on them.

How could any decent Government deal with such slippery people?

The Prime Minister of Pakistan himself even in his Id message made provoking overtures to Indian Muslims which they rejected with scorn—a message which in an ordinary citizen would have been foolish.

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There is no reply yet to our Prime Minister's protest, this factless performance of the Pak Prime Minister, in fact the whole policy and plan of Pakistan seems to be to obstruct any prospect of understanding or reconciliation with her neighbour India. They make agreements at periodic meetings only to break them. Our Defence Minister disclosed the other day that a major portion of the stores due from Pakistan are yet to find their way to India. Knowing that Pakistan stands to gain by evading settlement of evacuee properties, her government is deliberately evading the issue. The latest is the freezing of all non-Muslim property in Pakistan—evidently an act of misappropriation without justification. The Government of India has rightly declined to recognise such mal-practices. Pakistan people naturally take the cue from their leaders. And no wonder the Karachi mob made hostile demonstrations against India. It is something that the executive took prompt and firm action to quell the rioters. But what could we expect of a people so continually fed on this poisonous propaganda? It is time that Pakistan learns to behave like a good and friendly neighbour. It must realise that it cannot build itself by fanning hatred of the Indian people.

India wishes her neighbour well ; the least that Pakistan can do is, not to continue sowing seeds of hatred, which only ill serves Pakistan. Pakistan will lose caste among the nations if it continues to behave in this irresponsible manner. Its agreements should be more than scraps of paper, if it is to have any future status in the world.

As we go to Press Mr. Attlee and Mr. Truman have made an earnest appeal to India and Pakistan to accept the U. N. arbitration. We appreciate their good offices in the cause of peace—but peace to be lasting must be based on justice and should not be a mere patched up affair. It must be remembered that the old method of asking India to give in at every turn on the score of its being able to afford it, has not answered. Such appeasement has only led to further unreasonable demands and worsened the situation. There is no point in appealing to India's generosity, the award must be one based on the justice of the case.

The Opposition

Free India's first Parliamentary Opposition Party in the Central Legislature has been formed, with Prof. K. T. Shah, of Bombay, as its leader. It consists of 12 members of the Indian Parliament, including three ex-Congressmen who recently resigned from the Congress Assembly Party and five former Muslim Leaguers and the Socialist member Seth Damodar Swarup.

It is understood that the new Party is opposed to excessive centralisation, or domination of the executive over the Legislature, and aims at giving full scope for local autonomy in the distribution of powers and functions of the State.

The party will be called the Social Democratic Party in the Constituent Assembly Legislative.

As the Constituent Assembly does not recognise parties, the new party will function in the House from the next session of parliament which is expected to commence on November 21.

Scientific Research in India

The rapid advance made by India in the field of scientific research and development in the last two years was explained by Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, leader of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations Scientific Conference on utilisation of resources, at Lake Success.

The Indian Delegation included experts in the various branches of science with which the conference has to deal.

Dr. Bhatnagar said that India was greatly interested in the scientific conference and had sent a strong delegation. Science in India, he added had "come into its own" since India became independent. The Government of India was giving great importance to science in the solution of the various problems confronting that country, particularly meeting the deficit in food, which was India's urgent need.

A Scientific and Research Department had been established directly under Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and it co-ordinated all scientific activity in India. Under the auspices of this department,

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all national research laboratories were being organised. There were, besides, other already-established organisations, such as the Agricultural Research Institute and the Medical Research Council.

A large number of Indian scientists he said are being trained in America and in Europe in order to take part in the development of Indian science and industries. Most of these scientists are being trained in American Universities and research institutes. The Government of India has also engaged the services of eminent American scientists and technologists to direct some of India's national laboratories.

Citizenship of India

After a two-day discussion, the Constituent Assembly adopted six Articles defining Indian citizenship, and detailing the various qualifications designed to cover all cases. Many front-benchers participated in the debate which was initiated by the Prime Minister and was rounded off by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee.

The Articles deal with citizenship at the date of commencement of the Constitution, rights of citizenship of persons who migrated to India from Pakistan, and of re-migrants from Pakistan back to India under permanent permits granted to them by India, the rights of people of Indian origin residing outside India, the continuance of the right of citizenship and, above all, the power of Parliament to regulate citizenship laws.

The main criticisms centred round the provision granting the right of citizenship to those persons who, after having migrated to Pakistan from India, have returned to India under a permit for permanent re-entry and settlement.

Some speakers suggested that it would operate unjustly against Hindus and Sikhs, and would complicate the administration of evacuee property.

Dr. Ambedkar thought it would be "a breach of faith" if they said the people, who had returned from Pakistan for the purpose of permanent residence on the word of Government rightly or wrongly, should not have the right of citizenship.

Most of the amendments were withdrawn, and the rest rejected.

Andhra Gandhi

The passing of the veteran Congress leader Konda Venkatappayya on Independence Day removes a well-known and venerated figure from the public life of Andhradesa. He followed the Gandhian plan of life with rigorous austerity. Selfless, unostentatious, and absolutely void of personal ambition he gave up a lucrative practice at Guntur as early as 1915 and threw himself into public work. Later he joined the Congress, courted imprisonment and was closely associated with Gandhiji in all his movements. He was the pioneer of the Andhra Province movement, and was held in the highest regard in the Province.

To the very last Sri Venkatappayya was working in his own way for the country's cause. Characteristically enough it is stated, a few minutes before his death, Sri Venkatappayya started to dictate this message for Independence Day:

Through the able guidance of that great sage and statesman, Mahatma Gandhi, we have obtained independence rather cheaply and, therefore, we are not able to have a proper estimate of its value. The conditions that have followed the attainment of independence have been very deplorable, the saddest event being the death of Mahatmaji at the hands of an assassin. People have to conduct themselves in the way Mahatmaji expected them, and I hope that India will prosper as a leading nation in the whole world.

He did not finish.

Indonesia

Well begun is half done and the meeting of the Dutch and Indonesian representatives at Government level augurs well for the future of either countries. "The very act of our gathering here is the manifestation of the firm convictions of all parties concerned that our consultations will produce the end we have in view—an unconditional transfer of complete and real sovereignty to the Indonesian people," declared Dr. Mohamed Hatta, Indonesian Premier and leader of the Republican Delegation to the Round Table Conference which was opened at The Hague by Dr. Willam Drees, the Dutch Premier on Aug. 23.

Dr. Hatta said:

The bitter experience of the past years have impressed upon us the fact that the only solution to the Indonesian question is an immediate transfer of sovereignty. The history of the negotiations has taught us that this problem of sovereignty has always been at the root of the difficulties.

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The Dutch Prime Minister, Dr. Willam Drees, opening the conference said that the Netherlands had taken the "irrevocable resolution" to transfer the sovereignty of Indonesia to the United States of Indonesia.

He struck the correct note when he declared unequivocally:

> I feel the need to declare to the Indonesian delegates that when on the Netherland's side in previous agreements the preparedness was embodied to transfer the sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia, this signified for the Netherlands an irrevocable rosolution.

Marshall Tito and the Soviet

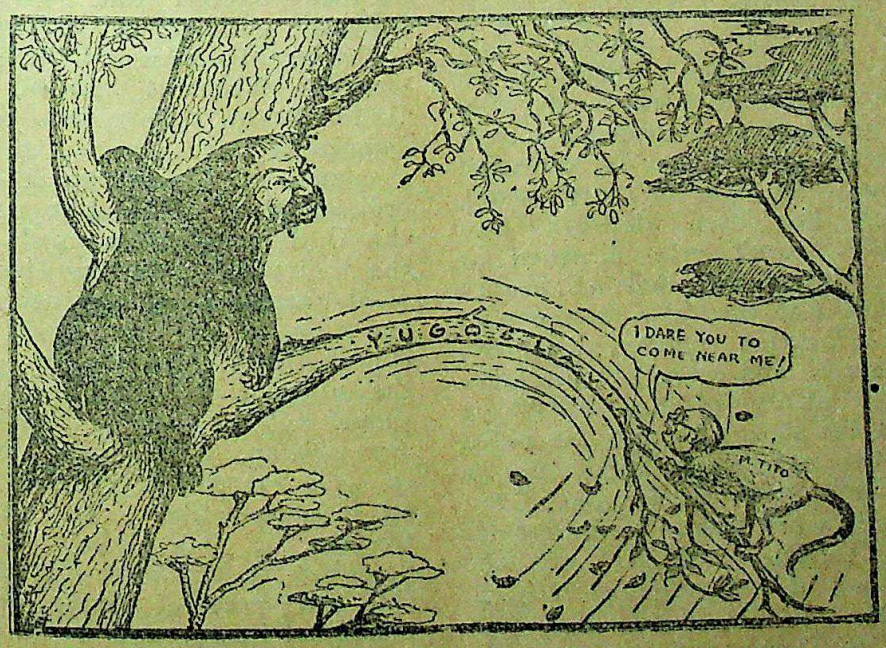
The cold war which has been going on for some weeks past between Russia and Yugoslavia has of late taken a more serious turn. The war of nerves is giving way to more direct action. Reuter reports that the battle of invective went a stage further on Aug. 21 with a new note from Belgrade to Moscow answering "slanderous accusations about" Yugoslav policy on Austria. This was the Yugoslav's reply to a Soviet note of August 11, which described the Tito Government as "an enemy and opponent of the Soviet Union."

Russia charged Yugoslavia with negotiating with Britain about Yugoslav claims on Austria "behind the back" of the Soviet Union. Belgrade replied by admitting it had approached the Western powers on the matter, but declared this was done at the suggestion of M. Molotov and M. Vyshinsky, then Soviet Foreign Minister and Deputy Foreign Minister.

Moscow struck a blow in another phase of the battle, publishing a note sent to Belgrade threatening to "take more effective measures" to defend the rights of Soviet citizens' inhumanly persecuted" in Yugoslavia.

One wonders where this war of words will end. Doubtless Stalin is held back by the fear of European repurcussions if he plays the big bully in a direct way. Britain and America and all countries interested in the peace of the continent are watching the tense situation with anxious concern. It is just possible that Stalin refrains from actually rushing into the fray but contends himself with abetting and fomenting trouble among factions which are always ready to take the hint and act in unison with Soviet tactics. Anyway Tito has a hard job and it will tax all his skill to steer clear of the impending danger.

MONKEYING WITH BEAR



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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE WORLD'S CHIEF LANGUAGES (Formerly Languages for War and Peace.) By Dr. Maris A. Pei, Columbia University, (3rd edition). George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London.

This book is an attempt to enable the average student to understand the main factual features of the world's prominent languages, their geographical distribution, their linguistic affinities, their spoken forms and sound, and grammatical structure, along with a limited vocabulary for each. Key-languages like English, German, Russian, French and Japanese open up to the student vast areas and peoples, particularly where bilingualism and polylingualism prevail. The Indo-European, Semito-Hamitic, Ural-Altaic, Japanese-Korean, Sino-Tibetan, Dravidian, Malayo-Polynesian, African-Negro and American Indian are the chief groups of languages. The book comprehends accounts of the features of the different languages, with their chief features of structure and geographical distribution. There is an appendix on Esperanto, which a fully constructed international language, not a national tongue adopted for international use like basic English. Military slang, part of which has been absorbed into spoken English, neologisms accepted in civilian and military use, and a glossary of grammatical and linguistic terms and an index of countries, regions, localities, languages, dialects and other proper names enhance the utility of the subsidiary equipment of the book. It may be noted that the author has treated Hindustani as being sub-divided into Hindi and Urdu whose differences are more, a matter of script and certain sections of the vocabulary, than of geographical location and says that the Dravidian alphabets, while related to Devanagari, appear to be totally different.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: A SECULAR STATE, HOW IT WAS BUILT AND HOW IT WORKS? By M. Ramaswamy. Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore, Pp. 37, Price Re. 1.

The United States of America is a very large country with numerous religious groups strongly concentrated in different areas. Yet, thanks to the wisdom and foresight of her early statesmen, chiefly Jefferson and Madison, the country has generally been free from bitter religious factions and strifes which have been the bane of many a smaller community. Mr. Ramaswamy has briefly, yet satisfactorily described the process by which this "Secular State" was conceived and built up by conscious legislation and judicial interpretation. The wall of separation which Jefferson sought to erect between church and state, has been jealously guarded by a keen judiciary. "The legal position of a Christian church," observes Viscount Bryce, "is in the United States simply that of a voluntary association or group of associations, corporate or unincorporate under the ordinary law." The first amendment of the U. S. constitution made applicable to the individual states by the 14th admendment regulates the conduct both positive and negative of the State towards the church. The proceeds of taxation and the authority of governmental organizations should not be used to establish or aid any religion, nor should legislation ban the free exercise of religious practices by all citizens alike. In the matter of freedom, it has been however found necessary in the interests of good citizenship and peaceful living to compromise individual liberty and social obligation by prohibiting such actions as may disturb the national peace.

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MY SAVIOUR. By Prof. Subramanya Sastri, M.A. Published by the author from Trivandrum. Price Rs. 5.

'My Saviour' is the life of Swamy Subbier, a lineal descendant in the spiritual line of Sri Ramalingaswamy of Chidambaram. The book under review is a bulky volume of over 300 pages and gives a very detailed account of all the incidents, and achievements of the life of Swamy Subbier. The author seems to be deeply touched by His Guru's spiritual attainments from whom he has derived inner solace and inspiration and therefore he calls him his Saviour, who has saved him from temptations and from moral struggle. The author has fully described as to how he came in contact with him and in what manner he was benefitted by him. During the course of this book, here and there he has used his philosophic knowledge and claims to have written it from the rational point of view. It is doubtful whether this book with the threadbare detail and personal anecdotes, would be of general interest to such readers as have not the same faith and devotion as the author has. It seems that nothing of what he saw and knew of him has been left out from the purview of the author. One does not see the reason why all the correspondence and letters received in regard to the author's saviour should have been included in this book. The author holds a facile pen and has couched his ideas in flawless English.

NEWS-LETTERS OF THE MUGHAL COURT. Reign of Ahmad Shah, 1751-52 A. D. Edited by Professor B. D. Verma, M.A. Fergusson College, Poona, First Edition. Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, Price Rs. 14-13-0.

Professor Verma has done good work in making available to the scholar various data regarding the History of the Deccan, both under the branch Sultanates of the Bahmani Kingdom and of the Marathas. In this present book he has edited the News-Letters from the Delhi Court forwarded by the *waqi'ah navis* or News-writers forwarded to the Peshwa under cover of the despatches of the Hingane Family, who were the resident Maratha envoys at Delhi. These letters contain valuable historical information. For the fateful years 1751-52, as they form a truthful diary of the events and incidents occurring at Delhi and the different parts of the empire. The important political events occurring in the letters are detailed in the introduction as also glimpses of administration and social life. We learn among other things that Nawab Salabat Jang accepted the Imperial *Firman* conferring on him the title of Asafu'd Daula dated 13-9-1751. Also we learn of the battle between Balaji Rao Peshwa and Salabat Jang in 1751 November when there was an eclipse of the moon and the Muslims took advantage of the devotional exercises of the Hindu army and defeated them. This contemporary News-letter supplements the account given in the Marathi Letters and from it we learn that the date of the battle should be 21st November and not on the 22nd. We wish similar editing of the Persian News-Letters preserved in the Peshwa Dafter.

HINDU GOD HEADS: SRI GANESHA. By Jean Herbert. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras and Paul Deran, Lyon, France.

This is the first of a series of pamphlets on Hindu Deities by Jean Herbert whose association with India has been very intimate.

The pamphlet is primarily intended for the continental reader whose ideas of India are derived from "Joseph Sedleys" and the followers of the Church who came to spread the Gospel in India and return back to tell their people about the Chariot wheel of Juggernaut in front of which people prostrate themselves to be crushed and transported to heaven!

In attempting to refute these sedulously fostered prejudices and ignorance the author adopts the most harmless cause of allowing his readers to have a glimpse at the truth as he has known it. He has not descended to argument, much less to vituperation. The attempt is praiseworthy. The author has served his own country and India at the same time.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

———:o:———

Aug. 1. Baroda merges in Bombay and Tehri Garhwal in U. P.

Aug. 2. Consambly adopts article giving Emergency powers to President.

Aug. 3. Cease-fire ordered in Indonesia.

—Aga Khan held up and robbed at Nice.

Aug. 4. U. K. to release 81 million sterling to India.

—C. A. adopts Emergency regime for Provinces.

Aug. 5. U. S. Secretary of State Dean Acheason indicts Chiang's China.

Aug. 6. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar relinquishes Dewanship of Mysore and is nominated to U. N. Commission.

—Sardar Patel in Bombay.

Aug. 7. Delhi Convention adopts Hindi as State language.

Aug. 8. Sir Chintaman Deshmukh appointed to special post in External Department.

Aug. 9. Two new Ministers, Dr. J. Mehta and Raja of Phalton, sworn in for Bombay Cabinet.

Aug. 10. Dr. C. R. Reddi appointed Pro-Chancellor of the University of Mysore.

Aug. 11. Russia indicts Marshal Tito as enemy of Soviet Union.

Aug. 12. Defence of Hongkong—Mr. Acheson's warning to Communists.

Aug. 13. India and Pakistan accept invitation to joint talks on Kashmir.

Aug. 14. *De facto* transfer of power in Chandranagore.

—Counter coup in Syria: President and Premier shot.

Aug. 15. India's Independence day: World wide greetings.

—Poets-Laureaute receive insignia of Office in Madras.

Aug. 16. Prosecution opens case against Razvi charged of conspiracy in the murder of Shoebullah Khan.

Aug. 17. Sheriff's meeting in Gokhale Hall, Madras, Premier of Madras presiding, to condole the passing of G. A. Natesan.

—"Operation Bastille" begins in Indo-China.

Aug. 18. Kashmir talks called off by U. N. Commission.

—World Bank grants 34 million dollar loan to India.

Aug. 19. Evacuation of Canton by foreigners and moneyed Chinese.

—Failure of Unity attempts in W. Bengal reported to Congress President.

Aug. 20. Russia warns Yugoslavia.

—Delhi Conference defines position *re:* Multilingual areas.

Aug. 21. Asian Cultural Conference appoints Sub-Committee.

—Tito alleges Soviet duplicity.

Aug. 22. Hindi will replace English in 15 years according to Consambly's compromise article on State language.

Aug. 23. The Hague talks on Indonesia start.

—India Govt. protest against Pakistan's ban on Evacuee property.

Aug. 24. Delhi protests against Pakistan's freezing of Non-Muslim funds.

Aug. 25. Dr. Radhakrishnan leaves for Moscow.

Aug. 26. University Commission Report published.

Aug. 27. Kashmir Commission decides on fresh truce proposals to India and Pakistan.

Aug. 28. Pandit Nehru announces Food Control to continue.

Aug. 29. Sikhs demand restoration of Gurudwara.

—R. S. S. leader Golwalkar meets Pandit Nehru.

Aug. 30. Nehru's findings on W. Bengal Ministry published.

Aug. 31. Attlee and Truman appeal to Premiers of India and Pakistan to accept Kashmir Commission's proposals.

—Gen. Cariappa decorated with U. S. Legion of Merit.

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH IN INDIA

In the *Aryan Path* for June, Prof. Diwanchand Sharma discusses the much debated question of the future of English in India. Now the best way of keeping ourselves open to the wholesome influences of the West, he says, is not to discard English, because this language is great not only on account of its original productions but also because it has proved to be such an effective medium for translation of the literatures and the technical books of the world.

There may come a day when one of our own languages may become as rich as English but a work of this kind cannot be done in years, but in decades. At the same time we should remember that Free India is not going to take to its bosom the King Emperor's English, but the other kind of English to which Dr. Mulk Raj Anand has referred in a very illuminating brochure on the subject. The King Emperor's English may have been the badge of our servility, but the noble English can be a mine of inspiration, a fountain-head of stimulus and a treasurehouse of all the riches of the world.

The twofold approach to this problem already adopted by some Universities should be clearly understood and boldly applied.

We should rightly understand the distinction between English as the language of utility and English as means of inspiration or pleasure. It is the old distinction, as enunciated by De Quincey, between the literature of knowledge and the literature of power. We should make this twofold approach to the acquisition of the knowledge of this language. So far as the study of English as language is concerned, it should be made available to the widest commonalty. But the knowledge of English as litereture should be pursued only by those who have a special aptitude for it. The first should be compulsory after a student has finished his elementary schooling and the second should begin in our high schools and continue right up to the degree classes.

This means that we should now take to the study of English as a language which is an insurance against geographical isolation, territorial exclusiveness, mental stagnation and spiritual narrowness.

APPEASEMENT OF PAKISTAN

"The policy of appeasing Pakistan by financial and other kinds of aid has failed completely. Pakistan is pursuing a policy which is highly detrimental to India," writes Sri Taraknath Das, Ph.D., in the current issue of *Modern Review* and continues:

"A large part of the five-hundred millions of rupees received by Pakistan from the Government of India through the intervention of the late Mahatma Gandhi and two hundred millions of rupees received by Pakistan from the Nizam's Government (through Anglo-Arab Pakistan Hyderabad plot of 1947-48) have been used to acquire arms and ammunitions and to employ veteran British and Polish airmen to augment Pakistan's air-power.

Pakistan has recently bought a large number of Lancaster bombers as well as tanks to augment its army's striking power. British Generals and high military officials are working hard to organize a Pakistan Legion on the lines of Glubb Pasha's Arab Legion in Transjordan. If India refuses to accede to Pakistan's demands for annexation or at least partition of Kashmir, under some pretext Pakistan's aggressive warfare will be started again. This may happen during the coming winter.

What should be the policy of the Government of India in the present crisis? It must not be forgotten that the future position of India, nay the very independence of India, depends on the satisfactory solution of the Kashmir question. There is only one solution of the problem. Kashmir has been a part of India and will remain a part of India, in spite of Pakistan and her secret allies, the enemies of India. Pakistan is the self-confessed agressor in Kashmir. India should not give any part of Kashmir to Pakistan."

BROKERS ALL

Good brokers deal in stocks and shares. And bogus ones like you deal in shocks and scares.

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UNITY AMONG THE NATIONS

Scarcely four years have elapsed since the war ended, yet already the threat of a third world war looms large in the horizon. We are in doubt whether the statesmen of the world will be able to call "a halt to the pilgrimage of death, this march to the suicide of our race," writes Sri Kali Kumar Sen in the course of an article titled "World Problem To-day" in *Indian Affairs*.

The unity developed among the allied powers during the war, he says, is rapidly disappearing. That is quite natural. To quote the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan, "The war was won by the power of physical force, scientific cunning, industrial organisation and ruthless determination to defeat the enemy unenfeebled by any scruples of conscience, honour or international morality. Marshal Stalin raised his glass at Teheren not to American idealism but to American production, to the way in which American resources and industrial genius were mobilised in the war. Technical backwardness of the enemy, not our moral superiority is the real reason of our victory."

The world problem to-day is one of understanding and restoring true freedom and responsibility. Freedom can be restored only by improving ourselves. The world cannot have real peace until the people deserve it by their own actions. To quote Dr. Radhakrishnan again, "The only certain means of salvation from the terrible evil of war and the chaos of the world is the perception that we cannot correct evil while we are ourselves evil." We should do well in remembering the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations: "War begins in the minds of men, and it is in the minds of men that the defence of peace must be constructed."

The economic scene bears strong resemblance to the political—indeed the two cannot be separated from each other. Reports from almost all quarters of the globe tell us that in every country a few are living in extravagant luxury while millions of people pass a miserable life in poverty that beggars description. This kind of unjust economic conditions is ruining the future hopes of mankind. The one and the only way to fight it is to correct the evils.

We all desire peace and security. Peace exists only when there is freedom from fear and freedom from want. There can be freedom from want only when men have standards of living that give value and meaning to life.

There is also the cultural problem. It is basically related to the development of a philosophy by which one can live. The struggle for the life of others is as indispensable as for the struggle of the life of the person himself—otherwise there can be no survival.

PAINTING UNDER-WATER LIFE

Mrs. Laurel Griffin of San Pedro, California, is probably the world's only deep-sea diving artist, the *Los Angeles Times* reports. The wife of an expert American deep-sea diver, Mrs. Griffin has been painting under the water for the last two years.

When she first started painting under water, Mrs. Griffin used a diving bell and thus was able to reproduce submarine gardens in water colors. Soon she began making dives in a shallow-water diving—suit and observation helmet. This gives her much more freedom of movement. Since the use of this equipment makes working with water colors impossible, Mrs. Griffin now uses special oil paints and works on a specially treated canvas. Her easel is weighted down by lead stripping.

All of Mrs. Griffin's diving equipment is equipped with two-way communication systems so that she can keep in constant touch with her husband who tends her air and life lines from the deck of their yawl. The yawl is both their home and workshop.

Painting the often grotesque and fantastic marine growth on the ocean floor is thrilling, according to Mrs. Griffin. She points out that marine life soon loses its bright color when brought to the surface.

The Griffins have lived a sea-going life for the last-eight years. When Mrs. Griffin is not employed on a diving job, they sail their boat on the Pacific Ocean to find new places for future art work by Mrs. Griffin. This summer the Griffins plan a cruise to Mexican waters where they will record on film and canvas the beauties beneath the sea.

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THE FOOD SHORTAGE

Suggestions to meet the food shortage are offered by Sri G. Sitarama Sastri in a recent issue of the *Harijan*.

As a result of his experiences during the last four years he is convinced that the introduction of controls and rationing is a serious mistake. "Panditji put the food shortage at 10 per cent. while the Sardar put it at 7 per cent. and the actual figures given in the Parliament recently work out to 6 per cent. In a vast country like ours, it should be easy to meet the deficiency."

Apart from extra production if proper care is taken in the processing of food stuffs, this deficiency can easily be made up.

The staple food in the country is rice and wheat; and the writer goes on to add, "The experiments conducted both in my *ashrama* and at Maganwadi (Wardha) have clearly demonstrated that the use of hand-pounded or *chakki* rice will save at least 20 per cent. of food as compared with the use of highly polished rice both in quantity and in the nutrition provided therefrom. The use of handground flour *atta* in place of mill flour is also likely to give some saving.

Therefore, says the writer, it is the duty of Central and Provincial Governments to ban the mill processing of rice and wheat, and to insist upon the methods of processing advocated by A.I.V.I.A. "Immediately these two things are done, there is no necessity for controls or rationing or importation of food stuffs from abroad, which results in loss of twenty-five to thirty crores of rupees every year from out of the slender resources of our poor country. The abolition of controls and rationing will certainly lead to the disbandment of an army of unnecessary officials, whose maintenance (salaries and D.As.) is itself costing crores of rupees. This abolition will also help the consumers in another way. Some of the poorer folk in the country, who have been using millets for generations together, are now under rationing drawn into the fashion of eating polished rice, which is certainly less nutritious and causes vitamin deficiency diseases. These will then revert to millets."

CONGRESS TROUBLES

The London *Spectator*, in an editorial comment on "Congress troubles," says that "most of she difficulties which would face Congress after the British had left India could be, and were, foreseen." But this did not mean that it was always possible to neutralise them in advance, and in the past weeks Congress has only been saved from disintegration by the psrsonal prestige and dynamic energy of the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, himself. By the end of British rule, Congress had built up for itself almost a monopoly of patriotism (except, of course, in the Moslem districts, where the Moslem League enjoyed a similar monopoly), and in its ranks were to be found every element from near-Communists to millionaire industrialists. Only opposition to the British held these antagonistic groups together, and even when Congress took office in the Provinces under the 1935 reforms, it was always able to excuse its shortcomings on the ground that its authority was incomplete; at a pinch it could (and did) reign authority and leave an alien civil service to make shift with the work of Government as best it could."

Now all that has changed; there can be no comfortable sxcuse for failure, no remedy for inefficiency except greater self-discipline. The change, however, is not generally understood. "Local Congress bodies continue to behave as if the Central Government was British, and have tried to keep for themselves not only the luxury of unrestrained criticism but also the right to interfere in the local Government. This misconception has been dealt with, and the functions of Government and Congress separated. In Calcutta the problem is more difficult and potentialiy more dangerous, for there Congress traditions are tied up with the Bose family, with their aggressive demagogy. The city is still unsettled and recalcitrant, though Mr. Nehru's visit has done something to restore order."

QUICK METHOD

Client: "I want to draw up my will, but I'm not sure how to dictate it."

Lawyer: "Just leave everything to me."

Client: "I suppose that would save time. It's bound to go to you in the long run."

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THE ESSENTIALS OF RELIGION

Let us deepen our desire and aspiration for truth and not waste our energy fighting about dogmas and creeds says Swami Nikhilananda in the course of an article entitled Religion and World Fellowship in the *Journal of Religious Thought*.

Nevertheless we need organized religions. Without them the average person cannot set his feet on the path leading to God. Suppose a dictator like Kemal Pasha or Lenin destroyed all churches, temples, mosques, synagogues, and other places of worship; suppose he burned the Bible, the Koran, the Vedas, and all other sacred scriptures—very soon civilization would disappear and human beings would lapse into the state of beasts. Churches are necessary. Even dogmas and rites are helpful to those who cannot appreciate the abstruse philosophy of religion. If properly used, these disciplines open a devotee's vision to the Infinite; but if improperly used they can keep him down on the earth. In order to serve a fruitful purpose the organized faiths must emphasize universal spiritual experience and broaden men's outlook.

Here then are a few concrete suggestions as to how organized religions can promote human fellowship.

First, in the theological seminaries the principal religions of the world should be taught and discussed. It is important that a religion should be taught by one who belongs to it or at least by one who has a warm affection for it. Religion cannot be treated with cold, critical objectivity. A living faith which is professed by a large number of people and regarded by them as a means of salvation is entitled to everyone's respect. Second, a minister should frequently quote from scriptures other than his own to explain the reality of God and spiritual values. Deep spiritual experiences are universal and have been shared by all faiths. In this way alone does religion assume a universal character. Otherwise a religion with an exclusive claim to spiritual experiences may be regarded as an abnormal phenomenon. Private truth is always suspect. Third, a church should celebrate the holy days and sacred occasions of other churches. This broadens our perspective and promotes human fellowship. Toleration is not enough; we must develop positive prospect. A genuine devotee is loyal to his own ideal and at the same time respectful of the ideals of others. The cause of religion will not be promoted by our fighting with one another, but by our presenting a united front against the mounting tide of disbelief.

It can never be over-emphasized that different faiths are necessary to suit different tastes and temperaments. All religions are based on ethical foundations. If they should disregard ethics they would become tools of cruelty and oppression.

Though a mystic often transcends ethics, yet by no means is he un-ethical. As he sees God in all beings and all beings in God, he can never injure anybody. The basis of ethical disciplines such as love, sacrifice, and self-control is the unity of existence, which is a spiritual experience.

When the leaders of society are endowed with righteousness and nobility, then science, technology, politics, art, law, and all other branches of knowledge can promote human fellowship.

All these tools are needed to bring men together and make them realize that they are members of a common family. This righteousness becomes natural and spontaneous with those who have the exalted vision of the reality of God, the divinity of the soul, the unity of existence, and the harmony of religions. Genuine human fellowship is a spiritual experience.

INDIA LEADER OF THIRD WORLD FORCE

The development of an entirely new political philosophy in Asia, and the emergence of India as the leader of a new "third force" in world affairs is discussed by Mr. Phillip Talbot, senior associate of the Institute of Current World Affairs, in an article published by the Foreign Policy Association.

After dealing in detail with the main political and economic difficulties facing the Governments of India and Pakistan and admitting that many of these have still to be solved, Mr. Talbot asserts that both states have nontheless emerged as

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firmly established powers of major importance to the world.

"They have entered the world stage as leaders of renascent Asia," he declared, "and to-day much of the non-Communist east swings in their orbit."

In his opinion, Pandit Nehru is a profound believer in a new destiny for Asia and has taken the lead in organising Asian nations to exert world influence.

"Both anti-imperialist and anti-Communist, Pandit Nehru and the Indian Government have thrown their weight into the development of a regional consciousness which will seek to prevent Asia from becoming anybody's pawn," writes Mr. Talbot.

In international affairs "both India and Pakistan are persuaded that an age of Asian resurgence is at hand," Mr. Talbot continues, "and they believe that ultimately the region can serve the cause of world peace because of the very fact that it is independent of the major power blocs.

Mr. Talbot goes on to express the view that India's philosophy is becoming increasingly acceptable to the people of Asia, as a whole as western imperial controls continue to break down.

This philosophy, he says is based on the following assumptions :—

The time has come for Asians to run Asia. This is not an attempt to imitate Japanese jingoism, but a belief that Asian countries should seek to end the remnants of European imperialism and avoid becoming pawns either of the United States or the Soviet Union. At the same time Asia might contribute to world peace by helping to shape a third force for intervention between the super-powers.

No fixed equation exists between peace and the *status quo*. For example, the world would be better served if it is held by giving Indonesia freedom than by holding it in screw to buttress the position of the Netherlands in Western Europe.

Under-developed countries have as much claim to technical assistance and capital goods from industrialised nations as the latter have to raw materials from the former.

DRAIN WATER IN VILLAGES

Writing in a recent issue of *Harijan*, Sri Triveni Sahay suggests a fruitful use for drain water. He writes:

"In village cleanliness, the problem of finding an outlet for drain water presents a great difficulty. There is no drainage system in the village and so water coming from houses or wells flows in the lanes causing nuisance, dirt, foul smell and insects of various kinds. The rural uplift department has introduced a temporary arrangement in the form of soak pits, five feet deep and three feet broad. But it affects the water of a nearby well.

In these days when there is shortage of food and fruits in the country, it is our duty to make use of all that would help their production. For growing vegetables and plantain trees, next to land, it is difficult to get adequate water for their extensive growth. The village water, though it contains nitrogen, an essential element for the growth of vegetables and fruit trees, produces only uncleanliness.

If this water is utilized, it will remove uncleanliness and provide water for fruits and vegetables. Some idle piece of land is available in almost every country house. A plantain tree or two and vegetables could be profitably grown on it with the help of the house water. A couple of trees would suffice for a small family. In a bigger family, where much water is used, more trees could be grown. They could also be planted nearby the village-well where people take bath or fill water. They require little space and add to the beauty of the surroundings. In a year the tree is ready to give fruit. If we rear it carefully, each one will easily give at least ten seers of sweet bananas. After the bananas are taken from the tree, the juice extracted from its trunk could be used in preparing *papad* etc."

By utilizing filthy water in this way, we can improve our health, clean the village and eat more fruits and vegetables.

FIGURATIVELY

A man does not marry a heiress for her face, but for the figure.

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THE UNITED NATIONS

"The United Nations can yet live up to the dreams of its founders at San Francisco provided regional arrangements, like the North Atlantic Pact, serve to stabilize world affairs," says Thomas J. Hamilton in a Foreign Policy Association pamphlet entitled *Report on the United Nations.*

"It is to be hoped that the regional arrangements fill the basic need to convince the Soviet Union that if it provokes a war it cannot expect to win. If this message is understood in the Kremlin, there should be time for the long-range programme of the United Nations to produce results. The regional agreements may, in fact, act as a stabilizing influence."

The fundamental difficulty confronting the United Nations, says Mr. Hamilton, is the fact that the great Powers, particularly the United States and Russia, have not worked together but have engaged in a world struggle for power.

"This struggle is now the dominant fact of our times," but the violence of its outward manifestations is attributable more to the suspicions of the Kremlin, which in turn have bred suspicions in Washington, than to ineluctable necessity.

"Nonetheless, the Soviet Union has used its thirty vetoes in the Security Council to counterbalance its minority status, has blocked international atomic control and the establishment of an international police force along the lines desired by the United States and the U. N. majority, and in general has provoked precisely the counter-measures which it feared would be used against it."

Analysing the shortcomings of the United Nations, Mr, Hamilton continues: "The conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. . . . is far from being the sole cause of the troubles of the United Nations.

The Security Council has failed even in cases where the United States and the Soviet Union were in general agreement. The Palestine and Indonesian questions have thrown into relief a fundamental weakness in the powers of the Security Council. It has the right to use force to bring about a cease-fire or truce, but no power whatever to compel the parties to a dispute to agree to permanent settlement."

GROUP POLITICS

Mr. K. G. Mashruwala, writing in the *Harijan*, deplores the growth of group politics in more than one province.

East Punjab, Maha-Rajasthan, Madhya-bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Hyderabad and Madras, he says, have already brought to the surface the inherent evils of groups within a party. "Other provinces, which are still functioning as party Governments, are not entirely free from the affection. Regular responsible Government has already broken down in some provinces and may at any day break down in some others. Similar situations have arisen in some of the provinces of Pakistan also.

No single group finds itself numerous enough to form its own majority. Willy nilly it is obliged to woo other groups in order to form a Cabinet. Even instructions to do this are reported to have been issued in some cases by the Central Government. The leader is not chosen for his superior talents, knowledge, strength of character, high standard of integrity, and wide outlook. If he is a talented man, the talents are of the type needed for successful intriguing and breaking the strength of rival groups. His strength of character consists in being fearlessly unscrupulous about the means to be adopted for maintaining his strength. Not integrity but readiness to bestow favours and to overlook dishonesty and corruption is the qualification. His outlook is confined to his group and patrons.

But pure evil is like a bog. It is unfordable without the support of something that is good.

"Clique-men sooner or later discover that they are unable to make much headway unless they can put forth, at least nominally, some person who is respected for his goodness, integrity, diligence and patriotic sentiments, if not for high talents or knowledge of affairs. Goodness is a welcome ally to evil, if it is malleable. A few men with a combination of goodness and weakness are not wanting, and one of them is persuaded to act the leader. He does not lead, but has to respond to the wirepulling of cliquemen. He is not happy with his job, but is unable even to throw it off.

Gandhiji used to say that the British Government did not carry on because of the wicked and the selfish but because of the weakness of good men among us. One of the Viceroys is alleged to have remarked that as soon as good men of India became strong enough to say 'No,' when they do not approve of a thing, India will attain her *swaraj*. Gandhiji knew this weakness of the good and so emphasized the principle of non-co-operation with evil.

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was asked about the recent developments in the South African situation at his Press Conference on August 5th at New Delhi.

In his reply to questions, Pandit Nehru said that India had sent a message to Pakistan, as soon as the Indian delegation returned from the meeting of the United Nations' General Assembly, that both Dominions must take action jointly with the South African Government about the Round Table Conference in accordance with the United Nations resolution. The Pakistan Government did not reply for a considerable time. India then directly approached the South African Government, informing the Pakistan Government at the same time that she was doing so. The South African Government in reply, welcomed it, but made various suggestions, qualifications, provisos, etc. They suggested that before the Conference was held it might be desirable that the preliminaries to the Conference might be discussed by representatives of the two Governments and that India might send someone to South Africa for discussion. India preferred that some elucidation should take place by correspondence; nevertheless she was prepared to send someone.

£ 100,000 TRUST

Mr. M. L. Sultan, an Indian merchant of Durban, has created a £ 100,000 trust fund to promote cultural and educational development of the Indian Community in Natal. The gift is one of the biggest ever made by a South African Indian for the benefit of his people.

Indian leaders believe that the money will do much to acclerate the progress of the province's Indian population, which had been handicapped for years by the lack of sufficient primary and secondary schools. The trust fund was registered early in July.

INDIANS OVERRUNNING AFRICA

A forecast that fifty years hence Indians may completely overrun South Africa, is held forth in an article by Noel Monks, editor of the London *Daily Mail*, who recently toured South Africa.

One result of the Durban racial riots, he writes, has been a quick check-up among the Union's northern neighbours—Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and the Rhodesia—of their own Indian populations, and the results are alarming.

In Kenya in 1935, there were 40,000 Indians. To-day there are 85,000 and they are arriving there by hundred each month.

In the same period, Uganda's Indians have increased from 15,000 to 27,000, while Tanganyika's Indian population has gone up from 33,000 to 58,000.

Rhodesia

RHODESIAN CITIZENSHIP BILL

Indians born in Southern Rhodesia will be entitled to the full rights of citizenship, if the Citizenship Bill which is now under consideration by Parliament becomes law. This is one of the significant differences between the two Citizenship Bills being discussed by the Parliaments of the Union and Southern Rhodesia.

"Both aim at the creation of a distinctive national status for the citizen of the respective state," says a correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail*, "but whereas the South African Bill seems intended to make it is as difficult for a citizen of any other Commonwealth country to acquire South African citizenship as it is for an alien, the Rhodesian Bill makes its clear that not only will preference be given to British subjects but that Rhodesian subjects will automatically become British subjects.

Should both Bills become law without any alterations South Africans going to live in Rhodesia will be entitled to vote after six months and will receive Rhodesian citizenship after two years, but Rhodesians who go permanently to the Union may be denied South African citizenship indefinitely."

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Malaya

INDIANS IN MALAYA

Mr. John A. Thivy, representative of the Government of India in Malaya said that "the Indian community in Malaya has a grand opportunity for sowing the seeds of concord, harmony, self-respect and equality, well exemplified by the architect of India's freedom, Mahatma Gandhi."

In an interview to the P.T I correspondent in the Far East, Mr. Thivy said that this was partly because Malaya had always been a country which had maintained a very high standard of friendly relationship among the cosmopolitan communities living there. Indians in Malaya had endeavoured through their principal political organisation the Malayan Indian Congress, consistently to maintain their primary desire to work with the rest of the people of Malaya for the political regeneration of Malaya. Indians formed a minority group in Malaya as compared to the Malaya and Chinese. Yet they could play an important part in the progress and development of Malaya. Indians had the unique background of their political regeneration of India which had never sacrificed spiritual values for the attainment of temporary objectives.

Ceylon

INDIANS IN CEYLON

The Ceylon Indian Congress has protested against a Press statement of Sir Arunachalam Mabadeve, Ceylon's High Commissioner in India, in which he tried to prove that the citizenship rights that have been accorded to Indians in Ceylon are reasonable and fair. One of the conditions of citizenship for them is that individually every one of them will have to prove that he will be able to maintain himself and his dependants. As most of the Indians in that country are labourers, it is quite likely that a considerable section of them will be disqualified on that score. Besides, the condition of twelve years' continuous stay in Ceylon will also debar quite a large number from the rights of citizenship. That is the reason why the Government of India suggested the reduction of this period to nine years.

Fiji

INDIANS IN FIJI

Reasons for faster Indian reproduction were deduced to the greater fertility, less mortality particularly in children, and a higher proportion of female children than among Fijians, Indian women also were found to bear children at an earlier age than Fijians.

"It is estimated that if conditions remain as they are in 1947", the report declared; "the Indian population will double itself by 1967, by which time it should exceed 250,000. The Fijian population may be expected to double itself towards the close of this century".

The total population of the colony by 1970 should exceed 500,000, the report said. Apart from Indians and Fijians, there were in the islands in 1947 just over 22,000 other inhabitants—Europeans, part Europeans, Chinese and other Pacific races making up roughly seven per cent. of the population.

England

TAMIL ASSOCIATION IN LONDON

The Tamil Association in London has attracted considerable attention. Its membership has been growing steadily and has passed the 150 mark, covering practically all Tamil-speaking students and others in London, including students from Ceylon.

The Association which is, in fact, a revival of a similar body which ceased to function at the outbreak of World War II—has been formed with a view to providing a meeting place for Tamilian students in London and others interested in the language.

Burma

BURMA INDIANS

Dr. B. V. Keskar, India's Deputy Foreign Minister, addressing 3,000 Indians, representing a cross-section of the large Indian Community during his last trip to Rangoon said :

"You have always a home in India. But my advice to those Indians, who have lived long abroad and have roots in those countries is that they should identify themselves with people in whose midst they live."

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MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS ✱ DEPARTMENTAL ✱ NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

FINANCES OF STATES: INTEGRATION WITH CENTRE

Holding that integration of Federal Finances in Indian States and Union of States with those of the rest of the country is essential and feasible, the Krishnamachari Committee has recommended that the integration should start from the beginning of next financial year, *i.e.*, April 1950. For Travancore-Cochin, however, the Committee has suggested August 17, 1949, when the new financial year of the States Union begins as the date on which the process should commence.

The Committee, which consisted of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari (Chairman), Mr. S. K. Patil and Mr. N. Dandeker was appointed by the Government of India in October last to report upon Indian States finances. Its Report which is in four slim volumes, deals with Mysore, the six States Unions and Baroda, but does not deal with other merged States, non-viable States or Kashmir. Hyderabad will be dealt with in a Supplementary Report.

Federal financial integration of States and Unions is conceived by the Committee as part of the new relationship between the Centre and the States embodied in the Draft Constitution of India. "The essential points in the new relationship are that there shall be a Union of India in which Provinces and States shall be equal partners and in which all power and authority are derived from the people," says the Report. "From the concept of States and Provinces as equal partners it inevitably follows that the Central Government should function in States over the same range of subjects and with the same powers as in Provinces. It is only in this way that the Union of India will gain in strength and its policies in effectiveness.

U. N. KASHMIR COMMISSION

The United Nations Kashmir Commission in a statement giving reasons why it called off the joint Indo-Pakistan meeting fixed for August 22 at New Delhi said "that it was made evident to the Commission that agreement even on the agenda could not be reached if the meeting were to take place.

The main difficulties with respect to the scope of the agenda for the proposed conference are connected with the question of disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces and the question of defence and determination of the northern areas of the State.

In the present conditions, the positions of the two Governments as regards the truce agreement are far apart. Nevertheless the Commission had hoped that an agreement could be reached on the basis of which a joint meeting would without delay, proceed to the discussions of matters of substance. Reviewing the negotiations of the past few months in the light of replies of the two Governments, the Commission had concluded that the possibilities of reaching an agreement is remote.

"The Commission as the sponsor of the proposed conference feel that it would not be propitious nor would it better the cause which it pursued to convene the meeting. The Governments of India and Pakistan made it clear in their last replies that their views remain unaltered. It was, therefore, made evident to the the Commission that agreement even on the agenda could not be reached were the meeting to take place.

The Commission will soon appraise the two Governments of what further step it will take in order to assist India and Pakistan in implementing their commitments to reach a final solution of the Kashmir problem."

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

PANDIT NEHRU'S CALL

Prime Minister Nehru, addressing a mammoth Independence Anniversary gathering in front of the historic Red Fort, Delhi on August 15 exhorted every citizen of India to do his duty to make India strong and prosperous.

"Our task," said Pandit Nehru, "is to consolidate the freedom that has been won through the sweat and toil of millions of our countrymen." He declared that while political freedom had been gained, the other freedom—freedom from poverty and distress of millions of people—still remained to be achieved.

Pandit Nehru said that three things had to be borne in mind by the people today. First, India could only progress when there was peace in the country. Secondly, they could not, in petty squabbles, lose sight of the fundamental question of building up India and thirdly, they had to have confidence in themselves. Only thus could they become really free, and independent of outside aid.

Pandit Nehru appealed to the people to "learn to see our country's problems in the larger perspective of the world and not permit the minor questions of the day to overwhelm us."

Stressing the need for the people to have "big minds and big hearts" if they were to be worthy of the great country of which they were citizens, Pandit Nehru said "Let each one of us do his duty to his country and our people and not think too much of the duty of others."

Referring to the food problem, Pandit Nehru said. "One of our most important problems today is that of growing more food, to avoid waste on feasting or in any other way and to conserve every bit of our present resources. We have to tighten our belts. If we co-operate in the business we shall solve not only this problem but many others. Our other problems and party differences can wait."

MR. HEMINGWAY ON PROBLEMS OF THE COMMONMAN

Claiming that the American democracy produces to a greater extent the goods and happiness that Communism promises but has not yet produced anywhere in the world Mr. W. L. Hemingway, one of the members of the "Town Meeting of the Air" said at the Delhi University Convocation Hall. "If the leaders of Communism in Russia were content to let their system prove its worth in their own country we would be very well satisfied but unfortunately for us and the world they wish to export their Communism to other parts of the world. Therefore they support and encourage movements in our own country of a treasonable nature leading to the overthrow of our Government by force. Further they send their missionaries into our neighbouring countries, stirring up Fifth Column activities and trying to embitter them against our country. We, therefore, have what is known as a cold war with Russia and we must answer. My feeling is that it should be answered in three ways.

Firstly by telling the world the things that we have accomplished without denying our shortcomings and weaknesses. This, I think, we can do in a way that may be helpful to other countries. Secondly, I think we should emphasise to the world the delinquencies of Communism as they are made known from time to time. I do not mean by that that we should exaggerate or overrate any of their faults but merely make known in no uncertain terms the facts regarding the operation of Communism which we know to be true. Thirdly we must make known that in the past history of the world many civilisations have been overrun by more powerful neighbours who were termed barbarians at the time because the victim was not willing to make sacrifices to keep strong and protect its civilisation.

We in the United States are determined that we shall not be overrun by any aggression. We do not want war with anybody, we certainly will make no aggressive act against Russia but we will keep ourselves strong enough to prevent any nation or group of nations from destroying us."

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INDIAN UNION CITIZENSHIP

After a debate lasting over eight hours, spread over three days, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Articles relating to citizenship rights. The main issue on which there was a sharp controversy was the provision under which Muslims could return to India and acquire permanent citizenship rights.

The final form in which the articles have been passed is as follows :—

(5) At the date of commencement of this constitution, every person who has his domicile in the territory of India and (a) who was born in the territory of India or ; (b) either of whose parents was born in the territory of India or ; (c) who has been ordinarily resident in the territory of India for not less than five years immediately preceding the date of such commencement shall be a citizen of India, provided that he has not voluntarily acquired the citizenship of any foreign State.

(5-A) Notwithstanding anything contained in Article V of this constitution, a person who has migrated to the territory of India from the territory now included in Pakistan shall be deemed to be a citizen of India at the date of commencement of this constitution if (A) he or either of his parents or any of his grand-parents was born in India as defined in the Government of India Act, 1935, (as originally enacted) ; and

(B) (i) in the case where such person has so migrated before the 19th day of July, 1948, he has ordinarily resided within the territory of India since the date of his migration ; and (ii) in the case where such person has so migrated on or after the 19th day of July, 1948, he has been registered as a citizen of India by an officer appointed in this behalf by the Government of the Dominion of India on an application made by him therefor to such officer before the date of commencement of this Constitution in the form prescribed for the purpose by that Government.

Provided that no such registration shall be made unless the person making the application has resided in the territory of India for at least six months before the date of his application.

5-B. Nothwithstanding anything contained in Articles 5 and 5-A of this constitution, a person who has, after the first day of March 1947, migrated from the territory of India to the territory now included in Pakistan shall not be deemed to be a citizen of India.

Provided that nothing in this Article shall apply to a person who, after having so migrated to the territory now included in Pakistan, has returned to the territory of India under a permit for resettlement of permanent return issued by or under the authority of any law and every such person shall, for the purposes of clause (B) of Article 5-A of this constitution, be deemed to have migrated to the territory of India after the nineteenth day of July, 1948.

5 C. Notwithstanding anything contained in Articles 5 and 5-A of this constitution, any person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in India as defined in the Government of India Act, 1935 (as originally enacted) and who is ordinarily residing in any territory outside India as so defined shall be deemed to be a citizen of India if he has been registered as a citizen of India by the diplomatic or consular representative of India in the country where he is for the time being residing, on an application made by him therefor to such diplomatic or consular representative, whether before or after the commencement of this constitution, in the form prescribed for the purpose by the Government of the Dominion of India or the Government of India.

5-D. Every person, who is a citizen of India under any of the foregoing provisions of this part shall, subject to the provisions of any law that may be made by Parliament, continue to be such citizen.

6. Nothing in the foregoing provisions of this part shall derogate from the power of Parliament to make any provision with respect to the acquisition and termination of citizenship and all other matters relating to citizenship."

EMERGENCY POWERS FOR PRESIDENT

The Constituent Assembly on Aug. 20, adopted Article 280 of the draft constitution which enables the President of the Indian Union during an emergency to suspend the right of Indian citizens to move a Court of Law for the enforcement of their fundamental rights. Such an order may extend to the whole or any part of India, and will have to be laid before Parliament as soon as possible.

Replying to the criticisms, Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, member of the Drafting Committee, said the country and nation must exist before individual liberties were guaranteed,

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, replied that the article was framed, more or less on the American example.

EVACUEE PROPERTY IN INDIA

The Government of India have appointed Mr. Achu Ram, formerly a Judge of the East Punjab High Court, as the Custodian-General of Evacuee Property. The Custodian-General's duties will, generally, relate to the efficient working of evacuee property laws throughout the country where these are in force.

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EDUCATIONAL

SOCIAL EDUCATION SCHEMES

The Government of India will distribute Rs. 90 lakhs among the Provinces for social education out of Rs. One crore set apart this year. The Provinces will get their share, after the approval of Provincial schemes of social education.

According to a decision reached at the meeting in New Delhi recently of officers in charge of social education of Provinces, Provincial Governments are to submit to the Central Ministry of Education detailed schemes of social education in their areas by the middle of August.

The officers, who met under the Presidentship of Dr. Tara Chand, Education Secretary, had decided to appoint a committee of four, to prepare a handbook for the guidance of teachers and social workers engaged in social education.

C.R.'S ADVICE TO STUDENTS

His Excellency the Governor-General, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, visited the Hansraj Morarji Public School at Bombay on Aug. 17.

Addressing the students, Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "You have a better school to grow up in than millions of other boys who did nothing to deserve their bad luck. Make the best use of your good fortune. Build your character, heart and brains so that when you are out as grown-up men, you will be useful to the country, help to make India great and happy, leading others that stand in need of guidance. Do not contemplate misery. Always be cheerful. The best energy issues out of innocent laughter. Love your studies and respect your teachers. I have done. God bless you all."

ENGLISH IN UNIVERSITIES

The University Commission has expressed its view that English should be retained as the medium of instruction in the Indian Universities.

This was disclosed by the Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, at the Education Conference on Aug. 19 when he intervened while Mr. B. G. Kher, the Bombay Premier, was addressing the Conference and referred to the number of languages which one had to learn in certain areas.

EXCHANGE OF PROFESSORS WITH U. S.

Indian Universities professors will shortly visit the United States to deliver lectures at American Universities on a reciprocal basis.

The Ministry of Education, Government of India, in a circular letter to the Indian Universities have asked for lists of teaching personnel who could be sent to the U.S.A., and the Lucknow University has suggested more than 12 names.

They have further asked the Indian Universities to suggest the names of foreign scholars who could be invited to India.

Some departments of the Lucknow University have received direct communications from professors in American Universities who are willing to exchange places with professors of the Lucknow University.

Prof. G. Murphy, of the Columbia University, in a communication to Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee of the Lucknow University has expressed his desire to deliver lectures at the Lucknow University.

COMMUNALISM IN MADRAS

The Convocation of Madras University was presided over by His Excellency the Chancellor on Aug. 19. Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar delivering the Convocation address said:

"The communal problem in Madras Province is an infinitely human problem, not subject to mere logic or the theory of numbers, not capable of solution by references to the past or to the grievances of an ancient day. Is it not possible that men of goodwill on either side, men with large vision, with an eye to the possibilities of the future, with devotion to that which is most valued and inestimable—the good of the State as a whole—is it not possible that a few of such men, from either sections of the controversy, can meet together and evolve a solution, which will be lasting and permanent and just and equitable to all concerned?"

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SEPARATION OF THE JUDICIARY

The Government of Madras have decided to separate the Judiciary from the Executive shortly in 12 districts in the province.

A Cabinet Sub-Committee set up to work out the details of separation of the functions decided to bring into force the separation in twelve districts within October next.

The scheme would be put into effect in the first instance in Chingleput and North Arcot districts adjoining Madras City, where the Judiciary is already independent of the Executive.

According to the scheme, the Judiciary in these districts will be under the control of the High Court and not of the Government and recruitment to judicial posts will be made by the Public Services Commission. Eighty per cent of the recruits will be drawn from the members of the Bar with a minimum of three years practice in law courts. The remaining 20 per cent will be filled up from the existing incumbents.

REPEAL OF CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT IN BOMBAY

The Bombay Government have repealed the Criminal Tribes Act from August 13, and removed all restrictions on criminal tribes in the Province from that day.

About 7,00,000 people belonging to different tribes are completely freed from the legal stigma of criminality as a result of this decision.

The Criminal Tribes Act was first passed in India in 1871 and applied to Bombay Province in 1911. The Bombay Habitual Offenders' Restriction Act would safeguard society against these tribes going back to crime and antisocial activities, Mr. G. D. Tapase, Minister for Backward Classes, said.

Mr. Tapase said the experience gained by the Government "indicated that, employed and free from want, these, tribes would lead an honest life."

SPECIAL COURTS FOR WEST BENGAL

The Governor of West Bengal has promulgated an Ordinance empowering the Provincial Government to constitute special courts to try criminal cases at any place in the Province.

In dealing with refractory accused, a special court will have the power to proceed with the trial in the absence of the accused in court. It may refuse to summon any witness, "if satisfied after the examination of the accused that the evidence of such witness will not be material", and may, if it thinks fit, order at any stage of a trial exclusion of the public or any person from the precincts of the court.

The Ordinance, called the West Bengal Special Courts Ordinance, 1949, provides for the recovery of any fines imposed by attachment and sale of any property of the offender and for payment of compensation to any person, for any loss, injury or annoyance caused by the offence.

The Ordinance comes into force immediately and extends to the whole of West Bengal.

THE RAZVI TRIAL

The trial commenced last month before a special tribunal of Syed Kazim Razvi, 44-year-old leader of the Razakars—the fighting wing of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen which held power in Hyderabad State before the Indian Government's police action last September.

He was charged with abetment of the murder of Mr. Shoebullah Khan, Editor of the Nationalist Urdu daily *Imroze* of Hyderabad.

When the proceedings opened before the three-member tribunal, the Advocate-General of Hyderabad, Mr. D. V. Shriknande, filed a charge-sheet against the five accused in the trial.

The accused were: (1) Syed Kazim Razvi; (2) Abdul Munim Khan; (3) Syed Mohsin Raza; (4) Zamiruddin; and (5) Syed Imamullah Husseini. The fourth and fifth accused were stated to be absconding, while the sixth, Khadar Mohiuddin Azeer, has turned approver.

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TRADE AND FINANCE

INDIA'S NATIONAL INCOME

The Government of India have appointed a three-man Committee to prepare a report on the national income of India and its various components, says a Press Note. The Committee will have Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, Statistical Adviser to the Government of India as Chairman, Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Head of the Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics, Poona, and Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao, Head of the Delhi University School of Economics, as members and Dr. R. C. Desai of the Ministry of Finance as Secretary.

The Committee will also avail itself of the advice of three foreign experts on national income: Prof. Simon Kuznetz of the National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, Mr. J. R. N. Stone of the Cambridge University and Dr. J. B. D. Derksen of the United Nations Statistical Office, Lake Success.

The terms of reference of the Committee are to prepare a report on national income and related estimates, to suggest measures for improving the quality of available data, collection of further essential statistics and to recommend ways and means of promoting research in the field of national income.

The National Income Unit in the Ministry of Finance will work under the Committee's guidance to compile authoritative estimates of the National income.

TRADE COMMISSIONER IN LONDON

Mr. K. N. Kaul, Joint Secretary, Finance Ministry, has been appointed India's Trade Commissioner in London and Financial Adviser to the Indian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom. He will be India's representative in the Commonwealth Liaison Committee and Sterling Area Statistics Committee, it is learnt.

Mr. Kaul has left New Delhi for the United Kingdom on August 21. It is understood that he will also look after matters arising from the recent Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference.

DOLLAR LOAN FOR INDIA

The World Bank granted a 34 million-dollar loan to India for reconstruction and development of State railways on August 18.

The loan will be used to finance part of the purchase price of locomotives, boilers and spare parts. The loan is for a term of fifteen years and carries an interest rate of three per cent, plus commission of one per cent. Amortization payments, calculated to retire the loan by maturity, will start on August 15, 1950.

Srimathi Vijayalakshmi, Indian Ambassador, signed the loan on behalf of India.

This is the first loan granted by the World Bank to a member country in Asia.

Announcing the loan, Mr. Eugene Black, President of the Bank, said: "We hope in the fairly near future to make additional loans to India, bringing the total to about 75 million dollars."

Mr. Black added: "I believe this first Bank loan to India will make a substantial contribution to the rehabilitation of the great Indian railway system, and I have great expectations that it will also have a favourable impact on the whole economy of India".

INDIA'S GOVERNOR IN WORLD BANK:

Mr. B. Rama Rau Governor of the Reserve Bank has been appointed India's Governor on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Mr. Chintaman D. Deshmukh continues to be India's Governor on the International Monetary Fund.

At the forthcoming annual meeting of the Board of Governors of these institutios in Washington the Indian delegatron will consist of Mr. B. Rama Rao, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, Mr. R. K. Nehru and Mr. V. Joshi.

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RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR'S CALL

Delivering the Convocation address at the Thackersey Indian Women's University, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, India's Health Minister, said: "While I believe it is women's duty to fit herself for the role of wife and mother which nature has planned for her, there is no reason whatsoever why her field of work should be limited by marriage."

She appealed to every young woman who had had opportunities of education to be trained for a profession and to consider it her bounden duty to give at least five years' of service to the State before she marries and as much as possible even after marriage."

She said: "The women of free India today are in a far happier position than our sisters were even a few years ago. The have secured for themselves equality with men in every sphere of life. But in proving herself man's equal, there is no reason why a woman should feel a rival or a competitor to him."

"If we make ourselves fit to shoulder responsibilties," she added, "and perform our duties with truth and efficiency, we shall have no need to lay stress on our rights. Rights follow duties as night follows day."

WOMEN'S PLACE IN THE HOME

An International Conference on Adult Education just concluded at Elsinore, Denmark, decided that women's place is in the home.

A report by a special Sub-Commission dealing with the education of women stated: "The vocation of most women is not in gainful employment but in the daily routine of home making and the care of a family.

Adult education can help here, by providing practical instruction in the various domestic skills; by helping housewives to make the best use of the means, financial and otherwise, at their disposal, and by enabling them to deal with the problems of human relationships within and around the family circle."

WOMEN JURORS

Two women Miss J. A. Thomson, Professor of Modern History, Women's Christian College, Nungumbakkam, and Srimathi V. Jayalakshmi Ammal, building contractor, and social worker, made legal history in Madras last month by being the first, since the constitution of the High Court, and the establishment of a court of Criminal Sessions, to be called to serve on a jury trying Criminal cases.

And their presence in the jury resulted in a change of address by Judge and counsel from the old "Gentlemen of the Jury" to "Members of the Jury."

Miss Thomson speaking of her experience and her reactions, said she followed the case closely. "I may say" she added, "it was an interesting experience to sit on the jury. The summing up of the case both by Crown Counsel and Counsel for the accused as well as by the Judge enabled me, I hope to arrive at a correct conclusion in regard to the verdict which I with others pronounced."

MORE MARRIED WOMEN WORKERS IN U.S.

In April 1948, 65 per cent. of all women in the civilian population of the United States were married and 21 per cent. were single according to recent U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates. Of the married women in the population in 1948, 23 per cent. were in the labour force, as compared with 17 per cent. in 1940.

Married women have constituted a growing proportion of the labour force over the years. Of 17,000,000 women in the labour force in April 1948, 48·3 per cent, were married 34·6 per cent were single, 17 per cent widowed or divorced. In 1940 the proportion of married and single women workers was practically reversed: 36·4 per cent. were married, 48.5 per cent. were single. 15 per cent. widowed or divorced.

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INSTITUTE OF CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

The first election to the Council of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India was held in New Delhi on August 12.

The following were elected: Messrs. G. P. Kapadia, N. R. Mody, B. D. Birdy, N. M. Shah, N. M. Raiji, M. S. Krishnaswami, C. S. Sastri, S. Suryanarayana Aiyar, R. N. Rajam Aiyar, S. Ghose, S. N. Banerjea, G. Basu, M.K. Deb, S.B.L. Vaish and P.R. Mehra.

Besides the elected members, the following have been nominated to the Council by the Government of India: Mr. C. C. Desai, Secretary, Ministry of Commerce: Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary, Ministry of Education; Mr. S. D. Nargolwala, Commissioner of Income-Tax, Calcutta; Mr. K. N. Gutgutia (in consultation with the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry) and Mr. G. M. Bathgate (in consultation with the Associated Chamber of Commerce.)

The Council was inaugurated by the Commerce Minister on August 15, 1949.

INDEPENDENCE DAY ENVELOPES

Special Independence Day envelopes, priced at one anna containing the imprint of Lord Vishnu, "the preserver and attainer," were released from the second week of August.

The design, suiting the occasion of the release of India's archaeological series of stamps, has been adopted from an image in the Madras Museum.

The cancellation mark is impressed with the head of an elephant, the drawing of which has been taken from an image lying to the rear of the main temple of Kailasa in Ellora caves. The words "Independence Day" and "15th August 1949" appear on the postal mark.

VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT HONOURED

The Howard University, U. S. A., has conferred on Shrimati Vijayalakhmi, India's Ambassador to U. S. A., the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on the unanimous vote of the University Council representing all the Faculties of the University.

PENSION FOR ARMED FORCES

The Government of India have set up a Departmental Committee in the Ministry of Defence to examine the existing pension scales and rules for officers and men of the Armed Forces and to make recommendations on the post-war pension scales, says a Press Note.

The Chairman of the Committee is Mr. I. M. Lal, I. C. S., and the three Services will be represented on it by Captain K. I. K. Row, Director of Supply and Victualling, Naval Headquarters, Brigadier O. C. Gupta, Army Headquarters, and Air Commodore Narendra, Director of Technical and Supply Services, Air Headquarters. The Ministry of Finance (Defence) will be represented by Mr. A. Subrahmanyam, Controller of Military Accounts (Pensions), Allahabad.

CHERISHED RECORDS

The most treasured possessions to-day with the All-India Radio are 150 electrical recordings of Mahatma Gandhi's voice, now preserved in the Broadcasting House, New Delhi. If played back continuously, they would occupy 60 hours of broadcasting time.

Most of Gandhiji's post-prayer messages to the nation delivered during his last visit to Sodepur Ashram, Calcutta and his last visit to Delhi have been carefully recorded by All-India Radio.

All-India Radio, it is understood, is planning to have these recordings suitably 'processed' in order to preserve Gandhiji's voice for the posterity.

U. N. FELLOWSHIPS FOR INDIANS

Two Officers of the Government of India's Posts and Telegraphs Department will visit the United States to study tele-communications under a scheme of fellowships granted by the U. N. Economic Affairs Department.

They are Mr. P. S. M. Sundaram, Deputy Director-General, Telephones and Telegraphs, and Mr. C. P. Vasudevan, Director of Telegraphs.

They are among 21 candidates from 12 member-Governments who have been awarded fellowships. Another 29 fellowships will be announced shortly.

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THE AMERICAN WAY

BY THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE P. V. RAJAMANNAR

Chief Justice, High Court of Judicature, Madras

THE conclusion of the Second World War left America at the zenith of political power in the world. It is impossible to deny the importance of America in world affairs at the present moment. In the economical sphere America is the decisive factor. America wields to-day and will continue to wield for many years an influence in international politics such as no nation has ever wielded before. Industrially, it is at the summit of its fortunes, with resources almost unlimited. Financially, it controls the world's monetary destiny. It behoves, therefore, every thinking man in any part of the globe to gain a knowledge of America, the historical background of its development, its ideals, its problems and activities.

No one could be better equipped than Professor Laski for undertaking this big task of giving an insight into American life and culture. Bryce was the first man who made a study of America with sympathy and for its own sake. Tocqueville's primary concern was not with America but with the future of France. Professor Laski has all the erudition of Bryce and Tocqueville but he has also an intimacy with American affairs and people which neither of them had. He has been Professor at Harvard for over thirty years. He has made a life-long study of every aspect of American public life. He has had opportunities of seeing the working of the political system of the United States from within. He had the privilege of intimacy with great Judges like Louis Brandeis and Oliver Wendell Holmes and political leaders like the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. All the knowledge that he has acquired has gone to make his great work "The American Democracy," * but as he points out in his preface, it is not only great public men but also countless others, students, taxi-drivers, railroad conductors, lawyers and doctors, engineers and business men who have helped him. The book was a generation in the making. It is true that there is much more in America than any man can know but Professor Laski knows much more of America than any other man. It is a book which reveals "an unsurpassed knowledge of American constitutional, social and cultural history", but it is also a book "written out of deep love of America."

Professor Laski has covered the entire life of the American nation in all its

* "The American Democracy" by Harold J. Laski. George Allen & Unwin. Ld. London. 25sh.

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multifariousness. The treatment is on the grand scale and does not consist in a mere narration of facts. It is 'a commentary and an interpretation.' It suffices to run over the main subjects he has dealt with to realize how comprehensive is his study of America—American political institutions, federal, State and local; American business enterprise, American labour, religion in America, American education, American culture, America's minority problems, the professions, the Press, the cinema and the radio in America and America as a world power. The generalisations, in the opening chapters of the book and in its last chapter are indeed the most valuable parts of the book. They furnish the correct historical and psychological perspective for a survey of American life and conditions.

The traditional foundation of American civilization is the concept of the pioneer. The reason for this is not difficult to find. The very nature of the process of settlement and expansion provides the explanation. In the beginning of American history the idea which most naturally prevailed was the idea of expansionism and that is why the tradition which America has inherited is that of a dynamic civilization. It is this feature which has developed in the American a zeal for material well-being, a zest for accumulation and the element of pragmatism in his philosophy. The qualities of the practical man are more valued than those of the theorist. The American always admires the concrete and the practical man, the man who can do things. Adaptability is inherent in the personality of the American.

America is the inheritor of the past civilizations of Europe but its civilization has not been fettered by old ideas and old methods. In certain essential features American civilization differs from the civilization of Europe. For instance, America has no feudal traditions, no permanent ruling class, no military caste. No other nation has placed less emphasis upon birth.

There is an epigram of Oscar Wilde which emphasises the fact that the American nation is a young nation. A character in one of his plays says: "The youth of America is their oldest tradition. It has been going on for 300 years". A far more serious minded man, one of America's greatest men of letters, Emerson described America as "a country of young men". It is this youth that accounts for the "inner ethos of the American spirit—To be is to do." Americans, like most young persons, are always doing things or trying things. The Americans have an attraction for what is new merely because it is new. They are, like most young people, optimistic, friendly, inquisitive and active.

The peculiar circumstances of American history and the values it inevitably fostered and the qualities it developed have elevated the business men over every other class of men in the United States. It is no exaggeration to say that in no other country in the world does the business man enjoy the power and prestige which he enjoys in the United States. "The business man dominates American civilization. His function is so to organize American society that he has the easiest

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possible run of profitable adventure". Professor Laski admirably analyses this domination in the different spheres of national activity. Because of the business man American democracy engenders an aristocracy of its own. The business man controls the State power: "He sets the boundaries within which scientific discovery may be used. The Churches and the Press and the Movies, all operate within a framework he approves as most likely to make his symbolism acceptable and effective". The American churches have, according to him, "made the philosophy of the American business man an ideal to which they have lent the immense prestige they possess". The business man has a control likewise of the educational system of America. Its minority problems which are grave and growing are difficult of solution so long as its citizens worship the business man as the idol in its market places.

Because of this exaltation of the business man American culture has become expressive of values which the business man imposes to preserve his power and prestige. That is why American culture is less contemplative than practical. It has no concern with the ultimate, absolute and permanent values of life. There is no room for either a passionately ascetic life or a sublime mysticism. The American spirit is always active. To the average American contemplation is a luxury for old men. "The energy of Americanism sometimes lacks that power of repose which alone makes for profundity of mind and heart and in the absence of repose Americanism too easily tends to exalt success over wisdom and thus to mistake prosperity for insight". It is in this respect that America has need of Asia and of India in particular. India can satisfy the spiritual necessity of America to find the rhythm of repose, the depth of experience and the calmness of detachment. Not that America should embrace any Indian faith. But America should learn those virtues which above all others the soul of America needs today "Tranquillity, patience, manly hope, unruffled joy like a lamp in a windless place that does not flicker" (Romain Rolland). America is sure to respond to India's message embodying the essence of its experience which is to be found in a constant intuition of the unity of all life.

The destiny of America is still in the melting pot. If America is to redeem the greatness of its historic promise there should be a revitalisation of Americanism A new level of spiritual integration, an insistence on the elevation and fulfilment of the ordinary man, an alteration in the values of the American way of life, a passionate impulse to transcend the Self—all these are necessary.

"The American Democracy" is an enthralling book on a fascinating subject by a brilliant scholar.

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DICTATORSHIP AND THE CONGRESS

By Prof. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

A dictatorship as it exists in the modern world is different from the dictatorship that obtained in ancient Greece and Rome. In ancient times when the state was confronted with some severe national calamity, the normal democratic constitution was suspended and all the powers of the government were given to one leader. That leader had absolute right over the life, liberty, and property of all persons within the state and could do anything he considered best in the interest of the state without consulting any body. The dictator was an individual of proved merit and competence and it lasted for a fixed period. In the modern world the dictatorial form of government obtained in Italy under the Fascist party of Mussolini, in Germany under the Nazi party of Hitler before the war and it still obtains in Russia under the Communist party of Stalin. In Spain and in some states in Latin America in some form or other the dictatorial form of government prevails. In all these countries the dictatorship came into existence as a result of some abnormal causes. But once it is established it continues indefinitely and there is no chance of the normal democratic constitution being restored. In fact, in some of these countries there is no democratic tradition at all.

Nevertheless dictatorship is not absolute monarchy. Had the dictator ruled the state simply with the help of a standing army and had he made the office of the dictator hereditary in his family we would have called it absolute monarchy. But it is not so. Dictatorship is based on the party system supported by some form of public opinion. In fact there is less fundamental difference between a democracy run by a majority party and the dictatorship. Democracy does not necessarily mean weak government or greater liberty for the people; nor does dictatorship necessarily mean oppression or less liberty for the people. The Prime Minister in a modern democracy so long as he continues to be the leader of the majority party in the legislature is as powerful as any dictator. Mr. Churchill during the war ruled England with as strong a hand as did Hitler or Stalin. But of course there was a possibility of some members not supporting the Prime Minister in which case he might have lost his majority. Whether such a thing can actually happen depends on party discipline and in democracies like Great Britain and America the party discipline is fairly strong. Actually Mr. Churchill had at his disposal the sovereign powers of the British Parliament and could do whatever the sovereign legislature in a state is capable of doing. The only difference—and this is the most important feature that distinguishes a democracy from a dictatorship—is that the majority party in the legislature is allowed to exist and continue its function of criticising the government openly and publicly. The majority party, because it is a majority rules the state but the minority party though incapable of ruling or sharing the powers of the government so long as it is a minority, can criticise and oppose the party in office, expose its follies and mistakes and thereby create an opinion favourable to itself so that at the time of the next election the voters may vote for it and thus through a change in the public opinion can make

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itself a majority. The main function of the majority party is to criticise the party in power by publicity and propaganda with the ultimate object of capturing a majority of seats in the legislature in the next election. This is a very important function and no democracy can work properly without a well-organised opposition party. In England and Canada the opposition party is legally recognised and appreciated. The leader of the opposition party has a distinct status and position and he is paid a salary from the treasury. It is the position of the opposition by the minority party that makes all the difference between democracy and dictatorship.

A dictator denies this right of the opposition party to function. A dictatorship is based on the ideology of one nation, one party and one leader. An opposition to the party in power means opposition to the nation and hence it is to be crushed ruthlessly. Not only one party representing the nation, there must be one leader of that party and alternate leadership is unknown. For this a dictatorship is also known as totalitarianism. An individual has no separate existence politically, apart from the party to which he may belong and he cannot hold or propagate an opinion opposed to the opinion of the leader.

It does not necessarily mean that a dictator has no popular or national support. When he came to power, Hitler had undoubtedly the support of the majority of the Germans and it is difficult to hold that Stalin today has not the support of the majority of the Russians. A dictator cannot ignore public opinion but the public opinion in a dictatorship is not free and voluntary. It is more or less controlled and artificially managed. The people, in the absence of any organised opposition party, know only what the party in power tells them; they cannot know the other side. Under such circumstances the opinion held in a dictatorship is an individual opinion or partisan opinion.

A dictatorship at least for sometime and particularly if there is some national calamity, functions well. The government has not to bother about any political opposition; so with singleness of purpose it can devote all its energies without dissipation and without obstruction to the pursuit of its policy. It is often characterised by strength, vigour and efficiency in the formulation and execution of its policy. Fighting an enemy or introducing improvement in the social or the industrial sphere it can act promptly if it likes. This is a feature which has attracted attention from so many people the world over and many an ardent social reformer would honestly sigh for such a system. But the greatest defect of the system is that as no criticism or opposition is allowed it is seldom careful of its follies. "Power always corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" said Lord Acton and no truer saying is applicable to dictatorship. While parliamentary democracy provides a legal and constitutional machinery for criticism and alternate leadership and policy, there is less scope for corruption and degeneration. In a dictatorship no open and constitutional criticism is allowed; hence seething discontent goes underground. There is a perennial danger of some secret and violent movement against the dictator and for the prevention of this the dictator has to maintain a large police and detective

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force. People cannot enjoy full liberty under such a chronic rule by spies. To get support from the public the dictator appeals to the passions and prejudices of the people, follows a policy of military conquest and imperialism holding out prospects of national glory and expansion. All these ultimately lead to disaster.

A dictatorship cannot continue permanently. It may degenerate into the establishment of some ruling dynasty or if it is based on some ideology as it is in Russia it is likely to become a democracy in the long run. In Russia the dictatorial form of government is transitional. The Communist party cannot allow any other party to function politically as its opposition, so long as Communism is not well established. If it is allowed and if some day this opposition party can make itself the majority party, everything done by the Communist party will be undone. In England or in America this is not likely. Parties in these countries are not so diametrically opposed. If the Labour party is ousted today, the Conservative party to-morrow will not undo everything done by the Labour party. In fact the Labour party and the Conservative party are more united in most fundamental and vital things. They differ on minor issues only. If one is a little radical, the other is a little cautious ; if one emphasises on one point, the other does on another point. Except on emphasis and speed and details, substantially both the parties have greater agreement on most issues. But if any party or individual. holds opinion diametrically opposite, that party will be crushed as is done in a dictatorship. Thus during the war opinion against the war-policy was suppressed and leaders interned. However, this is an exception rather than the rule. In the case of Russia, however, she cannot afford to take any risk so long as communism is not well established. But when the new order in Russia is well established and there is no chance of Communism being replaced, within the Communist party itself there will grow two wings—one more sober, cautious and conservative and the other more radical and extreme and public opinion within the party will swing sometimes for this wing and sometimes for the other. So long as criticism is loyal to the Communist party and is reasonable and constructive it will be allowed and some form of a constitutional opposition will evolve.

In India where is the opposition party? Can we call our government democratic when there is no well organised opposition party? So long as the British ruled, the Congress was on the dictatorial basis. Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Congress in the Second Round Table Conference claimed that the Congress alone represented the nation and Pandit Nehru held that there were only two parties in India—one supporting the British imperialism and the other fighting against it. Any opinion must support either of the two and there could not be any third party. Before independence, circumstances in India justified this position because any opposition to the Congress virtually amounted to supporting the British raj. However one differed from the method and policy of the Congress every nationalist Indian had to support the Congress as otherwise it would lead to the perpetuation of our slavery. But the totalitarian character

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of the Congress—one nation, one party and one leader—cannot be justified any more. Today nobody will seriously mean that criticising and opposing the Congress would mean that the British would come back. Any body can oppose the Congress and remain loyal to the nation. The democratic system provides the machinery by which one can oppose the Nehru Government and yet remain loyal to him. That machinery is the political opposition which is not only useful and necessary but absolutely essential. Without a well-organised opposition party democratic government would be a misnomer.

To suppress the Communist and the R.S.S. for their extreme views is technically undemocratic. Thay can be prosecuted for their violent and criminal action by the ordinary law courts but they cannot be suppressed for their opinion however one differs from them. The recent action of the Government in lifting the ban on the R. S. S. shows they are alive to this. A party in power can contest another party by appealing to the voters and the ballot is the final verdict. The party in power cannot be a contestant and the judge at the same time. The voters alone can judge whose case is right. It may be that these parties do not themselves believe in democracy and once they come to power they will be the first to set up their own dictatorship.

The Socialist party has severed its connexion with the Congress. That party is not based on devotion to any personality or on race, language and religion. It is based on social and economic ideology and its method has been thoroughly democratic. Some day the Socialist party with better organisation and leadership may develop into a full fledged opposition party which modern India so badly needs now. Such opposition may prove a corrective to the party in office. The future of India lies in that direction.

The Scientist & His Social Responsibility

BY MR. P. J. CHOUDHURY, M.A, M.SC.

Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

WITH the explosion of the first atomic bomb started a new era, the atomic age. We are now at the cross roads. The atomic energy may be used either to destroy our civilization or to improve it beyond all expectations. Never did the problem of with-holding knowledge for the good of society appear before man. And never did scientists feel so poignantly their social responsibility. The talk of physical science being ethically neutral, value-free, and motivated by intellectual curiosity only, is now idle gossip and dangerous. The scientists who dare to indulge in such exploded old-world shams and shibboleths are held in pity and contempt. Certainly, the spectacle of an emotionally castrated scientist, a cold fish who lights a fuse and disclaims responsibility for the explosion, who is technically omnipotent but socially helpless, is pitiable. He is a miserable product of extreme

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division of labour, a split personality, one who would only use certain data to produce something and will leave out of consideration the immediate logical implications or social cosequences of his work. If questioned he will innocently reply that he is but a physical scientist and not a sociologist. The intimate relation between science and society, between machinery and man, must be impressed upon him. In other words, 'sociology of science' as an important discipline must be made compulsory for him.

So it is not physical science but the physical scientist considered as a human being who is to blame. To blame physical science for the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and for the present political unrest is to over-simplify the issue. If we follow such a line of reasoning we have to condemn all scientific-inventions on the ground of their actual or possible misuse, inventions like aeroplane, radio, dynamite etc. And we have to stop marriages to root out divorce and withdraw laws to eradicate crime. Knowledge itself is never harmful to man, rather it is a powerful help.

Then what is the cause of the present troubles and what is the solution? As already suggested the cause lies in man, in his cultural make-up. Division of labour is very good but a total divorce, in the mind of man, of one kind of knowledge from another is dangerous. The cleavage between the sciences is the cause of our present-day chaos, it is a real crisis in culture. The physical scientist and the social scientist are *two* men, and what is more, they are strangers who do not understand each other. The physical scientist is supremely innocent of the social aspects of his discipline while the social scientist is equally unconcerned about the physical basis of his science. Over-specialisation is now yielding its bad results. Yet, we maintain, man could have checked these unwholesome consequences if, along with the progress in each science he had made strong efforts at co-operation and intercommunication between them. In other words, if he had not allowed science to grow in an un-self-conscious automatism it finds itself to-day and had provided for a kind of philosophical criticism which would have checked their fissiparous tendencies and worked for unity. Such a philosophical criticism would be a task within science conducted by scientists themselves. This implies that the scientist should have a more comprehensive mind than what he, *as a scientist*, usually thinks to be enough for his scientific purposes. A physical scientist of to-day cannot be a true man of science if he is not actively concerned with the socio-ethical aspects of his science. He cannot remain in a false value-free realm and cannot dodge his social responsibilities. The latter are implied in his own special science. Never before was science so multifarious in its branches and sub-branches and never before was the need for recognising their unity in diversity felt so imperative. The two antithetical movements in knowledge, specialisation and unification, are now providing the dynamism for the onward movement of science, which is synthetic knowledge of nature. Knowledge is one, and if any branch of it, as for

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instance physical science, advances far ahead of any other, for instance sociology, there will be a cleavage and resultant chaos and confusion. So, as had been urged before, there should be two opposite movements side by side within science, one for detailed and specialised knowledge and another for broad synthesis. The former can be achieved very easily through division of labour but for the latter a scientist has to be both versatile and profound. This ultimately leads to a revision of our conventional view of a scientist as one who is best when let alone in his laboratory, scooped out of the vast world without and engaged with a thin slice of reality. We now painfully recognise that the scientist should not be engaged merely with his thin slice of reality, but he should, for the sake of science itself and in order to be a better scientist, be concerned with the rich and intimate relations which his particular subject-matter bear to the rest of reality. An analysis of the present-day knowledge-situation and culture-conditions of man inevitably points to such a revision of our idea of scientist's mind and work. Sociologically, it is a demand for the integral man with full social awareness, and logically, it is an affirmation of the coherence theory of knowledge and truth. Deeper issues may be sensed. These are metaphysical, such as, the relation between thing and thought, knowledge and enjoyment, 'is' and 'ought'. But we need not go into these.

Union Finance Under the Draft Constitution

BY MR. P. C. JAIN

University of Allahabad

ALTHOUGH the set-up of federal finance envisaged by the Draft Constitution, the relevant articles of which have already been passed by the Constituent Assembly, is very much on the lines of the Government of India Act 1935, it has been made less rigid and more favourable to the provinces. The problem of financial relations between the Union Centre and the federating units has offered difficulty in all the federal constitutions. Everywhere the problem has been to safeguard the financial stability of the Centre without depriving the federating units of adequate finances. In India the difficulty has been greater because of past practices. Although it would have been desirable to assign completely separate sources of revenue to the centre and the provinces (and states) to avoid friction and to stabilise the revenues of the provincial and state Governments, the existing conditions in India do not make it possible. The Draft Constitution, therefore, maintains the salient features of the existing system under which the central Government would continue to collect income tax including corporation tax, central excise duties, customs revenue, and revenue from commercial services run by the Central Government and the provinces would derive their revenue from land revenue and tax on agricultural income, provincial excise duties, stamps, registration, forests, and "other Taxes and Duties" including taxes on professions, trades, callings and

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employment, sales tax, entertainment and betting taxes, taxes on immovable urban property. In spite of the fact that the provinces have got many more sources of revenue than the Centre, their finances have proved inadequate and inelastic as the Centre levies the income tax and customs duties, which are two of the major sources of revenue in India. To avercome this lop-sidedness it has become necessary to give the provinces a share in the income tax and central excise duties and to provide for central grants-in-aid and subsidies to meet the financial needs of the provinces. The provincial Governments have strongly protested against their dependence on, what have been called, central doles and charity. But under the existing conditions this cannot be helped and the Draft Constitution recognises this fact.

The chief bone of contention in the recent controversy on federal finance has been the distribution of income tax between the Centre and the provinces. On the basis of the Otto Nieyemer formula the Government of India (Distribution of Revenue) Order 1936 lays down that the net proceeds of income tax, excluding corporation tax, surcharge, and taxes on federal emoluments, willl be shared between the centre and the province on a fifty-fifty basis subject to the condition that the Central Government in addition to its own share shall retain during the first five-year period beginning with 1937-38 either the whole of the province's share or such part of it as will, together with the Railway's contribution to genaral revenues, bring the central government's share to Rs. 13 crores. This method proved too rigid when war conditions increased the railway contribution to central revenues as well as the yield of income tax and also the central Government's expenditure. The formula was altered in February 1940 to enable the Central Government to keep from the provincial share a fixed sum of Rs. 4½ crores. This was at first enforced for three years but was subsequently extended. It was only after 1946-47 that gradually the amount kept back by the Centre from the provincial share was reduced. It amounts to Rs. 1½ crores for 1949-50 when out of the 'divisible pool' of income tax amounting to Rs. 84·30 crores the provinces would get Rs. 40·65 crores and the centre a sum of Rs. 43 65 crores.

The provinces have demanded a greater share in the 'divisible pool', a share not only in the income-tax but also in the corporation tax, and a change in the basis of distribution of the provincial share between the different provinces. These demands have found favour with the Sarkar Committee wnich has recommended that the provinces should be given a 60 per cent share in the 'divisible pool' of income tax to which should also be credited the net proceeds of the corporation tax and taxes on federal emoluments. The basis of distribution of the provincial share should be changed and greater importance should be given to the source of collection. Out of the net proceeds 20 per cent should be distributed on the basis of population, 35 per cent on the basis of collection, and 5 per cent as an adjusting factor. Bombay, West Bengal and U. P. have demanded a greater share on the basis of collection while Asaam, Orissa, and East Punjab have demanded a greater share on the basis of population. All of them have

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demanded that the percentage of provincial share and the basis of distribution should be included in the Draft Constitution. The Drafting Committee has justly rejected these proposals and the article about the distribution of income tax has been kept purposely flexible. It provides that at first the President of the Union will fix the share of each province by an executive order in his own discretion. When the Finance Commission is constituted within two years of the coming into operation of the Constitution the President shall do so on the basis of its recommendations. This gives a high degree of flexibility to the arrangement. It would enable the case of each province to be examined on its merits and while safeguarding the financial stability of the centre it would be possible to give the provinces the gteatest possible share in the proceeds of income tax. The Finance Commission being an impartial body of experts would be able to decide the matter without partisan feeling and without leading to rancour or ill-will. The Constituent Assembly wisely rejected the amendment moved by one member that the matter should be decided by Parliament and not by an executive order of the President. Such a course would have defeated the object of the article in the Draft Constitution.

The Otto Nieyemer formula had introduced a vicious principle in India's federal finance of giving four provinces, Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa, a share in the jute export duty on a pre-determined basis. In the revised figures for 1948-49 the share of Weat Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa in in the jute export duty amounts respectively to Rs. 54.70 lakhs, Rs. 44.37 lakhs, Rs. 38.72 lakhs, and Rs. 5.36 lakhs. In 1949-50 the total share of all these provinces in this duty is expected to be Rs. 1.46 crores as against Rs. 1.43 crores in 1948-49 (revised.) One of the objects of this provision was to help these provinces financially as they very much depended on this crop. But this could have been done better by providing for a special grant as subsequent experience has amply demonstrated. This principle of dividing an export duty has proved vicious because other provinces have begun demanding a share in other export duties. Assam has put forward a strong claim for a share in the export duty on tea. Some provinces have also demanded a share in the central excise revenue and Madras has claimed a big share in the excise duty on tobacco. The Sarkar Committee also has recommended that not less than 50 per cent of the net proceeds of central excise duty on tobacco, which in 1949-50 is expected to amount to Rs. 26 crores, should be distributed among the provinces. There is no doubt that the provincial need for finances gives some justification to all these claims. But such a course is bound to inflict a serious loss on central revenues. This would not be in the best interests of the nation. In the Draft Constitution the vicious principle of distribution of export duty on jute has been removed. In the future all the customs revenue will accrue to the Central Government. But in order to avoid disturbing the finances of the four provinces which were so far sharing the export duty on jute it has been provided that for a period of ten years they should be given a special grant in lieu of this share. This is a healthy principle. As the provinces have

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their own sources of revenue the customs revenue will remain the exclusive source of Central revenue in the future. The Krishnamachari Committee on integration of States' finances has also recommended that all the states should cease to levy internal customs duties. In this way only the Central Government will levy these duties in the future. There is much in common between provincial and central excise duties. But, as was suggested by some, the central excise duties have not been transferred to the provinces. But it is provided in the Draft Constitution that stamp duties and such excise duties on medical and toilet prepararions as are mentioned in the Union list shall be levied by the centre but shall be collected by and assigned to the provinces and states. So far as the other central excise duties are concerned the Draft Constitution has accepted the principle of division between the centre and the provinces and states. But wisely no definite proportions or the basis of division have been laid down in the Draft Constitution. The matter is left to be determined by rules made by Parliament. This also gives a certain degree of flexibility to the system of federal finance.

The provincial sources of taxation have been left intact. The Draft Constitution empowers the states and provinces to levy taxes on profession, trades, callings and employments for their own benefit or that of local bodies. The provinces could levy such taxes under the existing arrangement but with a limit of Rs. 50 per annum on any one person. This limit has now been raised to Rs. 250 per annum. This is calculated to increase the revenue of local bodies. The Constituent Assembly rejected the amendment of one member that the limit should be increased to Rs 1,000. The chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, characterised these taxes as 'invasion' on income tax and pointed out that they have been allowed as an exception to the principle that income tax should be levied only by the central Government because of the prevailing practice. In confirmity with the existing practice the Draft Constitution provides for the levy and collection by the centre of succession duties on other than agricultural property, estate duty, terminal taxes and taxes on railway fares and freights for the benefit of the provinces and states. These are provincial sources of revenue but it would give rise to many complications if they are levied and collected by the provinces themselves, hence the need for such a round about procedure.

The Otto Nieyemer formula provided for the grant of cash subventions to some provinces on a graduated scale for a number of years. In 1949-50 the amount of subventions to be paid to East Punjab, West Bengal, Orissa and Assam would be Rs. 175 lakhs, Rs. 50 lakhs, Rs. 40 lakhs and Rs. 30 lakhs respectively. These provinces have demanded a larger subvention. In 1946 it was agreed that the centre would meet 50 per cent of the cost of post-war reconstruction shemes of provincial Governments approved by it subject to an over-all maximum. The basis of distribution of these grants-in-aid was subsequently changed and the four provinces of West Bangal, East Punjab,

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Assam and Orissa are allowed by the centre the full cost of approved developmental schemes, including grow-more-food schemes within the maximum amount fixed for this purpose while the other provinces get 50 per cent. of the cost. The provision for such grants was reduced from Rs. 30 crores in the 1948-49 Budget to a figure of Rs, 18 crores in the revised figures in pursuance of the anti-inflationary programme. A provision of Rs. 26 81 crores has been made in the 1949-50 Budget for such grants.

GRANTS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT INCLUDING GROW-MORE-FOOD SCHEMES AND EXCLUDING CERTAIN ITEMS (IN CRORES OF Rs)

	1948-49 (Revised)	1949-50 (Budget)
Madras	.. 3.10	5.00
Bombay	.. 1.36	2.27
West Bengal	.. 2.00	2.70
U. P.	.. 3.40	5.17
East Punjab	.. 1.00	1.50
Bihar	.. 1.10	4.00
C. P. and Berar	.. 1.50	1.80
Assam	.. 1.60	1.60
Orissa	.. 1.20	1.35
Rs.	16.26	25.39 crores

These grants-in-aid are vital for meeting the financial needs of the provincial Governments. The Draft Constitution lays down that such sum as Parliament may provide shall be charged on the consolidated fund of India each year as grants-in-aid to the provinces and states. Different sums may be fixed for different provinces. The basis of giving such grants may be changed from time to time. The provision in the Draft Constitution has been kept flexible. The principle of giving such grants is clearly recognised and that is the most important consideration. Under the prevailing conditions such grants are vital for the financial stability of the provincial and state finances.

The Draft Constitution has not been burdened with details about the proportion in which the different taxes will be shared between the centre union and the federating units. The basis of distribution has also not be laid down. The work has been left either to the President in his discretion in the transitional period or to rules to be made by Parliament. In this transitional period an expert committee will be appointed to enquire into these matters and advise the President. Within two years of the Constitution coming into operation a five man Finance Commission will be appointed by the President. This Commission has long been overdue and its appointment will be an important event in India's financial history. This Finance Commission will perform the fourfold task of making recommendations with regard to (1) the distribution of taxes between the Union and the states and provinces, determination of the net amount to be distributed, the basis of distribution and the share of each province and state; (2) the principles which should govern the grants-in-aid to the states out of the Indian revenues; (3) the continuance or modification of the terms of any agreement entered into by the Union with the provinces and states in respect of federal taxes; (4) any other matter referred to the Commission by the President in the interests of sound finance. The Finance Commission will have a comprehensive scope and would be able to do justice to the conflicting claims of the centre and the provinces in the difficult task of distributing the tax resources. It would be a permanent body of great significance in smoothing the course of federal finance in India.

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Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi

By Mr. B. SRINIVASA RAO, M.A., B.L.,

EASILY the most remarkable contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to Modern Civilization, is his decided elevation of Political struggle to Ethical heights. There were, no doubt prior to him, stray efforts to purify prevalent political conditions. But they were too feeble and spasmodic to make any distinct impression. Equally, there had been, prior to him, dis-interested social workers, but their services and energy lacked canalisation and direction. It was given to Mahatmaji, as to none before him, to blend Politics and Ethics, in a manner as efficacious as unobjectionable.

From very early times men were equally impelled by political pull and religious zeal. The two however operated in different directions and it was more or less taken for granted that each suffered by association with the other. The former concerns the State and the latter, the individual. By mixing up the two a double dis-advantage was apprehended—neither personal advantage nor state policy stood to gain.

To disabuse us of such deap-seated prejudice was the specific mission of Mahatmaji and the national redemption of India owes exclusively to his political philosophy. To him the precepts of the sages and the examples of statesmen were of equal consequence. Indeed he refused to isolate one branch of life from another; they are one and indivisible. He further held humanity all over the globe is the same and if one is sufficiently true to himself, he can arouse in his seeming "opponent" feelings of love and brotherliness and these can be harnessed as much to National as Individual advantage.

As in other sciences so in philosophic theory of the State, certain postulates furnish the starting point and provide the necessary back-ground from which to follow the further argument. It therefore behoves us to examine what he considered axiomatic: as a failure to appreciate the same has impelled some of his critics to doubt if there is any consistency of purpose or clarity of thought in his life and teachings.

Briefly, he postulated the fundamental goodness of man and the feasibility of harnessing the same to our collective good. He cautions us against understating the contribution of Ethics to fulfilment of Political ends. In the midst of so many at variance with his stand-point, his convictions never wavered: they became more and more his articles of faith, vicissitude after vicissitude. Failure did not impel him to doubt his dogma or deny his doctrine.

Three distinct stages can be noticed in the development of his thought:

First—when he was "mobbed" by Boers in South Africa, early in his political career.

Second—When he started his historic march to Dandi.

Third—When he finally sought Muslim co-operation in overthrowing the British.

At the outset it has to be borne in mind when he decided on his campaign of passive resistance in South Africa, he had neither the advantage of earlier precedents, nor active direction from any person in high political advantage. His movement generated prejudice; he was considered

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public enemy No. 1 by the people and Government of South Africa. At one stage of his campaign he was "mobbed" by hostile Boers and with great difficulty extricated and removed to the nearest Police Station for fear of further recrudescence of mob fury.

A humanitarian-minded member of the House of Commons, addressed an Interpellation to the then Colonial Secretary—the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, regarding the same and desiring to know what action had been taken to punish the delinquents. To the astonishment of the whole House, a written reply from "the victim" was read out desiring no action be taken against them as they were evidently labouring under a misapprehension that he was their enemy, and he trusted in due course they would find him to be their true friend and change their ways, *themselves*. The rest of the story is familiar to every student of our struggle over-seas. Suffice it to note that the entire Indian and English press acclaimed him as a new Political Messaiah-and notable among his English admirers, Rev. C. F. Andrews and Mr. H. S. L. Polak stuck to him to the very last.

Laurels, however, in South Africa, did not mean laurels nearer home. As soon as he landed in Porebunder he was advised by his friends and admirers not to attempt his experiment, in the complicated political conditions of India, and notable among them was his political *guru* Mr. G. K. Gokhale. He could not, however, be untrue to himself, and it was not long before he launched on giving battle to the British bureaucracy by breaking the salt laws. On the eve of his march to Dandi, where the salt monopoly had to be first challenged, an enterprising Press-reporter drew his attention to the fact that the bulk of Muslims were not with him. Mahatmaji's reaction was quick and characteristic: "If God is with him, he is bound to succeed, Muslim or no Muslim. If, however, God is not with him, no amount of Muslim support can avail him."

Very soon, however, he reconsidered his whole stand-point, and found he made three assumptions, neither safe to make, nor warranted by facts. For one thing, why should God take sides: for another, why need he take his side; finally who can demonstrate His existence to the satisfaction of all his followers?

We thus see in the final phase of his political career he was keen on securing Muslim support at any cost. He was so much depressed with the havoc done to our country by the continued presence of a third party, and decided to resolve the tangle by pressing into service a harmless deduction in Geometry,—any two sides of a triangle are greater than the third. If the Congress and the Muslim League agreed on a common political programme, the Britisher is nowhere in the picture.

Unfortunately the "political" triangle was not so obvious as the Euclidean: politics makes strange bedfellows: and a considerable section of the muslims openly conspired with the third party, to sabotage the Congress cause; and within the Congress there were dissidents, doubting the efficacy of his doctrine, against

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soulless people; and a mis-guided militant Brutus rung the curtain down on his life, though not his teachings.

Mahatmaji was always of the view that the political implement, chiselled in South Africa, sharpened at Wardha, and appreciated at Whitehall (by the decision to withdraw from India) may be given a chance of application in a yet wider sphere to resolve the ever-widening problems of men and Nations.

If at any future time World Government is to be an accomplished fact, it can be reared on no surer foundations than his tenets. Alone among the nations of the World he attempted to impart a moral tone to their political aims and demonstrated the feasibility of blending Ethics and Politics to the obvious advantage of both. Its application in International problems ought surely to lay low the spectre of World War No. III.

ANGLO-U.S. CHIEFS OF STAFF CONFERENCE

The United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, who arrived in Britain from Germany recently, met their British counter-parts at Westminster to discuss defence problems connected with the North Atlantic Treaty.

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THE VATICAN AND COMMUNISM

By The Rt. Rev. Dr. L. RAYMOND

Bishop of Allahabad

[When the first Indian Ambassador to the Holy See presented his credentials at the Vatican on July 6, the Pope said to him: 'It is a sorry characteristic of our times that there prevails in not a few places a concept of life and society that is vitiated by an excess of materialism or perverted by the outright denial of spiritual values. The essential element in India's spiritual heritage is the earnestness and respect of religious sentiment and the profound awareness of dependence on the Divine.' It is against this background, says the Bishop of Allahabad in a communication to the Press, that the recent Papal Decree, condemning practising Communists as "heretics against the Catholic Faith and liable to excommunication", must be understood.—Ed. *I. R.*]

PEOPLE in India are surprised at the fierce resentment this measure* has aroused, and at the storm of obloquy with which it has been greeted, both of which have been expressed at length in the daily press. Many Indians argue: Well, if the Pope gives directions to those who are ready to accept them, why should the organs of publicity, chiefly behind the Iron Curtain, shriek in execration against him? Why should the Communists take umbrage at what does not affect them but only the believing Catholic? And why should the Pope be accused of publishing this measure at the suggestion of the Anglo-Saxon block, when it is well known that the majority of that block is not Catholic?

These questions are puzzling not a few, and it will be useful to attempt an answer.

FORMER VATICAN PRONOUNCEMENTS

It is extremely important to remember that the recent measure represents no innovation in Catholic doctrine; it is merely the last step, one cannot even call it a climax, in the long series of pronouncements which the Vatican has made on Communism. Already in 1846, more than a hundred years ago therefore, Pope Pius IX spoke of 'that infamous doctrine of so-called Communism which is absolutely contrary to the natural law itself, and if once accepted would utterly destroy the rights, property and possessions of all men, even society itself'.

In 1878, Pope Leo XIII defined Communism as 'that plague which insinuates itself into the very marrow of human society only to bring about its ruin.'

These are only two pronouncements among the many of the Vatican, made long before the names of Lenin and Stalin were heard of; in fact the social legislation of the Popes during the final quarter of the last century is riddled with adverse references to Communism. The late Pope Pius XI was only reiterating what his predecessors said when he described Communism as 'this modern revolution, which has actually broken out and threatens everywhere, exceeding in amplitude and violence anything yet experienced in the preceding persecutions launched against the Church.'

The suggestion therefore, that the recent Papal decree has been dictated by political expedience, that it is a mere tactic in the cold war in which the great powers are engaged, that it is an obvious attempt to lean on the capitalist powers, is too ridiculous to be entertained. On the tactical level, it is the last step that should have been taken; because it will merely expose the Catholic Church, and her bishops and priests chiefly, to an intensification of the persecution under which they are already suffering. If human considerations be alone taken into account, surely this was the worst moment to choose, when Communism sits securely in the Balkans, and behind the Iron Curtain the dictate of Stalin holds sway. It is crass stupidity to butt one's head against a stone-wall.

But if in the midst of a crass materialism spiritual values are to be insisted upon, if guidance has to be given at a moment of spiritual crisis, if principles are more important than considerations of expediency, then the Papal decree is justified. For this decree,

* Papal decree against Communists.

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while it has a general import, is chiefly addressed to the countries behind the Iron Curtain, to Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, where there is a Catholic population of nearly 100 millions, whose faith is in jeopardy because of fierce persecution, who are overwhelmed by a spiritual crisis, and who therefore are sorely in need of direction. Already the Primate of Yugoslavia, Archbishop Sceptinac, has been sentenced to 16 years' jail; the Cardinal of Hungary has been condemned to life imprisonment; the Primate of Czecho-Slovakia is under house surveillance, and expecting arrest at any moment.

Events in each of these countries are moving in the same pattern, the sequestration of Church property, the confiscation of Church schools, the suppression of Catholic organs of publicity, the imprisonment of bishops and priests. Inevitably, spiritual values are threatened; should a Catholic abandon his ideals and bow to the prevailing pressure, or should he be loyal to his faith and face the consequences, imprisonment and death? If at such a moment the Pope were to refrain from giving directions, clear and unequivocal, he must abandon his claim to be a spiritual leader.

THE TOTALITARIAN STATE AND RELIGION

The claim of the totalitarian State is to be not merely omnipotent but omni-competent. It professes of direct every department of man's life, therefore his religious life as well. Religion must be a department of the State, under a ministry, just as health or agriculture, for then the State can use religion to its own purposes. A national Church is the only one that will serve the purpose of a totalitarian State; an international Church, with roots outside the State, acknowledging submission to a spiritual power not under the control of the Government, is a danger; for then there is a department of life not amenable to State pressure, and that militates against the basic principle of the totalitarian State.

Now the Roman Catholic Church is essentially international; she has her roots in every country of the globe; she acknowledges submission to a spiritual head outside the control of any Government. Inevitably, the Roman Catholic Church is the Enemy No. 1 of the totalitarian State. Those who have read Count Cianno's Diary will recall Mussolini's exasperation at the Church which stood in the way of his complete domination of the Italian people. Hitler wiser than Mussolini in some ways would not carry his principles to their logical end, because he feared to divide the country on the eve of his schemes for the aggrandisement of Germany.

The Communist State is essentially totalitarian; for the first 20 years it was essentially also irreligious, but during the war it realised that religion must be wooed, not ostracised, because it is a potent force in building morale. During the war, therefore, the Orthodox Church was revived in Russia as a national Church, completely subservient to the interests of the Russian Government, it aptly serves the purpose of the Communist State, for on the one hand it removes the reproach of Communism being anti-religious, and on the other it has no rights other than those given to it by the State. But Communism remains, in principle, anti-religious.

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

True to Communist principles, the Governments of Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia, as true totalitarian States, are endeavouring to found national Churches. This they can only do if they first destroy the Roman Catholic Church. They began that work of destruction slowly, first confiscating the property of the Church, then suppressing the schools and the organs of publicity. Next they turned their attention to the leaders, the Primates: two have been imprisoned, and with the Archbishop of Prague, arrest and imprisonment is only a question of time; hundreds of the best priests have been jailed and a few executed on trumped-up charges.

Now they are trying to form national Churches. In Prague they have found a few renegade priests, with whose help they have started 'Catholic' papers and 'Catholic Action Societies' throughout the country;

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thus they hope to drive a wedge between the religious leaders and the people, and seduce the latter to their own schemes. Because they have confused the loyalties of many humble Catholics who may not know where their duty lies, the Pope has declared all Communists to be apostates from the Faith. The people will thus be helped to discern between their real leaders and these Government tools, and will not give to a modern Caesar the things that are God's.

One can understand, therefore, the wrath of these Communists behind the Iron Curtain; the Pope has queered their pitch, has prejudiced their chances of building up national Churches, and of seducing the people from their old loyalties. Naturally, they accuse the Vatican of mixing in politics at the dictate of the capitalist powers; whereas actually the Vatican has given the same directions as she has given for the past century, adding to them only a turn which fits them for the present crisis.

RESULTS OF THE DECREE

The Pope must realise that the result of his decree will be an intensification of the persecution in the countries behind the Iron Curtain; to this result he cannot be indifferent, no more than Pandit Nehru could be indifferent were India's Ambassadors submitted to indignities.

The Bishops are men appointed by the Pope, men whom he values and trusts; with some of them he has been on intimate terms; their torture and imprisonment must affect him deeply. He must realise what this decree will mean in terms of suffering for the simple people. If he has nevertheless acted as he has it is because he feels that spiritual values must be upheld despite sufferings, that tyrannous Governments must be faced when they go beyond their limits that the things of God are of greater import than the laws of Caesar. In defence of these values persecution must be faced.

In Spain the Communists massacred 10 bishops, 15,000 priests and nuns, and 300,000 common people in the name of democracy; in reality it was only out of hatred for religion. That hatred will find more victims before its day is done. But in our country this bold stand for spiritual values at a time when men are absorbed in material things must win support and admiration.

MERGER AND INTEGRATION*

BY MR. P. RAJESWARA RAO

—:o:—

SARDAR PATEL had the vision to foresee forces which insisted on a speedy attainment of unity and uniformity of Political Practice throughout India. The States Ministry under his guidance applied four different schemes in pursuing the programme of unification and merger each being applied according to size, geography and other factors relating to each state. The first is the merger of States in the adjoining Provinces. The second is the consolidation of certain States into Centrally administered areas. Third is the Union of the States and fourth is to leave some States at any rate for the time being to continue their separate existence. The role of Mr. V. P. Menon, the Secretary of the States Ministry and later its Adviser deserves to be mentioned. This wizard from Kerala, a place noted for its charms, redrew the map of India and literally succeeded in equating Princely India to the Provinces.

* A Chapter from the Author's forthcoming Book entitled "A Survey of Indian Constitutionalism."

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The time spirit was irresistable and the drama of history unrolled itself. Even after Partition there were 566 States of all categories, within the borders of India. Under this process 214 States with a population of 175 lakhs and covering an area of 1,06,085 square miles merged in the various Provinces. With respect to the representation of merged States in the Provincial Legislatures, Governor-General of India authorised the nomination of members to the various Provincial legislatures thus:—Madras—2, Bihar—1, C. P. and Berar—17, East Punjab—1, Orissa—31 and Bombay—61 to the Legislative Assembly and 10 to the Legislative Council. Besides, Bombay added two Ministers to the Cabinet from the merged States. 25 States with a population of 28 lakhs and covering an area of 27,329 square miles are Centrally administered necessitating the creation of five chief commissioners' Provinces namely Cutch, Himachal Pradesh, Bhopal, Rampur and Bilaspoor. 304 States with a population of 376 lakhs and covering an area of 2,36,360 square miles are integrated into six States Unions *viz.*, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Rajastan, Vindhyapradesh, Madhya Bharat, Sourashtra and the United State of Travancore and Cochin. Lately the administration of Cooch-Bihar is taken over by Government of India. Linguistic considerations may ultimately bring about its merger with West Bengal. Banaras State has to be merged in the United Provinces sooner or latter. Access to Tripura State over land has till recently been possible only through Pakistan territory. Work on the 125 mile long road connecting Assam with Agartala the Capital of the State is completed. This has become necessary as a portion of the Shillong-Sylhet road falls within Pakistan. Hence there has been delay in tackling the States on the Eastern Frontier. Manipur and the sixteen Khasi hill States remain to be merged in Assam. Leaving Kashmir and Hyderabad for the time being we find that even the only other State of Mysore has to make way to fecilitate the unification of Karnataka. The State of Sikkim also is now administered by a Dewan nominated by the Government of India.

Thanks to the willing consent and patriotic co-operation of the Rulers as well as the people of the States the difficult task of merger and unification has been brought to a successful close within a short period of two years. The Rulers of the States, which had been formed into Unions retained their hereditary rights. The Privy Purse is fixed on a sliding scale. On the first lakh of the annual income of the State concerned it is 15 per cent.; between two to five lakhs it is 10 per cent.; and anything above 5 lakhs 7½ per cent.; subject to a top limit of 10 lakhs of rupees. This limit has been exceeded only in case of certain major States that have been doclared as viable Units. The amount fixed in access of this figure is payable to the present rulers alone. In the case of the next generation of the Rulers none of them would be entitled to draw a Privy Purse of more than 10 lakhs of Rupees. In addition to that the Princes are entitled to keep two palaces, jewels and private lands. The Private properties of the Sourashtra Union Maharajahs were estimated at 120 crores of Rupees. Their palaces at Bombay alone were estimated at 4½ crores of Rupees. But the most surprising fact is that when some of the States were merged into Provinces or formed into Unions the balance in their State treasuries was only a few annas.

Some obvious defects are apparent in the various schemes of merger. Provinces were consulted for the absorption of the States. But the people of the States were not consulted. For all intents and purposes the people were transferred as a conquered race. In some quarters the mergers and integrations were styled as *coups d'etat* and not the fulfilment of people's mandate constitutionally expressed. Nomination of the representatives of the States merged in the Provinces, to the respective Provincial Legislatures is the very antithesis of democracy. The Governments that came

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to be set up in most of the Unions are made up of men with no experience of leadership, no tradition of Parliamentary Government. They are often involved in local factions. They are loosely geared to the administrative machinery which is not efficient.

The relationship between the Centre and the States Unions is governed by the covenants and the agreements entered into between the Centre and the Rajapramukhs. Owing to backward conditions of these States the lack of a well-defined constitutional relationship between them and the Centre and due to inadequate arrangements for administration, the Government of India found it necessary to exercise general control over the Governments of the various Unions which according to the provisions inserted in the covenents are required to comply with instructions issued by the Government of India. Thus the control over the Union Governments by the Centre is greater than over the Provincial Governments.

Barring a few advanced States the others are so backward that the task of raising the standard of administration present formidable difficulties. Their financial systems developed in isolation. Many of them were dependent on Octroi and the internal customs duties as their mainstay. These sources of income are entirely out of place, in an India politically integrated. States adversely affected financially are helped by the Centre to tide over the difficulties in a transitory period, which may be ten or fifteen years. Measures are being set afoot to remove other forms of feudalism from the States such as Jagirdari tenure, forced labour, etc. Steps have already been taken to integrate the armed forces maintained in the merged States with the Indian army. Indian State forces maintained in the units which form parts of States Unions are at present under the responsibility of the Rajapramukhs of the Unions (except in Travancore-Cochin, where they are under Ministry) subject of course to the directions of the Government of India. There has been agreement that they must be so organised and maintained that they will together with the armed forces of India fit into one overall pattern for the defence of the country. What Dalhousie and Canning were able to do during many years Sardar Patel achieved within two years. He proved to be the architect of the Indian Union and he could do all at once what Bismark did during his life time for the consolidation of Germany.

In this connection the question of the French and the Portuguese possessions cannot be ignored. No Sovereign Independent State permits the perpetuation of foreign pockets within its borders. These anachronisms were tolerated as long as India was in bondage. Wise men must learn from the experiences of others. Chandranagore already showed the way. In fact no referendum is necessary to vindicate the simple truism that blood is thicker than water. The promise of autonomy made by Pandit Nehru to these areas within the Union in order to preserve their particular features and heritage is more generous than just.

JUST OUT

A TIMELY PUBLICATION

LECTURES ON INDIAN HISTORY

BY

V. TYAGARAJAN, M.A., L.T.

Professor of History and Economics, St. Xavier's College, Palamcottah

HINDU INDIA
MUSLIM INDIA
AND
BRITISH INDIA

IN ONE VOLUME

WITH A FOREWORD BY

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LABOUR AND LIQUOR

By Mr. ABRAHAM PANAKAL, B.A., D.S.S.A.

UNTIL comparatively recent times alcoholic beverages were looked upon as a matter of course. They were considered as a regular part of meal just as tea in China and Japan and coffee among the Arabs and Turks. However, with the large scale production of alcoholic liquors and the organisation of liquor traffic along modern commercial lines, with the aid of high pressure salesmanship, the evil consequences of alcoholism became more apparent. Moreover, the development of commercial life and the introduction of machinery into industry, the possession of a clear and alert brain and a steady hand has become an imperative necessity. It is with this end in view that organised agitation for temperance has become an important public movement in many progressive countries.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historically speaking, narcotic drugs have been known to human race since ages. The Chinese Emperor Shen Nung in the Twentieth Century B.C., taught the people to cultivate hemp to prepare "hashish," a narcotic substance out of its fibre. There are several records to show that Egyptians and Persians used narcotic drugs from a very early date. Virgil refers to opium-poppy in "Aeneid." But, with the advancement of science and the subsequent manufacture of alcoholic liquors on a commercial scale, the demand for narcotic drugs began to decline. The replacement was so rapid that in 1919 there were 2,000,000 addicts to alcohol in the city of New York.

DIFFERENT THEORIES OF ALCOHOLISM

Dr. Archdall's theory of craving for alcohol as an instinct has not yet received universal acceptance. For, if it is an instinct, it should have a universality and should also be present among lower animals. This is not the case. Similarly, alcoholism explained in terms of climate and of race has no foundation. The theory states that the per capita consumption of alcoholic liquors will be more in cold countries and vice versa in hot ones. This theory has not yet been confirmed. A recent study of chronic alcoholics made in the United States of America reveals that a certain percentage of the inebriates are pathological individuals whose nervous organisation is such that alcohol provides satisfaction not attainable under ordinary circumstances. But details regarding this theory are not yet available.

EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL ON LIVING TISSUES

The origin of alcohol, as we all know, is in the decay or decomposition of sugar by the action of certain microscopic plants like moulds and yeasts. These little plants feed on sugar in the grain and in return give out alcohol. This alcohol when drunk produces four distinct effects on our living tissues. Firstly, alcohol as an intoxicant quickly affects our nervous system. The Alcohol Committee of the Medical Research Department of the United States of America state that the system suddenly stops functioning if it is taken in large quantities and makes the function retard when taken in small doses. Dr. Rush, who has done pioneer work in this field, points out that alcoholism affects the nervous system and tends to inhabit higher centres of control. This reduces the power for judgement, concentration and estimation of risks. This also makes the five senses less acute and one sees, hears and tastes less than usual. Secondly, alcohol is detrimental to body functioning. It slows down the function of stomach, kidneys, liver and brain. The third effect of alcohol is that it is habit forming. When a person is, once, addicted to alcohol, it is very difficult to overcome that habit. Lastly, alcohol is a protoplastic poison which is destructive and degenerating to human system.

USES OF ALCOHOL

Alcohol has been variously regarded as a drug, a food and a narcotic poison. As a drug it is very seldom used in medicine

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now-a-days. The village quacks still administer alcohol to patients suffering from certain chronic diseases. But the belief in the specific action of alcohol in acute infectious diseases like influenza and pneumonia has been confused. As a food, liquor is very popular among the working classes. In India they believe that country liquors are the cheapest substances containing Vitamin B. Labourers who cannot afford to have this form of nourishing food consume country liquors as a substitute. But the effect of alcohol as a food is just the reverse. According to the Report of the Central Board (Liquor Traffic) of 1938 the food value of alcohol is considered to be the most liberal that can be taken into consideration. Again, after working hard for eight hours or more, workers in India relieve or try to relieve by drinking country liquors, the fatigue of long hours of hard work. As a narcotic, it is still effective when taken in sufficient quantities.

ALCOHOLISM AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Coming to the problem of alcoholism among industrial workers, we find that until a few decades ago, in some of the Western countries, it was an established custom among the employers to pass out a regular ration of liquor to their employees. If the employers showed some unwillingness in this respect, the workers used to feel dissatisfied. In some places liquor was a part of wages. In the "Economic History of England" by Bland and Brown we find that an allowance for drink was a part of wage bargain in England. When in 1817, Thacker Magoum, a ship-builder in Medford, built a ship without giving liquor to the workers, it was considered as an achievement. Moreover, early trade unions of America and England recognised the use of liquor in their periodical meetings held in public houses. In the statements of finance and accounts published by these unions, during the first half of the Nineteenth Century, expenditure on drink ranked as one of the major items of expenditure. But by the middle of the Nineteenth Century, this practice was completely abolished and the union meetings were found to be more calm and orderly instead of being violent and chaotic.

By this time employers also began to realise the undesirability of workers indulging in drinks. They found that alcoholism among the employees at work had far reaching effects on their businesa. This idea was shared in general and later on crystallised into tangible rules and regulations. But no serious attempt was made to put an end to the evil of drinking after working hours, with the result that it is spreading on an alarming scale among industrial workers. A study of working class family budgets reveals that the expenses for drink form at least 4 per cent of the total family expenditure. The percentage is as high as 10 per cent in the case of workers belonging to the lower strata of life.

AFTER-EFFECTS OF ALCOHOLISM

By chronic alcoholism of a worker, it is the family that has to suffer most. A study of Prof. Legrain proves that the third generation of a chronic alcoholic will be weak-minded, imbecile and idiotic children suffering from hysteria or epilepsy. "The use of alcohol" says President Ray of the American Hygiene Society "increases the rate of social diseases". Medical and actuarial evidences make it clear that the excessive drinker generally damages his health. On analysis of the data available from certain Insurance Companies, it is found that even moderate drinking has an injurious effect upon health by weakening the resistive power of the body and thereby shortening life. Alcohol also reduces the power to work and undermines the earning capacity. This causes serious loss to the nation's productive power. Poor work leads to poor production and especially in the case of India where production has not advanced enough to meet the demands of consumption, reduction in output will lessen the economic prosperity of the nation. Prof. H. E. Hinwich of the Yale University after experimenting

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upon the effects of alcohol on working efficiency states "work of precision suffers either in accuracy or in time required for its accomplishment." The results are depressive in effect. Again Prof. Fisher of the same university says "a glass of beer reduces the efficiency of a worker by 20 per cent." The ill-effect on a nation's efficiency due to excessive indulgence in alcohol is not disputed. China is a concrete example to this effect. Moreover, the consumption of alcoholic liquors increases accident proneness, even if the quantity taken is insufficient to produce intoxication. It is stated that chronic drinkers sustain nearly three times as many accidents as the whole body of workers in a factory. Moreover, the period of recovery from an illness for a man who drinks will be three times that of a normal man for the same illness. Besides, they are more susceptible to diseases like pneumonia and influenza. A study of accidents sustained by seamen made in Sweden reveals that 50 per cent. of the cases studied were due to alcoholic indulgences. Alcoholism also reduces the capacity for judgement, attention and concentration, which should be at their best among modern industrial workers. This is nowhere more dangerous than in motor driving. The precisions for co-ordinating foot work and hand work with sight and hearing is appreciably disturbed by even a small dose of alcohol. This leads to many an accident that can be avoided.

Poverty is the handmaid of alcohol. Prof. A.L. Bowley says that 25 to 30 per cent. of the poverty in a working class area is caused wholly or partly by drink. When the Government of Bihar inaugurated prohibition in the district of Saran on 1st April 1939, there was a marked improvement in the family budgets of the workers. 78 per cent. of the workers utilised the excess money for payment of debts. Many spent money on milk, ghee, sweets and vegetables and increased the nutritive value of their food. The Bombay Prohibition Research Advisory Board after making a study on the economic effects of prohibition on the working class in Ahmedabad observes that no less than 86 per cent. of the ex-addicts were enjoying better food both in quality and quantity. Efficiency of 72 per cent. of them had increased as was obvious from the production figures available at the mills. Where formerly more than 68 per cent. could not balance their family budgets, after prohibition came, 90 per cent. of them could not only do so but some showed a basic surplus for saving. The survey revealed that in 26 per cent. of the cases studied there were actual saving and purchase of ornaments for women and children. Ford, the great industrialist, believed that prohibition increased the economic prosperity of the worker.

A significant fact about alcoholism is domestic discord. Street brawls, family quarrels and bickering among neighbours, in many cases, originate from alcoholism and they create a lot of inconvenience to the public. Moreover, the family life of a worker who is addicted to drinks is generally unhappy. In many cases this results in a broken home. The increase of crime in industrial cities is generally explained by an equal increase in the consumption of alcoholic drinks by workers.

Realising the all round after-effects of alcoholism, many progressive countries have passed Prohibition Acts. Without entering into the oft repeated arguments showing the advantages and disadvantages of prohibition any one can confidently say that interested liquor men are almost the only group who have cried hoarse against prohibition as an invasion of the liberties of the common man. The masses of India have always hailed prohibition as "A friend of the poor." Special investigators appointed by the Government of Bombay to study the economic effects of Alcoholism in the city of Ahmedabad report that not a single woman is willing to revert to pre-prohibition days and some are even prepared to resort to picketing if ever the drink shops are thrown open again.

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STUDENTS AND POLITICS

By Prof. B. S MATHUR, M A., B A. Hons.

THERE is a fashion for our politicians to ask our students not to take to politics. There was a time when these very men and women asked them to give up their studies for the sake of politics. I think they were right and they are right. That was a time of emergency. It was a long drawn-out war and there could be no other place for the youths than that of politics. Now things have changed. They have improved in the sense that we have done away with the foreign rule and we are our own masters. If we are not our own masters, it is our leaders, who are our masters and they are supposed to do no wrong, nothing that would go against our interest and prosperity of future. Politics is for them, not for our youths, whose right place is where there is real and constructive education. Think of these words that I have used for education—real and constructive. Education has to be real and constructive; for without that education will be simply for chaos and destruction, something which we cannot cherish in these days of re-construction after the war, after that greater war that was fought between ourselves and the English people, who wanted to prolong their stay in India, not in our interest but in their own interest. That phase is over and with that the excitement of politics should also be over. If our youths do not concentrate upon their preparation for right living all our hopes of future will be broken. Hence the great emphasis on real and constructive education or study for future.

But this should never mean that our youths have not to take a living interest in day-to-day politics. If they don't take, who else will? They have to be aware of daily progress in politics. They have to move with times. But there is one thing. It is not necessary for them to belong to any political party. Their time is to be passed in dispassionate discussions so that they may have that preparation which they must have to be successful citizens of to-morrow. That is what I mean when I ask them not to take part in politics. Let our leaders think that our youths cannot forget their right of discussing things. And if they do so, if they desire them to do so, that is not in the interest of our country's march to greatness and power. You cannot think of book-worms suddenly switching on to the successful politics.

CONTINUOUS EDUCATION

Education is to be continuous. If our youths have to be activie politicians of future their present education should be such, political, cultural and social. I have added "cultural" and "social" because "political" should cover these aspects or man's growth as well. We want culture for ourselves. What is culture? It has to be perfection in all walks of life. Such a consummation we desire. Our political education (in fact, our education in general) should give us this culture. It must give us perfection in all activities of life. So our present education (I mean the education of our youths) has to be all-sided. It has to be political also. How can you, in all your wisdom, ask your students to desist from politics? Simply you cannot. And yet I say that our students have not to take part in politics. I should say "active politics" is not their sphere when they are in the process of disciplining themselves by their studies. When they are studying let them concentrate upon education. Education, to be complete, will not desist from politics. They will run over all aspects of life; they will cover them and prepare themselves for them. But they will have to remember one thing. And that is they have to be above politics. But in what sense? They have to discuss politics like pure students, not like politicians, who find nothing in common with virtue in themselves, who have some special party to serve. Such a thing is not to be allowed for our youths.

Our aim is fellowship and brotherhood. Let these youths, while under education

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formally, try to be above party-spirit and feeling. This they can do when they don't belong to any party. This is what we mean. And that way lies wisdom. That way our experience points. When they will grow up, grow up into full men and full women, active citizens, they will have those feelings of fellowship and brotherhood that we need so urgently if we want to build up our new Brave World of joy and comfort and power. Our hope of future is in youths. They alone can shape the future as we want it to be shaped. It is, therefore, so very necessary that they should be properly educated. They have to be properly educated and they have not to waste their precious time in politics for which they will have ample opportunities when they grow up.

STUDENTS—FUTURE POLITICIANS

One thing is very disappointing about us. We have had not great political thinkers, as they had and they have in the West. You might say that our long political slavery was the cause. I quite agree. But what provisions are you going to make for future in this respect? If you ask people to shun politics, if you ask our youths to shun politics, altogether, if you want to shut up all free thinking in India because India is free and is now governed by her own people, our future is dangerously dark. You seem to say that in a free country there is no scope for political parties. There is danger in this attitude. True, we have not to fight against any foreign foe. But what about our greatest enemy? That enemy of sloth and security, in the absence of active and critical attitude, is our greatest enemy. We have to fight against it. We have to fight against corrupting influence of power. And all this we can do, we can fight our battle successfully against these foes, if we are politically advanced and conscious. There is no wisdom in asking people to shun politics. Also there is no wisdom in asking our youths to shun real political study.

ON SOLVING UNEMPLOYMENT

BY MR. JAGATJYOTI PAL, B A.

OF all the assets of a country, the greatest asset is her man-power. Viewed from this point, China stands first, India second. And our poet has sung too, "No truth is higher than Man." But so far as India is concerned, her administrators cannot view this truth as an asset with equanimity, because they have to go to foreign countries with a begging bowl for maintaining this man power. This man power instead of becoming an asset has been a liability to the perplexed administrators. What's to be done in converting this liability into an asset? The processes which have brought about this present state of affairs are to be undone. How is a nation made or unmade? It is how its children are cared for. Whenever a new administrator addresses himself to the task of administration, he gives education an important place in the programme of his activities. The past administrators paid that much attention to education which served their purpose. If a Rabindranath, Gandhi or Raman has come out in the processes, it was due to the loopholes in their processes. Or, it may be said that India's genius flowered even in adverse circumstances.

The present administration has not given education the place it deserves, though it has appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Sir S. Radhakrishnan.* Its lack of interest is evident from its neglect of Primary Education which is the very basis of the whole edifice. What do we mean by unemployment? Is it absence of work or absence of income on the part of those who are termed "unemployed"? George Bernard Shaw has said that a man works

* The Commission has since published its report.

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more when unemployed than when employed, because during unemployment he has to think more. This statement will not be contradicted by those who are to eke out their own living and have passed through periods of 'unemployment' and 'employment.' So it is absence of income and not absence of work that is viewed as unemployment. I need not illustrate this point as everybody knows that a tourist without money is a vagabond and a vagabond with money is a tourist. A Philospher, Poet or Scientist without an income is a madman. Milton during his blindness consoled himself with saying

"His state is kingly.
They also work who only stand and wait."

Can we not view unemployment in the same strain? Also employment does not necessarily involve work. In peace time a good portion of the militia has no work.

To my mind, unemployment is closely associated with the machineries of distribution of a Nation's wealth. To find employment for all is not an easy task, nor a pleasant one. Industrialization of a country could not solve unemployment. U. K. and U. S. A., though highly industrialized, could not solve unemployment. The two countries *viz.*, Russia and Germany liquidated their unemployment by methods which are not approved of, in democratic countries. To solve unemployment is almost trying to reach Utopia. But what's to be done in the present context of India? To bring a change in the economy of India her industries are to be developed to the extent of twice the present outturn. Roughly we may say 70 per cent. of India's population is dependent on agriculture, 10 per cent. on Government service and 20 per cent. on commerce and Industries. We have to make 50 per cent. dependent on Agriculture to reach normality. That is we have to share 20 per cent. from Agriculture to Industry. That means we have to double the present scale of industrialization.

At present a tug of war is going on between the capitalists and the labour. Both are incriminating each other with "being less patriotic." The Government have to bring about a truce between the two parties. An adjudication board consisting of labour, capitalist and Government should be formed to assess wages in different categories of work. Success or failure of a country depends on the assessment of incomes, on the provision of security for all.

We have had long complaint against our foreign rulers in respect of their wages. But now though the administration has come to our hands we do not see any appreciable improvement in this respect. Should we not follow a ratio between per capita income and the salaries of Government servants that is being followed in advanced countries? Our Government have to place their workers under the same income group as the Government servants of other countries are placed in comparison with their respective per capita incomes. The remarkable disparity between the highest and the lowest income in India should be brought in a line with advanced countries. It is in removing the disparity, the solution lies.

From the activities of the capitalists of our country one may rightly conclude that they refuse to work, except for personal profit. It is a sorry picture of their mind. Men are imbued with instinct for work. A civilized Government's first duty is to nurture this instinct, regulate this instinct and direct it to useful activities which will add to the sum total of human happiness. If a man does not get scope for his activity, his energy is dissipated which means loss to the society.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

"THE INDIAN REVIEW," (12 as.), published by G. A. Natesan & Co. in Madras, contains a number of interesting articles. This *Review* is level-headed in its policy and provides a fine example of decorous constructive journalism. Its format is neat. . . . Readers who appreciate an unbiassed survey of the political panorama will find it in The Indian Review—*Illustrated Weekly of India.*

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

THE GETTYSBURG ORATION

Lincoln's Gettysburg Oration is still considered one of the greatest ever made by a statesman. The President rose to the full height of the occasion. when he gave utterance to words and sentiments unmatched for brevity and aptness. The occasion (Nov. 17, 1863) marking one of the most important victories of the American Civil War was in a way historic. The speech itself consists of no more than ten sentences and took barely five minutes to deliver. It sums up however in a few simple yet stirring words all the aims of liberty and equality for which the American peoples had fought. Here is the text.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

The words strike to our ears a solemn note befitting the greatness of the occasion and the man. Yet, strangely enough, contemporary reaction to the speech was by no means complimentary. It was definitely critical; nay even condemnatory When Lincoln sat down he remarked: "The speech is a flat failure."

Fancy THE CHICAGO TIMES *saying that Mr. Lincoln had foully traduced the men who died at Gettysburg!* THE HARRISBURG PATRIOT *said the meeting was arranged for the benefit of the President's political party and that it was going to pass over the silly remarks of the President; that for the credit of the nation the veil of oblivion should be dropped over them.* THE CHICAGO TIMES *inquired if Mr. Lincoln was less refined than a savage.* THE 'LONDON TIMES', *sagely opined that "anything more dull and commonplace it would not be easy to produce."*

The rest is history; more important to Lincoln than its inscription on a thousand monuments is its repetition by millions of school-children to-day.

. . . .

THE NEW JERUSALEM

Bring me my Bow of burning gold;
Bring me my Arrows of desire;
Bring me my Spear; O clouds unfold!
Bring me my chariot of fire,
I will not cease from Mental Fight,
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land,

—*William Blake.*

. . . .

THE RIGHT

I disagree with every word you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.

—*Voltaire.*

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"PROGRESS"

Who can sit by an English mainroad on a holiday, watching the endless caterpillar of motor cars wriggling past the petrol-pumps that suckle it—those nurseries of red and yellow Robots that beset with their garish arrogance mile after mile of English country —and pronounce with carefree confidence the name of "Progress"? What fills the minds of this triumphal procession of charioteers? Science has equipped each of them with a magic engine such as the kings of the past would have given provinces to possess. And now what use do they make of it? What go they out to see? Perhaps for a moment in that long array the dreaming eye may discern the spectre of a distant age—the Roman noble of Lucretius driving desperately down the Appian Way, from town to country and from country back to town again, tortured ten thousand years ago by the same feverish futility.

No easier nor no quicker passed
The impracticable hours.

—*F. L. Lucas.*

. . . . .

A LAMENT

"[*Verses written when G W. Steevens, "Daily Mail" correspondent, died at Ladysmith during the Boer War*]"

Brave heart, where you lie at rest
In the long beleagured town,
Do you hear the night wind lift the flag
Where the southern stars look down?

You have passed beyond the door
To which no key we find.
Do you look backward to the earth,
Or is it dark behind?

Where you lie in your grave, brave heart
Do you hear the war-drum beat?
Do you feel the throb of the trampled earth
To the tread of victorious feet?

The message goes from the hill,
And near and far is read
The living know it overseas,
—But who shall tell the dead?

WAR AND PEACE

Ruskin was an art critic and a man of peace. Strangely enough he held that all great art is the product of war and war—like nations, and peace so often proclaimed as necessary for any genuine creative work is in fact the grave of all arts. Addressing the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich in 1865 *John Ruskin.* said :*

It is very strange to me to discover this; and very dreadful--but I saw it to be quite an undeniable fact. The common notion that peace and the virtues of civil life flourished together, I found to be wholly untenable. Peace and the *vices* of civil life only flourish together. We talk of peace and learning, and of peace and plenty, and of peace and civilization; but I found that those were not the words which the Muse of History coupled together; that, on her lips, the words were peace, and sensuality--peace, and selfishness—peace, and death. I found in brief that all great nations learned their truth of word, and strength of thought, in war; that they were nourished in war, and wasted by peace; taught by war, and deceived by peace; trained by war and betrayed by peace;—in a word, that they were born in war, and expired in peace.

—(*The Crown of Wild Olive.*)

. . . . . .

EPITAPH

"Here lies one,
Who meant well,
Tried a little,
Failed much."

—*R. L. S.*

*Morley in his *Recollections* has a curious story about Ruskin. The latter used to attend Mr. Gladstone's break-fasts, and at one of them the host pronounced three grand things to be done to the ways of the world by mankind. First, the introduction of more lenient and humane practice with prisoners; second, a general sentiment against war; and third, the abolition of slaves. "Yes," said Ruskin in his mild tones "but then I don't think prisons ought to be made humane; and I am not against slavery; and I'm not against war." One wonders if it was merely the spirit or contradiction that urged him to this position of the duty of following his "great father Carlyle"!

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THE DREAM

The pictorial quality of some modern verse and the use of sharp contrast and anti climax are never more admirably revealed than in these verses of Wilfrid Gibson where in the poet dreaming beautiful dreams is suddenly awakened to the stark realities of every day life.

Snug in my easy chair,
I stirred the fire to flame,
Fantastically fair
The flickering fancies came,

Born of heart's desire—
Amber woodlands streaming;
Topaz islands dreaming;
Sunset cities gleaming,
Spire on burning spire;
Ruddy-windowed taverns;
Sunshine-spilling wines;
Crystal lighted caverns
Of Golconda's mines. . . . .

Till dazed by the drowzy glare,
I shut my eyes to heat and light,
And saw in sudden night,
Crouched in the dripping dark
With steaming shoulders stark,
The man who hews the coal to feed my fire.

—*Wilfrid Gibson.*

. . . . . .

THE PASTOR'S ELOQUENCE

"The pastor is the most eloquent speaker I have ever heard," said Mark Twain once after the service, "he painted such a tragic picture of the benighted Heathen that I was induced to offer one dollar for the study of gospel. The speaker went on and I was tempted to offer 5 dollars and then 10 dollars. I finally made up my mind to offer everything I had in my pocket—20 dollars. Later I thought of borrowing 20 dollars from a friend seated in the pen and offer them also. That was the time for collection.

The speaker proceeded on, interest flagged, I grew drowsy and when at a late hour the churchman woke me with a knock of the collection plate, I not only did not offer anything but stole 15 cents from the dish."

CARLYLE ON ROUSSEAU

Carlyle once attended a London dinner party, and for a time took no part in the conversation. A young Liberal was talking 'theory' with a fat Conservative who despised the youth and his ideas. "The British people, Sir," pompously declared the latter, "can afford to laugh at Theories." Then spoke Carlyle: "Sir, the French nobility of 100 years ago said they could afford to laugh at theories. Then came a man and wrote a book called "The social contract." The man was Jean Jacques Rousseau, and his book was a theory, nothing but a theory. The nobles could afford to laugh at his theory, but their skins went to bind the second edition of his book."

. . . . . .

HIGH AND LOW

That low man seeks a little thing to do.
Sees it and does it:
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.
That low man goes on adding one to one,
His hundred's soon hit:
This high man, aiming at a million
Misses an unit.

—*Browning.*

. . . . . .

ALL IS VANITY AND VEXATION OF SPIRIT

I made me great works, I builded me houses; I planted me vineyards; * * * *

I gathered me also silver and gold, and the peculiar treasure of kings and of the provinces. I got me men-singers and women-singers, and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments, and that of all sorts. * * * *

Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do: and, behold, all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun.

—*Ecclesiastes.*

. . . . . .

LIBERTY

The ends of liberty are the true ends of politics.

—*Lord Acton.*

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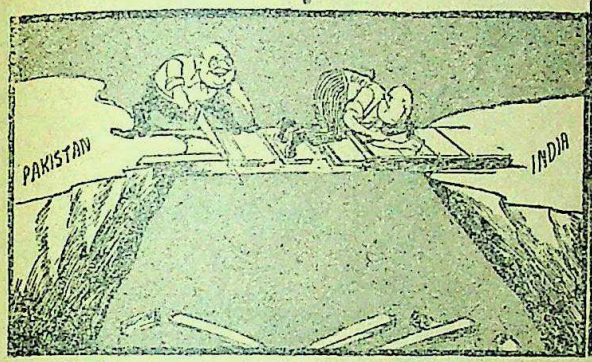
TOPICAL CARTOONS

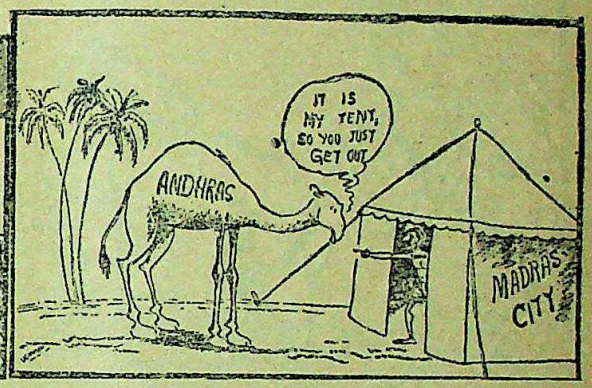
—:o:—

THE BRIDGE-MAKER'S ORDEAL



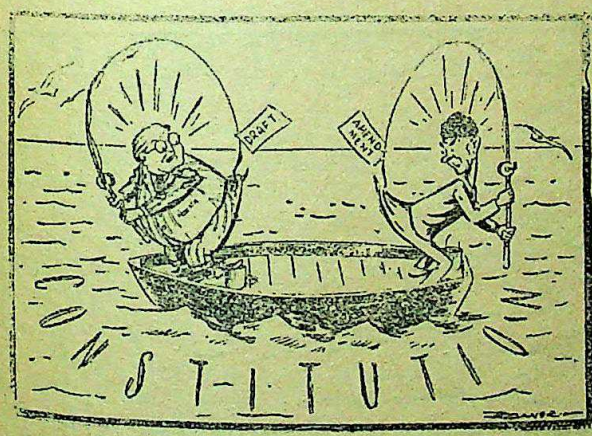
The U N C I P is making the fifth attempt for a truce in Kashmir.

AN UNTENABLE CLAIM



The claim of the Andhras to any part of the Madras City is preposterous and untenable, they are less than 20 per cent. of the city's population, says a statement of ten Madras members of the Constituent Assembly.

Courtesy : *The Leader.*



COMEDY ON THE HIGH SEAS

LINGO BY JINGO !

Courtesy ; *The Pioneer*

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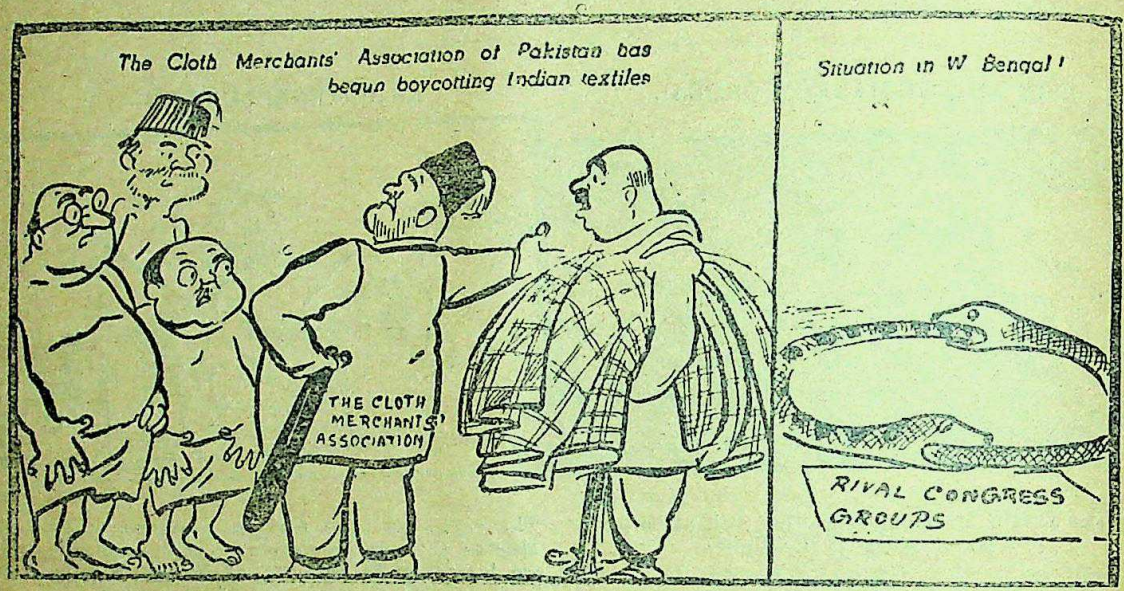
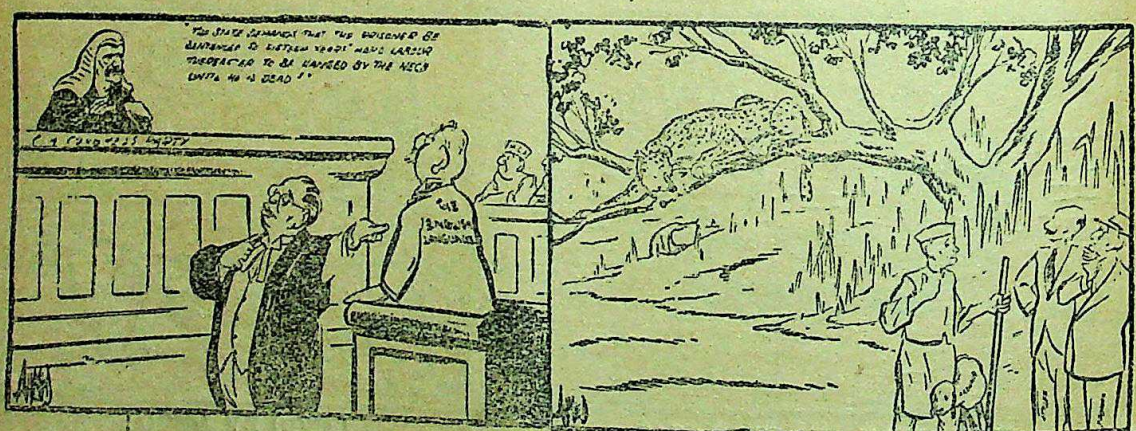


Courtesy : *Free India.*



THE OLD LAG !

"WHAT D'YOU EXPECT WITH THAT PROWLING AROUND !"

Courtesy : *The Hindustan Times.*

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Devaluation of Sterling and Rupee

FOR months past Britain has been faced with a financial crisis which no half-hearted or halting palliative could retrieve her from that plight. Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as all the world knows, was making herculean efforts to face up to the situation; and doubtless he came to the irresistible conclusion that unless something drastic and revolutionary was done, and done quickly, the situation would go out of hand. And now as a result of his talks at Washington the startling announcement of a drastic cut in the pound's value was made on Sept. 19—a cut which has well nigh amazed Wall Street and all the world. Sir Stafford had probably no alternative. "It was just one of those things which had to be done," said Prime Minister Attlee.

Britain has devalued the Sterling by 30·5 per cent to 2 Dollars 80 Cents instead of 4 Dollars 3 Cents. This had worldwide reaction resulting in the devalution of the Rupee in India, and also the currencies of South Africa, and Australia in the Commonwealth, and Denmark and Norway in Europe.

The new exchange rate of the Indian Rupee in relation to Dollar is 21 U. S. Cents, as announced by the International Monetary Fund.

This is the second time in eighteen years that Britain has had to devalue the pound sterling. Sir Stafford Cripps, said it was done to increase Britain's power to earn more dollars. "Our present Sterling-Dollar difficulties are otherwise insoluble", he added.

Pakistan, a member of the Commonwealth, whose economy is so closely linked with India, has, however, preferred to retain her old rates so as to be able to buy cheap and sell dear. She probably waited to see what India would do and then straightway did a different thing! Time will show how far she is wise in this, but it is clear that the drift between India and Pakistan is widening. For no doubt India will have to take appropriate action to protect her economic interests in a way that Pakistan may not like.

India's Reaction to the Devaluation

It is too soon to say how far India will be affected for good or ill by this change. Apart from immediate repercussions which may not signify anything in particular we must look at the matter from a long range perspective. Broadly speaking, as Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Director of the Reserve Bank of India, points out, the effect will be to make imports from U.S.A. more costly and exports to U.S.A. more advantageous. It is true that in future the export trade of India to Dollar countries such as America in goods such as jute and jute products, oil seeds, tanned and raw goat-skins for which commodities India has been a prominent supplier might receive a considerable fillip.

But at a time when food grains and capital goods like machinery have to be imported the advantage is more than offset by the drastic cut in the Rupee value. There is a feeling, however, that the forbidding price of foodstuffs may give a fillip to home production, which if realised, will be no small boon for a country greatly in need of self-sufficiency in the matter of food. As our contemporary, the *Hindu* observes:

> That the short-term consequences of devaluation of the rupee will be largely adverse it is easy to see. It will immediately raise the prices of American goods by 30½ per cent. Devaluation amounts, in fact, to the raising of the tariff on all American goods by 30½ per cent and unlike the tariff, where the Government can make a discrimination between essential and non-essential goods, devaluation will affect all goods equally. The prices of American machinery, equipment, spare parts, etc., will go up by a third and what this will mean to our present efforts to start new industries can be easily imagined. The position of those who have already placed orders in the United States on the basis of the old exchange rate must be safeguarded, as a sudden and wholly unexpected increase in their commitments might well be ruinous in the case of most concerns, especially the smaller ones. What effects devaluation will have on the Government's finances and development plans—food imports, to the extent they have to come from the dollar area, will cost more and the machinery, tractors, etc., which the Government are buying in the States will call for increased rupee outlay—remains to be seen. There is no certain prospect that the country will gain on the swings what she loses on the roundabouts.

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Sir Zafrullah at large

Readers in India may well wonder how a sedate Judge of the Federal Court in the late British regime, should have so far forgotten himself as to turn out a mere propagandist—and a propagandist of bad causes at that. At Lake Success Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, the Pak Foreign Minister evidently finds an audience courteous enough to listen to his tall stories against India and the ways of the Nehru Government. Some at least of those who attended the Press Conference would have done well to remind the Foreign Minister that much of what he regaled at a previous session of the U.N. was discovered by the Kashmir Commission to be no more than a tissue of falsehoods, though the Commission itself chose to use a mild term.* Was there none in that gathering of pressmen to tell him straight to his face that the erstwhile learned judge was not telling the truth when he disclaimed Pak participation in the Kashmir raids? At a later session the Foreign Minister owned Pak help to the raiders but he certainly knew—none better than he—that Pak troops were actually participating in the loot of the area devastated by the unholy alliance of Paks and tribesmen.

Now the strangest thing is the way the Commission chose to treat the marauders not as aggressors to be dealt with as such but as high contracting parties to an international dispute. The raiders who had originally no status and the abettors whose guilt is so openly admitted, are suddenly lifted to a plane of equal standing with those who preferred the charges that have since been proved to the hilt. This is what the Commission has done in its wisdom!

We all know the sort of propaganda that Pakistan is carrying on against India for foreign consumption, and the Prime Minister and Mr. Gopalaswami Iyengar and Sir B. N. Rau have done well to expose the stuff and lay bare the truth behind this campaign of calumny. It is right that the Zafrullah bubble should be pricked in time.

But if Sir Zafrullah should have his way there is no doubt the United Nations will have material enough for debate and discussion for endless time. Lest the U. N. should cease to function for want of occupation Sir Mahomed promises a heavy agenda that will feed the Assembly with work for many decades. The Kashmir issue will be followed by the affair of the Punjab canals, in turn to be quickly succeeded by the problem of Evacuee properties. Then Junagad will be resurrected and Hyderabad will not be forgotten. Thanks to Sir Mahomed Zafrullah, the U.N. will be fully employed.

The Pak Minister doesn't realise what a lack of self-reliance and shirking of responsibilities all this betokens. It is so easy to be mud-slinging your neighbour and throw the burden on the U. N. to save you from your own follies!

Not to be out-done by the Foreign Minister, the Finance Minister of Pakistan took up the thread and spun out such alarming yarns that it must have taxed the credulity of his audience considerably. Without mincing words he went so far as to say that India was arming against Pakistan! Those who know anything of Pakistan's so-called Defence allotment in the recent Budget and its ratio to the total income of Pakistan will be tempted to give a different version. However it is Pakistan's affair and we can afford to leave it at that. But Mr. Ghulam Mahomed's innuendo that some countries are attempting at the leadership of Asia, which Pakistan would not tolerate, would be treated as a piece of childish jealousy just as her opposition to India's election to the U. N. Council. Leadership is not a thing that can be easily claimed. It comes gracefully as a reward for work done and you cannot deny it where it is deserved. If India deserves it by virtue of her position and her efforts in the cause of peace and progress Pakistan can no more stop it than India herself can decline. We shall be equally pleased if Pakistan by her efforts in good causes, proves her capacity for leadership,

* The Commission in its report said that the fact that all forces fighting on the Azad side were under the overall command and the tactical direction of the Pakistan Army as admitted by the Pakistan Government, had "confronted the Commission with an unforeseen and entirely new situation."

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The National Language

At last the battle of the languages has ended peacefully and amicably and an agreed formula evolved which has set at rest all the passion and excitement which the controversy provoked even among the sanest of legislators in the Constituent Assembly. From the heat and dust that rose out of the debate many even felt that any solution—right or wrong—would be preferable to the tragic comedy of a Chamber at war with itself. For hours together angry and indignant speeches were made, charges and counter-charges bandied about and uproarious scenes enacted.

From the look of things an agreed solution was more remote than ever before, but an eleventh hour meeting of the Congress Party achieved what appeared to be rarely possible. The final adoption of the entire chapter providing for the replacement of English by Hindi marked the end of one of the most crowded days in the Constituent Assembly.

The House was in a jubilant mood, says the Delhi correspondent, when after a 45 minute recess it was informed that for the first 15 years the President would have power to allow use of the Hindi numerals along with the international form of numerals and that after that period the same power would be vested in the Parliament.

The survival of Hindi numerals was thus assured. At the same time the Hindi provinces have been given freedom to use Hindi in high courts as well as in legislatures even during the interim period of 15 years.

No wonder that the Sardar and the President have endorsed the decision with a sense of relief not unmingled with enthusiastic approbation.

Congratulating the House for adopting the article on the official language of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Constituent Assemby, paid a tribute to the way Hindi had developed in South India. This deserved congratulation, recognition and gratitude from the people of the North, he added.

Apartheid

Dr. Malan, the South African Premier, is determined to carry out his Fascist policy of racial segregation to the bitter end. In another page will be found his plea for *apartheid*, in the sense in which he wants his countrymen to follow the lead of his Government. Apart from Indian opinion, British and Liberal reaction to this crude form of racial superstition is pronounced. Dr. Malan says he is trying to save his country from communism. As a matter of fact he is actively playing into the hands of Moscow; that at any rate is the reading of the *News Chronicle* which says

> Dr. Malan seems bent on creating ruin in South Africa and calling it white supremacy.
>
> "He seems to be utterly blind to the political paradox of his two proposals. He is going to force every citizen to carry a document certifying his race. He is going to deprive coloured people of their votes in Cape Province. He is going to stop them mingling with white students in the universities.
>
> "He is going to do all that a man can do to push Indians and Africans into the Communist fold. Then he is going to fight the Communists.
>
> "There is no reason behind such a policy as this: only hatred and fear can spring. If ever there was a useless scrap of paper, it will be Dr. Malan's identity card, and if ever there was cause of rejoicing in Moscow it will be the speech in which he introduced it."

The Atomic Weapon

When a couple of years ago, Molotov hinted that Russia had perfected the Atomic weapon, Britain and America thought that it was another piece of Soviet bluff. On September. 23, Mr. Harry Truman, President of the United States announced that according to data of the Government of the U. S. A., during a recent week there had occurred in the U.S.S.R. an atomic explosion. Simultaneously a similar statement was made by the British and Canadian Governments.

The official Soviet News Agency, *Tass*, has since confirmed that Russia had an atomic weapon, and said it had had the secret since 1947. It said, however, that there were "not the slightest grounds for alarm," and that Russia still favoured prohibiting the use of the atomic bomb

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Foreign Press in India

So the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore has changed hands again—this time to American interests. It is further disclosed that this is only the beginning of a chain of newspapers in Eastern countries to be brought under American control. We are assured that the aim is to promote goodwill between U.S.A. and Asia. Thankful for such assurances and "the more extensive featuring of news from U.S.A." promised by the New York Corporation, we would rather like to be let alone. Now the Press is one of the essential services of the nation and more so of a nation in building. Except at its peril no country can afford to barter its essential services for any consideration—services like the police or the military. What is called "freedom of information" is not to be confused with Press control by a foreign agency. Half the trouble in the world and most of the wars and misunderstandings among the States arise out of wilful manouvering and propaganda. India has had enough of it under foreign domination. We cannot tolerate such interference in *Free* India.

Is not the Press, like broadcasting, one of the main instruments of popular Government? How then could the spokesmen of our Government be so complacent as to say that we should not get into a panic if some foreign papers are started in India? We are chary of allowing foreign businessmen and manufacturers to own their plants in India but we seem to be lukewarm when it comes to the Press—a much more important factor in the country. It is true the U. N. Assembly adopted a long draft convention making it easy for pressmen to gather news and transmit it from all countries without fear of censorship or other interference. But then they were sufficiently aware of the danger when they added:

"Nothing in the Convention shall limit the power of a contracting State to preserve to its nationals the right to establish and direct in its territory newspapers, periodicals, and radio broadcasting and television organisations."

This ought to dispose of any false notion that India or any other country has accepted the right of foreigners to own papers on their soil.

The Kashmir Failure

The full text of the correspondence between the United Nations Commission and the Government of India on the question of submitting the Truce Declaration in Kashmir to arbitration has been published in the papers. The Government of India's stand has been definite from the beginning. While India reiterates its acceptance of arbitration in principle, as one of the methods of achieving a peaceful solution of a dispute, she is convinced that the outstanding issue of the large-scale disbanding and disarming of the "Azad Kashmir" forces is not a matter for arbitration, but "of affirmative and immediate decision.

The Commission, in its previous negotiations, had committed itself to the large-scale disarmament and disbandment of the Azad Kashmir forces. This issue, the Government of India holds, is one which cannot be settled by arbitration.

Dutch-Indonesian Agreement

A wide measure of agreement on the statute for a Netherlands-Indonesian Union was reached at a meeting of the Steering Committee of the Round Table Conference on Indonesia. The main points of the agreement were:

(1) Position and function of the "head of the Union". (2) Duties and composition of "Conferences of Ministers", which are to be held regularly. (3) A court of arbitration for the Union. (4) Regular co-operation between the Parliaments of the Union partners.

It is expected that negotiations will proceed more rapidly, now that a politieal agreement—the hard core of which was the Netherlands-Indonesian Union—has been reached.

Cyrenaica

Cyrenaica, a fertile green strip on the North African Mediterranean coast which lies in the north-eastern corner of Libya which Britain administers as part of the former Italian Colony of Libya, took her second step on the road to independence with the issue of a British Proclamation on September 16 empowering its Chief, Emir Sayid Idris el Senussi, to enact a Constitution giving the country its own independent Government.

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De Valera on the Partition of Ireland

The partition of Ireland is the greatest question facing the Irish people to-day; the majority views that peace with Britain can never be an accomplished fact until it is settled. One of the chief fighters against a divided Ireland is Mr. Eamon de Valera. He has spent many years of his life trying to unite Belfast with Dublin. In a special article to the *Hindustan Times*, De Valera traces the history of the partition of his country and demands that it should come to an end.

To us in India who are also smarting under a similar tragedy of separation his words carry a special emphasis and poignancy. We were divided against our will. It is true we accepted the decision and are bound to abide by it until both parties come to an agreed understanding. But then it should not be forgotten that it was, in a way, forced on the leaders as the only alternative to perpetual serfdom. It is astonishing how we have reacted to this colossal wrong. But for the spirit of Gandhi that is still brooding over the hearts of our leaders the full fury of the country would have been turned against England and Englishmen who perpetrated this crime. There are still Indians who feel "God may forgive them but we will not."

Evacuee Property

Addressing the Conference on Evacuee Property which met at Delhi last month at the invitation of the Ministry of Evacution two Ministers of the Government of India, Mr. Gopalswaswami Ayyangar and Mr. Mohanlal Saksena, Minister for Rehabilitation charged the Pakistan Government with breaches of the Karachi Agreement.

Mr. Ayyangar described as the "biggest falsehood" Pakistan's accusation that in taking up the attitude it did at the last Inter-Dominion Conference at Karachi the Government of India had committed a breach of the January Agreement. "If there is any party which committed a breach of that Agreement," he said, "it is Pakistan, and instances are numerous in which Pakistan has not implemented that particular agreement in the spirit in which it was entered into."

Leftist Unity

The so-called Leftists do not seem to be united in anything except their common hatred of the Congress. They do not seem to be able to evolve a common plan or programme to take the place of the Congress. We are told that the proposals for Leftist unity have taken two definite alternative shapes. One is that all the Leftist parties, including the Socialist Party, should dissolve and form one party. Mr. Jaiprakash Narain suggested this course and offered to dissolve his own party if the other Leftist parties would do the same simultaneously. The reaction of this offer on other Leftist parties does not appear to be favourable. Sri Sarat Chandra Bose who has been taking a leading part in the projected unity, recognises the importance of having only one party, but says that this is not "practical politics" at the present moment. He hopes that after working together for some time the parties would agree to merge, having realised the importance of closer unity. It was therefore, proposed to constitute a Co-ordination Committee of all the Leftist parties on the basis of a common policy and programme. Here, again, the parties concerned are not agreed. Mr. Narain suggests that the Co-ordination Committee thus constituted should confine its function to the purposes of the general election only if one is held in West Bengal or in any other province. The opposite view is that the Co-ordination Committee should be a permanent body and exercise its function for all purposes. One does not know if these differences can be ironed out. For the present they seem to be unbridgeable. It is something that Mr. Jai Prakash has realised at last that a loose consolidation of Leftist parties and groups, having anti-Congressism as the only platform, would not achieve anything positive, but would ultimately result in complete disillusionment with the Left.

LAW OF GRAVITY

Boy: What keeps us from falling off the earth even when we are upside down.

Teacher: Law of gravity.

Boy: But how did people stay on before the law was passed.

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

MAHATHMA GANDHI. Essays and Reflections on his life and work. Revised Edition with a new Memorial Section Edited by Radhakrishnan. Pp. 557s. Price 15s. net. Publication by George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

The present book is a revised edition of a commemoration volume presented to Gandhiji on his 70th Birthday in 1939. The original volume consisted of contributions from well known world personalities among whom are Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Horace Alexander, C. F. Andrews, Earnest Baker, Lawrence Binyon, Pearl Buck, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Albert Einstein, J. H. Holmes; Lawrence Houseman; C. E. M. Joad; Barreidale Keith, Kyeserling; George Lansbury; Gilbert Murray, Yone Noguchi; Rajendra Prasad, Romain Rolland, Lord Samuel, Lord Sankey, General Smuts, Rabindranath Tagore, Edward Thomson, Sir Francis Younghusband etc. etc.,

The second edition now offered has been brought out after the Mahatma's assassination and so a memorial section has been very appropriately added. When the memorial section came to be published many of the great ones who had contributed to the 1939 volume had passed away but on account of the great changes of 1946 and 1947 the Mahatma had attracted many new admirers even from among old political opponents. Thus the memorial section contains contributions not only from persons like Radhakrishnan, Vere Brittani, Gaze Catlin, G. D. M. Cole, Jawaharlal Nehru etc., but also from persons like Lord Halifax in the main section and people like L. S. Amery, M. S. Suhrawardy and the like.

The second section is provided with two appendices, the first one being extracts from some of the well known speeches and writings of Gandhiji while the second is a compilation of important ones from the countless messages received on the death of Gandhiji.

The book will be a proud possession in the hands, not only of every Indian but every thinking man in the world who respects the nobler things in life. It shows how in spite of the devouring march of hatred over love, of war over peace and untruths over truth, the world always seeks and respects the one who has the courage to resort to eternal truths.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE U.S.A. Pasupaleti Gopalakrishnayya. New York, 1949, An Orient and World publication. Price $ 1.

This booklet is a collection of the messages given by well known persons and institutions on the demise of Gandhiji. The messages include many from Washington notables, Governors, well known newspapers and periodicals and public men. The little volume provides a cross-section of American homage to the Mahatma.

SECRETARIAL PRACTICE by Prof. S. A. Sherlekar, Padmaja Publications, Baroda. Pp. 232, price Rs. 4.

This book should be useful for students preparing for the Diploma in Secretarial Practice. It gives full information about company, shares, management, meetings, proceedings, borrowing power, correspondence, and the winding up of companies. Table A of the first schedule of the Companies Act should have been fully included. With a little more care the book could have been free of printing errors.

THE TEACHING OF CIVICS by L. B. Harolikar, Padma Publications, Bombay, Pp. 142 price. Re. 1-12 as.

This is rather an abstract treatment of the subject, referring to the way in which the mind of the student may be developed from stage to stage so that it may imbibe the civic sense. The choosing of the actual material of teaching is left to the resources of the teacher. The subject cannot receive too much attention in independent India.

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IN THE GREEN TREE by Alun Lewis, with a Preface by A. L. Rowse, a postscript by Gwyn Jones, a sonnet by Vernon Watkins, and drawings by John Petts, George Allen & Unwin., Ltd., Pp. 141, price. 8s. 6d. net.

This is a collection of letters and short stories by a Welsh officer in India during the last war. He was only twenty-eight when he died in 1944, and he had produced before then a surprising quantity of excellent literary work. The beautiful delicate, character of Alun Lewis, peeps out in his work. Though there is very little of India in the letters written from that country his sensitive nature is unmistakable. He would have felt happy if the relations between India and England had been friendly. Unluckily, he is not alive after August 1947 !

MALAVIYAJI. An outline life by B. J. Akkad B.A., S.T.C. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, 2. Price Rs. 1-4-0.

While there are a number of accounts dealing with the lives of the great limelight personalities like Gandhiji and Nehru it is a defect of our political life that authoritative accounts of great personalities like Malaviyaji who belonged to the class of founders of the new India are not readily available. Therefore this little volume of sixty pages is to be welcomed. The pages contain a representative bird's eye view of the great man's life. There are accounts of biographical and political incidents as well as references to the work of the great man in the legislature, the platform in the educational, religious and cultural fields. The book will prove to be of great inspiration to all, particularly to the younger generation to whom Malaviyaji will be only a name.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE DIVINE LIGHT. Extracted from Shrimad Maha—Bhagvat. Ed. with a translation into English. By D. A. Gangolli, Bombay Medical Service, Popular Book Depot. Bombay.

LEST I FORGET. Experiences of a newspaper man, By K. D. Umrigar. The Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. By G. S. Bhartiya. Navprabhat Prakashan Mandir, Kymore, C. P.

WORLD PEACE. By Swami Madhavtirtha, Sandesh Karyalaya. Gree Kanta Road, Ahmedabad.

DIET AND DIET REFORM. By M. K. Gandhi. Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

MIGRATION FOR EMPLOYMENT (32nd Session, Geneva) Report XI (1) and (2) International Labour Office Geneva.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL (32nd Session 1949) International Labour Office, Geneva.

A BAHAI'S DECLARATION OF HUMAN OBLIGATIONS & RIGHTS. Presented to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. February 1947, Bahai Public Relations, Post Box 19, New Delhi.

INSURANCE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE. By R. S. Sharma, M.com., L.L B., Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd. Bombay 2.

THE ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By M. Hiriyanna, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

CHARLES FREER ANDREWS : A Narrative by Benarsidas Chaturvedi aud Marjori Sykes. With a Foreword by M. K. Gandhi, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM. (Report) U.S.I.S., Madras.

FOR THINKERS ON EDUCATION. By Swami Ramakrishnananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore.

WHO SHALL LEAD US NOW ? By Vithaldas Bodani, Pradyumna Nagar, Rajkot.

ZINDAGI. (English Short Stories.) By M. R. Ahmad, Madina Printing Press, Ganpat Road, Lahore.

MINIMUM WAGE FIXING MACHINARY IN AGRICULTURE. Report VII, International Labour Office, Geneva.

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY IN AGRICULTURE. Report VIII (1) International Labour Office, Geneva.

HINDU CODE BILL (1) Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava (2) Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad in the Indian Parliament. All-India Anti Hindu Code Committee, Krishna Niketan, Delhi Gate, Delhi.

HINDU CODE BILL (criticised in the C. A.) By Pandit Lakshmikanta Maitra. Published by Ghanshyamdas Jalan, Gorakpur.

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE. By Richard B. Gregg, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

OUR COUNTRY : ITS WEALTH AND POPULATION. By Barkar Rao Vidwans and Rasiklal Parikh. Vora & Co., Publishers, Bombay.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By S. N. Das Gupta, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

THE BLADE : Life and work of Brahmabandhab Upadhyay. By B. Animananda Roy and Son 79/25 D. Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

COMMUNAL UNITY. By M. K. Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

—:o:—

Sept. 1. Admiral Nimitz proposes U. N. Arbitraton for Kashmir.

Sept. 2. Dr. B. C. Roy, Premier of West Bengal, returns to India.

—Centre gives directive to Provinces to reduce expenditure.

Sept. 3. Greater Rajasthan High Court inaugurated at Jaipur.

Sept. 4. Cultural Mission to East Africa returns to India.

—Government freezes sugar.

Sept. 5. Indo-Australian Trade agreement signed at Canberra.

Sept. 6. Communists attack Hankow-Canton Railway.

Sept. 7. Madras Government takes over 33 Zamins.

—U. N. C. I. P. releases letters with India and Pakistan.

Sept. 8. India rejects arbitration plan for Kashmir.

—Russia using the veto for 31st time bars Nepal's admission to U. N.

Sept. 9. Pakistan accepts arbitration on Kashmir issue.

Sept. 10. Yunnan Governor pledges loyalty to nationalists, following Chiang's talks with Governor Lu.

Sept. 11. Hindu Mahasabha decides to contest the Bengal Elections.

Sept. 12. Administration of Cooch Behar taken over by India Government.

Sept. 13. U. S. Senate approves Gandhi Memorial to be erected in five years.

Sept. 14. Consambly decides Hindi to be State language with retention of English for 15 years.

Sept. 15. Mr. P. Tandan resigns from Assembly party.

—Consambly passes article on jurisdiction of Supreme Court.

Sept. 16. Tamil M. C. A.'s present Memorandum to Prime Minister opposing Andhra claim to Madras.

Sept. 17. English or Hindi allowed as language in Parliament.

—Sterling devalued by 30.5 per cent.

Sept. 18. Advisor regime proposed for West Punjab.

Sept. 19. Consambly adjourns to meet on October 6.

—Banks and Exchanges closed for three days from today.

Sept. 20. Pandit Nehru explains Government's decision on devaluation.

Sept. 21. Pakistan not to devalue her rupee.

—Mao proclaims People's Republic of China.

Sept. 22. Maj. Gen. Atma Singh killed in jeep accident near Srinagar.

Sept. 23. Military Government ends in W. Germany.

—M. Vyshinsky calls on U. N. to ban Atomic weapons while U. S. President discloses recent atom explosion in Russia!

Sept. 24. Nehru reiterates offer to Pakistan for joint declaration.

Sept. 25. "Tass" confirms report of atomic explosion in Russia.

—Kashmir Commission explains its findings.

Sept. 26. Kashmir National Conference urges withdrawal of case from U. N.

—Communist party in Madras declared illegal.

Sept. 27. Delhi talks on Export-Import policy conclude.

Sept. 28. President Truman signs Bill to create Gandhi memorial in Washington.

—Govt. Motion on Devaluation policy defeated in the Lords by 93 votes to 24.

Sept. 29. Vote of confidence in Govt's devealuation policy passed in the Commons by 342 to 5.

—Tory censure motion defeated by 350 votes to 212.

Sept. 30. Kashmir Govt. release correspondence charging Gen. Delvoie of the U. N. Commission with breach of privilege in respect of transport of jewels to Pakistan without Govt's knowledge.

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

THE JUDICIARY IN A FREE DEMOCRATIC STATE

Writing on the Judiciary in Free India, the Hon. Mr. H. V. Divatia, Chief Justice of the High Court of Saurashtra at Rajkot, says in the *Aryan Path* for July that

the independence of the judiciary requires to be preserved in a more vigilant manner in a republic than in a constitutional monarchy. The King is generally above party politics while, in the case of a republic, the President is a party man and when he becomes the head of the State there is great danger of the interests of the judiciary being subordinated, as has happened in the United States, where the President is the head of the Executive also. In order to guard against this result, it is necessary that the fundamental rights of the subject should be safeguarded in the Constitution, and that the Supreme Court of the judiciary should be empowered to adjudicate on these rights.

A democracy without an enlightened democratic spirit in the people is apt to degenerate into totalitarianism.

We have seen what has happened in Italy, Germany and Russia. A democracy which is run on the elective method in all departments of administration does not promote that impartial and independent outlook which is of the essence of a sound judiciary. The judiciary has to deal with disputes not merely between subjects and subjects, but also between subjects and the State. This is the greatest danger of a democracy, especially in its formative stages. There is a tendency for a weak democracy to assume the form of State Socialism which, if not checked by enlightened public opinion, is likely to develop into a totalitarian Government.

So far as the judiciary is concerned, it should be left free from the turmoil of party polemics and power politics.

Its supreme function, *viz.*, to protect the people from the excesses of the executive can be discharged effectively only if it is kept above political pressure, and occasional pin pricks from executive authority. The recruitment, promotion and transfer of judges and magistrates should be left with the High Courts under the supervision of the Supreme Court only, and the Judges of the High Court and the Supreme Court should be appointed by the President of the Republic on the advice of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Any violation of the fundamental rights of the people as embodied in the Constitution should be adjudicated upon by the Supreme Court.

The highest judicial tribunal of the country should, therefore, be not only the highest law-administering authority, but also the Constitutional rights-preserving authority in the country, to be invoked by due process of law.

When all is said, the success of the judiciary in discharging its functions effectively and maintaining its prestige among the people depends largely on its personnel. A democratic country should produce men who are not only learned in law but also possessed of sound common-sense and moral integrity.

Very often the public blames the judges for decisions which are correct on the law as it stands but the law is either harsh or queer. The Legislature makes laws which may be good, bad, sometimes stupid, and judges have to take the law as it is. But a good judiciary can give a lead to the Legislature in many respects by commenting on the law while administering it. In a new democracy, its elected representatives in the Legislature are prone to sanction all sorts of legal enactments in a spirit of excessive zeal for the public welfare. The Courts have to respect the law whether they like it or not, but they can indirectly help the public by exposing its defects and suggesting improvements. After all, the judiciary in a free State is also one of the voices—quiet yet considerate—through which the Demos speaks.

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THE SUN'S ENERGY

Every second the sun sends out five million tons of energy! How long can the sun afford to spend its energy on such a lavish scale?

This and other absorbing questions about the sun, the giver of life, were answered by Dr. Cecilia Payne Gaposchkin, astronomer of Harvard College Observatory, in a lecture. Below are a few excerpts as reported in *Science Digest*:

"If we were to receive from the sun one-half of the current energy supply, the average temperature of the earth would fall lower than ten degrees below zero; if twice as much energy came from the sun, the earth's temperature would average 180 degrees. Life would obviously be uncomfortable, and probably impossible, under such conditions. But the sun's temperature would have to fall or rise only ten per cent. to produce them, and an interval of only a few months would be enough to extinguish life on our terms.

Actually the heat and light that we receive are extraordinarily steady. A lifetime of measurements made at the Smithsonian Institution with the most accurate instruments that can be devised has shown that the changes in the sun's radiation during the interval have been exceedingly small. Some part of the variation is certainly a result of changes in the transparency of the air, by dust and other things: and the doctors are still disagreeing about the significance, and even the reality, of the remaining changes.

A lifetime of research is, however, a mere twinkling of an eye in the life of our planet. Paleontology carries back the unbroken record of a procession of living things, the surface of the earth must have been under much the same conditions as exist today. Twice the energy from the sun, or half the energy, and the fossil record would have been interrupted, or could never have begun at all. The evidence of the rocks assures us that the sun has been shining, with nearly the same light as today, for tens of millions, probably hundreds of millions, of years.

The sun pours out an incredibly large amount of energy. The earth is receiving about two horsepower per square meter (1.196 sq. yds.). Oddly enough despite the resources of modern science, we make very little direct use of this huge supply of energy, but leave it to the plants and the clouds and the rivers to convert it to our purposes. The earth only uses what hits it, and the earth is a very tiny target —the rest streams off into space in all directions.

In every second the sun loses five million tons of energy in the form of heat and light. Perhaps it may seem odd to hear heat and light thus measured, but a pound of heat is just as definite a quantity as a pound of rock. To give you an idea of the amount of energy contained in a pound of heat I will say that it would be great enough to change 20 million tons of rock into liquid, incandescent lava.

PURITY IN PUBLIC LIFE

In the course of an open letter to the members of the public services, exhorting them to strive for and set up higher standards of purity Mr. K. G. Mashruwala writes in *Harijan*:

"Unless you improve, you cannot make the people happy and an unhappy people will not spare you when your oppression becomes unbearable. Remember that when everything is ready for taking fire, a little spark is quite sufficient to see it.

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You stand between the government and the people. The government is judged through you and succeeds or fails through you. People necessarily assume that the government controls you fully, and so if your administration is unsatisfactory, they justifiably blame the government for your defects. If the Congress appears to control the government, every corruption in you is necessarily transferred to the Congress. Of course, you will be able to say, and justifiably so, that there is corruption in Congressmen themselves, and you are not the only offenders. For that, if the Congress does not improve, it might have to pay by walking out of the government when its time is ripe.

But the consequences of the present demoralization and corruption will not stop by the dismissal of the Congress government. They are bound also to react on your heads. Except in case a second Gandhi rises to lead the nation to ways of non-violent resistance, a semi-awakened humanity reacts against oppression in only one way, namely by a re-enactment of the scenes of the French revolution. France is a small country compared to ours. We are bigger than about half a dozen Frances put together. Our tragedies will be far greater than those of any other country except China. We had a foretaste of it during the Killings of 1946-47. Do you wish these to repeat themselves ?

STRANGE

A Lawyer named Strange lay dying. A friend asked him what he would like inscribed on his tombstone.

"Just put 'Here Lies an Honest Lawyer,'" he said.

"But," said the friend, "that doesn't tell who it is."

"Oh, yes," replied the lawyer, "many a passer-by will say : 'That's Strange.'"

USE OF SPIRITUAL FORCE

Under the heading "An hour with Sri Aurobindo," the eighth annual number of the "*Aurobindo Padamandir*" publishes for the first time an interview which an inmate of the Ashram, Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, had with the "seer-philosopher" six years ago, on February 4, 1943, on the prospects of his coming out of seclusion.

Dealing with Spiritual Force, Sri Aurobindo said : "Spiritual force has its own concreteness. It can take a form—like a stream for instance—of which one is aware and can send quite concretely on whatever object one chooses. This is a statement of fact about the power inherent in spiritual consciousness. But there is also such a thing as a willed use of any subtle force—it may be spiritual, mental or vital—to secure a particular result at some point in the world. Just as there are waves of unseen physical forces (cosmic waves, etc.) or currents of electricity, so there are mind-waves, thought-currents, waves, of emotion—for example, anger, sorrow—which go out and affect others without their knowing whence they come or that they come at all. They only feel them coming and invading them. Influences, good or bad, may propagate themselves in that way. That can happen without intention and naturally, but deliberate use can also be made of them. There can also be a purposeful generation of force, spiritual or other. There can be, too, the use of the effective will or idea, acting directly without the aid of anything concrete in that sense, but all the same effective. These things are not imagination or delusion or humbug, but true phenomena."

"Yesterday Biren asked me to marry him and make him the happiest man in the world."

"Which have you decided to" ?

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GOVERNMENT BY FEAR

In the series of articles on "Empire in Africa" appearing in the *Manchester Guardian* Mr. J. H. Huizinga points out that it is fear that is driving the whites to their desperate stand. Fear, he says, is the real ruler of this unhappy land, the fear of a hereditary ruling class which sees itself threatened by the rise of the masses, identifies its survival with that of the nation as a whole, and seeks its self-preservation in a policy of repression that in its heart of hearts it knows is powerless to stem the tide.

It is this fear, he continues, which has driven South Africa ever farther to the Right while the rest of the human family to which it belongs—that is to say, the Western world—has continuously moved to the Left. "During forty years in which the political emancipation of the masses all over the world, and regardless of their colour, has progressed by leaps and bounds, the black people of South Africa have seen their civil liberties and political rights steadily reduced. Throughout the rest of Africa the native populations, some of which have only enjoyed the benefits of European schooling for half a century, are taking an increasing part in government. In the Union, where they have had no less than three centuries of European example to guide them and where they have known, moreover, because of the much larger numbers of Europeans in their midst, a much more intensive contact with Western civilisation, the process of progressive disenfranchisement has now reached the point where they are very nearly voiceless in the councils of the nation."

Thus the South African Dominion is moving in the opposite direction to that of the Commonwealth of which it forms part and whose democratic principles it professes. Thus Dr. Malan's policy of "Apartheid" for the non-Europeans, which is only the Dutch word for Field Marshal Smuts's policy of "segregation," which in turn is only a pretty word for repression, is achieving a position of "Apartheid," in the literal sense of isolation, for the nation as a whole.

IN DEFENCE OF LIBERALISM

Dr. Gilbert Murray, speaking the other day on the meaning of liberalism and its relation to liberty, reminded us that the spread of liberalism is, in the long run, the real defeater of tyranny." "Inevitably so" says Rose Macaulay in *Time and Tide* 'since no other mode of thought in history has stood for tolerance and for general freedom. Many, of course, have stood for freedom for themselves and their own group or party; but how seldom have they demanded freedom (whatever that difficult word may mean) for everyone?

It may be assumed that the passion for personal liberty is primeval; it has its roots in the most primitive human and animal nature. Freedom has been the eternal quest. Milton thought that "none can love freedom heartily but good men," but bad men love it just as heartily, for themselves."

The only weapon against tyranny that cannot be perverted, she says, is true liberalism, since tolerance is of its very nature; directly it becomes intolerant, it is no longer liberalism. "It is in the spread of real liberalism over the world that the only hope seems to lie. It is a late growth in history, this tolerance, this realisation of the human right to differ. Perhaps it is too late, too rare, too frail and civilised a plant to defeat

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the poison-weed. But it seems we all have to fight it with.

Against actual aggression, liberalism is, of course, useless; it is in counteracting the poison that corrupts the field of conflict before aggression blows it up that its work lies. It is a liberalism that has nothing to do with party politics or slogans.

We are faced to-day with tyranny firmly established over much of the world, and with the possibility of the conquest by force of the rest of it, and our intellectual and spiritual weapon against the weapon of the tyrant is this struggling, emergent, civilising spirit, of Liberalism which has to run a race against time. Can it win, in the brief time left?"

THE MIRROR

It is a pleasure to handle a magazine like the *Mirror* the Monthly international Review issued by the Central Office of Information, London. The current issue fully sustains its reputation for variety and interest, both in its articles and its illustrations. Attractive in size and format it presents to its readers illustrated articles and essays reflecting the best in current western thought on important political, scientific social and economic problems. In the issue before us we have a wealth of reading matter culled from leading international sources. We may draw special attention to the lively portrait of Marshal Sir William Skim by Frank Owen and Megan Lloyd George's fine tribute to women as Legislators. Altogether we have a pocketful of wisdom and entertainment in this handy and well got up booklet.

SCOTCH VACATIONS

Two men were talking and one said, "Did you take a vacation?"

"Yes," answered the other, "a Scotch vacation—I stayed at home and let mind wander."

PUBLIC OPINION POLL ON HOME LIFE

News Review has an interesting article on Home Life culled from the French Press. Fortified by the authority of a public poll, the article is of interest to a wider circle of readers than those familiar with the French language.

Should a husband have a secret girl friend? And conversely should a wife have a clandestine boy friend?

These were two of the twelve questions put by the Paris newspaper *France Soir* to its readers in a public opinion poll.

"Though 172,743 women firmly answered "no," no fewer than 75,100 said they had no objection to their husbands having a bit of fun on the side,

Similarly, 195,345 husbands took the straight and narrow view about their wives, but 48,000 were all for freedom in such matters."

Here are the other questions and the answers:

"What are the principal qualities you look for in a husband: energy, strength: intelligence, thrift, goodness, honesty, love, sobriety, virility?

Intelligence topped the answers, with 28·54 per cent of votes. Next came energy (23,60 per cent), Fidelity was a poor third with 8·32 per cent, while virility scored only 2·89 per cent and strength a mere 1.01 per cent.

What is the worst fault a man can possess? To this one, 39·39 per cent answered, Intoxication, Laziness came next, with 29·19 per cent. Only 1.90 per cent voted for impotence, 0·94 percent for frivolity, and 0·20 per cent for ugliness.

Given all the essential qualities, would you care whether he was handsome or ugly? "Yes," answered 71·49 per cent.

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THE IMPROVING WORLD

Sidney A. Cook writing in the "Watch tower" comments in the current issue of the *Theosophist*, discusses the credit and debit side of our progress through the centuries.

Opponents of evolution point to two world wars within the century, to the cruelty of concentration camps, the competition encountered by retiring soldiers who fought for a better way of life, the fatalistic attitude of modern youth and its supposed lack of initiative, the break-up of family life, the demands of labour for more and more for less and less, etc. So runs the argument Wars, they say, are more extensive; more devastatingly costly and increasingly destructive of life and property than ever before. The organized coldblooded killing, not in battle, but in concentration camps, surpassed any previous human devilment. Youth has less opportunity and therefore less initiative under the competitive conditions and restrictions of modern industrialism. The world and mankind are hard, cruel and selfish as never before. So it seems to some.

But what are the facts supporting the evolutionary theory? Never has the social conscience of man achieved so high a standard.

Wars for conquest alone are condemned by all, whereas at one stage of history they constituted the generally accepted procedure of powerful tribes and nations. The cruelty of the camps strikes horror to all mankind. No longer are prisoners fed to lions. There are conventions observed by most, regarding the treatment of military prisoners. Pestilence is fought, and starvation and disaster relieved regardless of intervening borders. Poverty is a human problem now, not an accepted state. The League of Nations was a response to consciousness of the error of war. Though unsuccessful, the nations are attempting again to solve their mutual problems and national antagonisms.

Innumerable and manifest on every thing hard are signs of mankind's awakened social conscience, his interdependence and mutual helpfulness. The advance is general on a very broad front.

The fact is that humanity as a whole is on the march.

In the past its advance found an occasional champion, who in the field of thought or action gave himself and often his life, for progress and decency. Gradully these desperate causes, sustained by vanguard action, have become full battlefronts for freedom and right, and now nations and groups of nations stand for principles for which the few once stood apart. A paragraph in a recent economic bulletin recognizes the movement in this question:

Could it be that, in the inscrutable workings of Providence, the general world situation at long last now is such, that His ageless, indefatigable searching is meeting an epochal human response?

Though much remains, and these are days of travail, evil is being overcome. Humanity moves on an evolutionary, an upward way.

GANDHI MEMORIAL IN EGYPT

A suggestions that Egypt should take immediate steps for the commemoration of Mahatma Gandhi, was made editorially by "*Al Misri*" of Cairo, the largest circulated Arab newspaper.

"As a token of recognition by the civilised world of the great man's spiritual message, which conquered a great empire through fasting and civil disobedience, America is now installing two memorials for Gandhi," the paper adds. In London a hall is reserved for prayers for the peace of Gandhi's soul. The same spirit also animates the Asian countries where societies are established for the purpose.

"But Egypt, which, as India's sister in her struggle for liberty and independence should have been the first to commemorate the great leader, unfortunately gives no attention to such an act of courtesy towards India and has thus allowed Americans and other peoples to precede her in that field."

IRRIGATED AREA IN INDIA

The current issue of *Foreign Commerce*, publication of the United States Department of Commerce, carries a story of the Government of India's efforts to utilize the country's potential hydro-electric capacities.

The publication says that India to-day is irrigating 70,000,000 acres, which is nearly equal to the combined irrigated area in all other countries of the world. With cheap power generated from water, the report says, India may be able to look forward to immense industrial and agricultural development.

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

ENFORCEMENT OF RACIAL SEGREGATION

Dr. Daniel Malan, South Africa's Prime Minister, announced on September 6, that "to protect the European race" every citizen in the Union would have to carry an identity card classifying him as European, "native", "coloured" or "Indian."

He told the Transvaal Congress of the Nationalist Party that his Party was determined to enforce *apartheid* (racial segregation).

The Government also planned at least to create machinery in the next session of Parliament to make it possible to enforce *apartheid* in living areas.

As it had abolished the representation of Indians in Parliament, the Government was now resolved to abolish the direct vote of coloured people in Cape Province.

Referring to plans to fight the Communist menace, he said South Africa would maintain contact with all other anti-Communist countries of the world. He was of the opinion that non-Europeans in the Union were a fruitful field for Communist propaganda, and Russia as she had done in other parts of the world, might call for their support.

DR. DADOO'S APPEAL TO MR. NEHRU

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, South African Indian leader, appealed to the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to "treat the South African issue as a question of major importance." Dr. Dadoo, who was addressing a Press Conference in Bombay on Sept. 9, referred to the serious implications of the situation in South Africa as indicated by the speech of Dr. Malan, South African Prime Minister.

"The South African issue," Dr. Dadoo said, "no longer remains merely a question of racialism but presents a live danger to the very existence of the suppressed nationalities of South Africa, an affront to Asia's honour and a real threat to the people of the world."

In an "urgent appeal" to the Prime Minister, Dr. Dadoo outlined the following measures and suggested their adoption.

Firstly, to instruct the Indian delegation at the United Nations to raise the South African issue on the Assembly's agenda as a question meriting priority and calling upon the U. N. Assembly for drastic sanctions against South Africa. The question whether such a resolution will receive the necessary majority or not should not be allowed to influence the demand for timely action, and

Secondly, to make the South African issue a matter of first class Commonwealth importance on the basis of racial discrimination in South Africa and the exploitation of the peoples of the colonial territories.

Dr. Dadoo said:

Commonwealth ties and the support of Britain and the White Dominions give added strength to the Malan Government in the prosecution of its nefarious policy. These powers have been in the main responsible for rendering all United Nations decisions on the South African and South-West African issues ineffective. The British Government's policy in the British Protectorates in the Union of South Africa and in the neighbouring colonial territories, is one of acquiescing in the racial and reactionary demands of the South African Government.

Dr. Dadoo added:

For the sake of retaining the adherence of South Africa to the Commonwealth, the British Government is prepared to accept the extension of racialist policies of the Union to the Protectorates and beyond. In fact, the British Government is already paving the way for handing over the Protectorates to the Union Government, irrespective of the wishes of the inhabitants.

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Malaya

INDIANS EJECTED FROM MALAYA

Between May and September of this year, 25 persons who came out to Malaya from Indian Ports were sent back to India on the ground that they were not persons with means of livelihood, although they possessed valid travel documents.

This action was taken by the Malayan Authorities under the Passengers' Restrictions Ordinance.

Objection was taken by the Malayan Authorities to the entry of about 180 Indians during this period, but on guarantees being furnished by their friends over 150 of them were permitted entry. 25 were sent back to India.

The Government of India's representative in Malaya has played an important part in getting matters smoothened for these Indians.

DETENTIONS IN MALAYA

Two hundred and thirty Indians are included among the 6,203 persons who have been detained in Malaya under the Emergency Regulations in force in connection with the Communist bandit situation.

These figures are for the Federation of Malaya, and figures for Singapore are not included in them. The statistics, as at the end of August, 1949, have been released by the Government of Malaya. By race groups, the largest number of detainees are Chinese. They number 5,548. Malay detainees number 718. One European has also been under detention under the Mergench Regulations.

This year 4,545 aliens and 66 British subjects have been deported from Malaya under the Emergency Regulations.

East Africa

CULTURAL MISSION TO EAST AFRICA

The Indian Cultural Mission which has returned to Bombay from its 14 months' tour of East Africa received messages of greetings and congratulations from Mr. M. S. Aney, Governor of Bihar and Mr. B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay.

The Governor of Bihar in the course of his message said:

> The efforts that are being made by politicians to bring into existence bodies like the U. N. O. require moral support and spiritual foundation for its ultimate success: and this can be had only from the propagation of the teachings which we find in the ancient scriptures like Vedas and Upanishads revealed to the Rishis in India and also of the truths revealed to the founders of the various religions.

The Premier of Bombay in his message has expressed appreciation of the work done by the mission in East Africa.

The members of the mission headed by Swami Advaitanandji were given a public reception by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on September 3. Mr. S. K. Patil, President, welcoming them said they represented the rich philosophic treasures of India.

Swami Advaitanandji giving an account of the mission's tour said that Indians overseas could maintain their self-respect only if they drew spiritually close to their motherland and nurtured the culture, philosophy and tradition of India.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

A total of 168,363 Indians were living last year in the three East Africa territories of Kanya, Tanganyika and Uganda, according to the first report of the East African High Commission published in London. The report said that 90,235 Indians were in Kenya, 44,248 in Tanganyika and 83,820 in Uganda.

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QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY AND COMPENSATION

Article 24 of the Constitution dealing with acquisition of property by the State and compensation, as amended and adopted by the Constituent Assembly, reads:

1. No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.

2. No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorizing the taking of such possession or such acqusition unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which the compensation is to be determined, and given.

3. No such law as is referred to in Clause 2 of this Article made by the legislature of a State shall have effect unless such law, having, been reserved for the consideration of the President, has received his assent.

4. If any Bill pending before the legislature of a State at the commencement of this Constitution has, after it has been passed by such legislature, received the assent of the President, the law so assented to shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause 2 of this Article.

5. Nothing in Clause 2 of this Article shall affect.

(a) the provisions of any existing law other than a law to which the provisions of Clause 6 of this Article apply, or

(b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty or for the promotion of public health or the provision of danger to life or property, or

(c) the provisions of any existing law made or of any law which the State may hereafter make in pursuance of any agreement arrived at with a foreign State or otherwise with respect to property declared by law to be evacuee property.

6. Any law of a State enacted, not more than 18 months before the commencement of this Constitution, may within three months from such commencement be submitted by the Governor of the State to the President for his certification; and thereupon, if the President by public notification so certifies, it shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause 2 of this Article or subsection 2 of Section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1925.

REDUCING GOVT. EXPENDITURE

The Government of India have advised the Provincial Governments to reduce their expenditure by at least 20 per cent on new schemes which are dependent on the Central Government for finances, the Government of India have also asked all Provinces to strive for utmost economy in housing schemes.

The Government of India while asking the Provinces to "work within reduced grants" as far as the refugees are concerned, have suggested that displaced persons should be accommodated by making maximum use of evacuee property for housing purpose. They have also asked the Provinces to spend as little as possible on ambitious programmes keeping in mind the urgency of the new projects.

The question of ending doles to refugees after March 31, 1950, was also discussed at a conference of representatives of the Central and Provincial Governments. Most of the Provinces, it was stated, told the Government of India that it would be difficult for them to rehabilitate the refugees by that time. Bombay, U.P., West Bengal and East Punjab are stated to have pointed out the difficulties they were confronted with in the refugee problem.

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

SIR B. N. RAU ON THE KASHMIR ISSUE

Replying to the wild charges made by Sir Zafrullah Khan at Lake Success, Sir B. N. Rau, Permanent Indian Representative to the U. N., said at a Press Conference on September 16:

(1) India is not opposed to arbitration in principle, but what she contends is that any reference to arbitration should be on precise and defined issues.

(2) The main difference between India and Pakistan is about the disbanding and disarming of the "Azad Kashmir" forces. The Commission has given India an assurance that there is to be large-scale disbanding and disarming of these forces.

Whenever there is any hitch or delay in regard to the settlement of the Kashmir problem, there is a tendency to blame India. I should, therefore, like to give a brief summary of the events, so that you may judge for yourselves who has been responsible for the delay.

Uncip arrived in India in July 1948 in accordance with the instructions of the Security Council.

What did the Commission find? Let me quote the Commission's own words:

The situation that confronted the Commission upon its arrival was different from that which had been envisaged by the Security Council . . . inasmuch as regular Pakistan troops were within the frontiers of the State of Jammu and Kashmir participating in the fighting.

The statement of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to the effect that Pakistan troops had entered the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, and later his reply to the Commission's questionnaire that all forces fighting on the "Azad Kasnmir" side were under the overall command and tactical control of the Pakistan Army confronted the Commission with an unforeseen and entirely new situation.

This was the first difficulty which delayed the Commission's work and it was obviously not of India's creation. You will remember that throughout the proceedings in the Security Council, Pakistan denied the presence of her troops in Kashmir. The first definite proposals of the Commission were made on August 13, 1948. They were presented simultaneously to India and Pakistan. The Government of India accepted the proposal and the Commission wrote:

The Commission wishes to express to Your Excellency its sincere satisfaction that the Government of India has accepted the resolution and appreciates the spirit, in which this decision has been taken.

Pakistan however was unable to accept the resolution and the matter came before the Security Council in November 1948.

The Security Council asked the Commission to continue its efforts to bring the two countries together. On December 19, 1948, the Commission drew up proposals for a plebiscite, supplementary to the proposals of August 13, 1948. India accepted the supplementary proposals on December 23, 1948. At this stage Pakistan had not yet accepted either the original or the supplementary proposals. You can judge for yourselves whether India was the delaying party.

Ultimately Pakistan also accepted the proposals and a cease-fire order came into effect from January 1, 1949. This was a very creditable achievement for which the Commission deserves the fullest praise. The Commission then attempted to establish a cease-fire line and get the parties to sign a truce agreement. After a good deal of preliminary discussion the Commission sent up proposals for this purpose both to India and Pakistan on April 29, 1949. Neither country found itself able to accept these proposals.

The Commission, however, went on with its efforts and in July 1949, succeeded in establishing a cease-fire line as the result of a joint conference with India and Pakistan. On August 9, 1949, the Commission invited both countries to a joint conference for a truce agreement and sent a provisional agenda with the letter of invitation. The provisional agenda contained an item called 'Related Questions'. On August 12, India agreed to the joint conference and sent a list of three related questions' for discussion at the conference. On August 16, 1949, Pakistan objected to two of the three 'related questions' being included at all in the agenda.

On August 1, 1949, the Commission abandoned the idea of a joint meeting. Once again, I leave it to you to judge whether India was the delaying party."

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THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

The Constituent Assembly passed on September 14, Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar's Articles on the official language of the Indian Union with the amendments agreed to earlier by the Congress Assembly Party.

The acceptance of the resolution, which marked the happy conclusion of a tense 3 day debate on what was considered to be the most controversial subject, was the result of a compromise reached between the two opposing groups on the question of numerals.

The amendments provide that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script. The form of numerals to be used for official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals.

Parliament may, after the 15 year period, provide for the use of English language or the Devanagari form of numerals for such purposes as may be specified.

The amendments permit a State to prescribe with the consent of the President the use of the Hindi language or any other language recognised for official purposes in the State for proceedings in the High Court of the State other than judgments, decrees and orders.

MR. TANDON'S RESIGNATION

Babu Pursothamdas Tandon has resigned from the Congress Assembly Party as a protest against the Party mandate asking members to support Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar's amendment on the language issue.

Mr. Tandon, it is learnt, did not accept the proposition in regard to the substitution of international numerals for Devanagari numerals for the purpose of Devanagari script.

It is understood that Mr. Tandon felt that the Party Whip curtailed the freedom of vote for members of the Congress Party which was contrary to the earlier decision.

ELECTIONS IN W. BENGAL

"The West Bengal Government have accepted the proposition of having a general election sometime in January next soon after the harvesting season is over in Bengal," declared Dr. B. C. Roy, Premier of West Bengal, at a Press Conference in Delhi.

The intervening period of three months from now until January would be necessary to make all the preliminary arrangements for the election. "I doubt not", he said, "if we all pull together, as I hope we will, the Congress is bound to succeed."

About the details of the arrangements for the general election Dr. Roy said that the general indication was that it would be held under joint electorate with reservation of seats for Muslims and Scheduled Castes.

"We have", he said, "started the work of preparing the electoral rolls and we hope it would be finished by the middle of December. So far as the electoral rolls of West Bengal are concerned, there is not to be much change except that there is to be joint electorate in place of separate electorate."

As regards electoral rolls for the people from East Bengal who had come over to West Bengal, Dr. Roy said, "Those names which were included in the register of 1945 in the East Bengal constituencies would be included in the new rolls if they give proof that they have been in West Bengal for six months.

MADRAS ZAMIN ESTATES

The Madras Government on September 7, took under their control 33 Zamindari Estates, thus ending the 150-year-old Permanent Settlement Regulations of 1802 in respect of these areas.

The major Estates taken over include Vizianagaram, Bobbili, Pithapuram, Devarakottah, Venkatagiri, Ramnad and Sivaganga.

These areas form the first batch to be taken over. The rest of the Zamindaris will be brought under Government control by stages.

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REVIEW OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

Considerable progress has been achieved in the field of education in the year 1948-49, according to a review submitted by the Government of India to the twelfth International Conference on Public Education held in Geneva.

Giving an account of the progress in different spheres, such as basic and social education, training of teachers, secondary education, technical and military education, etc., the report records that four provinces, namely, Assam, Bihar, Bombay and U.P. have already introduced compulsory primary education in different areas, while other provinces are taking energetic measures for the spread of basic and social education in their respective areas.

In Assam compulsory education has been introduced in 30 areas since February this year-bringing one-fifth of the entire province under compulsion.

In Bihar simultaneously with the introduction of compulsory primary education on basic lines in different areas, the number of primary schools has been increased by over 500 to nearly 21,000 this year.

In Bombay along with compulsory primary education, a social education programme has also been launched in the city of Bombay and other rural areas.

In U.P. 48 municipal areas have been brought under compulsory primany education which is now being extended to other areas. An intensive campaign of social education also has been launched.

In C.P., the spread of adult education made further progress and 451 social education camps were organised which issued certificates to 41,274 men and 20,924 women.

In Madras, out of the 75 lakh children of school-going age in the province, 35 lakhs are already attending elementary schools and the remaining 35 lakhs will be brought under compulsory education by two five-year plans. A scheme of citizenship schools for adult education has been drawn up and six rural colleges and 100 citizenship schools for adult education are being opened.

In Orissa all primary schools have been taken over by the Government which are now being improved.

In West Bengal an 8% increase in literacy during the last seven years has been recorded. Reform of secondary education also has been taken in hand.

To remove the shortage of trained teachers steps have been taken to provide increased facilities for their training as also improve their scales of pay. Over 40 training centres were opened in different provinces for training in basic education.

PANDIT NEHRU ON STUDENTS AND POLITICS

The Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is of the view that students in their individual capacity could take part in politics and join any political party of their liking, but the student movement as a whole should be kept aloof from politics and confined to cultural and educational activities.

Pandit Nehru who was addressing the sixth annual conference of the Delhi Provincial Students Congress added that one's education was not complete after receiving a couple of degrees. As a matter of fact his real training began only when he entered life and faced its realities. University education, he said laid the necessary foundation for future development of an individual.

Pandit Nehru deplored that students of this country lacked "mental adventure." They were confined to their lecture notes or a few books recommended by their professors. This could not help them in becoming responsible citizens of an independent country. They must have a craze for knowledge. They should always be in search of something new. Only then could they be students in the true sense of the word.

UNIVERSITIES TO BE CENTRAL SUBJECT

A suggestion that Universities should form a Central subject or at leastb put on the Concurrent List, was made by Dr. M.R. Jayakar, Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University, while presiding over a function held at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona.

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THE PRIVY COUNCIL

After two and a half hours' discussion, the Constituent Assembly on September 17, passed the Abolition of Privy Council Jurisdiction Bill which seeks to end India's 175-year-old judicial connection with Britain's highest tribunal.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee and Law Minister, said that the Privy Council would have no jurisdiction to entertain any Indian appeal or petition after January 26, 1950, assuming that the new constitution became operative from that date.

The Bill provides that with effect from October 10, 1949, the Federal Court should as an interim measure, be invested with the same jurisdiction to entertain and dispose of appeals and petitions as the Privy Council had at present. The jurisdiction of the Privy Council to entertain any new appeals and petitions and to dispose of any pending appeals except those set down for hearing during the next sittings of the Judicial Committee, due to commence on October 12, will cease on the same date. All other pending appeals will be transferred to the Federal Court on October 10 next.

Dr. Ambedkar mentioned that there were at present seventy civil appeals and ten criminal appeals pending before the Privy Council, of which twenty appeals had been set down for hearing and disposal at its next session.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, member of the Drafting Committee, said: "The British Parliament and the Privy Council have been the two great institutions which the Anglo-Saxon race has given to mankind. On January 26 our Supreme Court will come into existence and join the family of the supreme courts of the democratic world, of which the Privy Council is the oldest and perhaps the greatest, and I can only hope and trust that our Supreme Court will carry forward the Privy Council's traditions of judicial detachment, unflinching independence, subordination of everything to the rule of law and conscientious regard for the rights and justice not only between subject and subject but between the State and subjects."

THE SUPREME COURT

The Constituent Assembly on September 15, passed a new Article, making it clear that the Supreme Court of the Indian Union would have jurisdiction in respect of Income-tax and acquisition proceedings.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, explained that the Privy Council had held that proceedings regarding Income-tax and acquisition of property did not lie within the purview of civil proceedings and it might, therefore, be held that unless a special provision was made, the powers of the Supreme Court were confined to civil proceedings. The Article would remove any doubt on that point.

Prof. Shibbanlal Saxena (United Provinces) moved, and later withdrew, an amendment saying, "The Supreme Court shall also have jurisdiction to hear appeals against sentences of death passed by Courts Martial."

SYSTEM OF TRIAL BY JURY

The suggestion that the system of trial by jury now in vogue in Madras High Court Sessions could well be extended throughout the Province and also in respect of all cases, was made by His Lordship Mr. Justice E. E. Mack while speaking at the special general body meeting of the Honorary Presidency Magistrates' Association at the Madras Law College on September 14.

His Lordship also added that the members of the jury should be made to realise fully that their verdict was the final decision about the guilt of the accused so far as the facts of the case were concerned. Once the jury are impressed that they are responsible and are made to realise that they are the final arbiters of the fact and that verdict would be accepted unless it happens to be perverse and the judge without trying to impose his own will on them sums up the case in a rational manner I have found in the course of my experience of nearly 20 years as a Sessions Judge that the verdict returned by them are quite satisfactory, declared His Lordship.

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TRADE AND FINANCE

DEVALUATION OF THE RUPEE

A Finance Ministry communique issued on September 19 said that the general price level or the cost of production should not increase and the internal prices of commodities would not be affected by devaluation of the rupee in relation to the dollar. At the same time, the communique added: "Government are taking and will take such measures as may be necessary to counteract any tendency to bring about speculative rise in prices." The communique goes on to add that

the Government of India's proposal to devalue the rupee to the same extent as the pound sterling has been accepted by the International Monetary Fund. "The rupee will now be equivalent to 21 United States cents as against 30.2250 cents and its par value in grammes of fine gold per rupee will be 0.186621 giving value of Rs. 166.6666 per fine ounce of gold. This value will come into effect immediately. The exchange rate between the pound sterling and the rupee remains unchanged at 1s. 6d. a rupee.

Devaluation as a corrective to the balance of payments difficulties in regard to dollars has been urged for some time. The Government of India did not favour such a course at it was felt that in view of the general conditions of Indian economy devaluation was not likely to solve India's problem of dollar shortage. India's imports are regulated by controls and the deterrent effect of high prices resulting from devaluation is therefore neither necessary nor desirable. Since the supply of India's exports is inelastic, her aggregate export earnings are not likely to increase by reducing export prices through devaluation. However, the decision of the United Kingdom to devalue sterling followed by similar devaluation by other countries, created a situation in which it became impossible for India to avoid similar action without detriment to her economy. India's trade, both export and import, being so largely a trade with sterling area countries and the price level being already high, it was clear that the rupee could not be allowed to appreciate against sterling without undermining India's competitive position and endangering the markets for most of her exports and ultimately being compelled to reduce the volume of imports still further.

Over and above the pure economic factors of relative competitive positions, current expectation that India would not be able to avoid devaluation in the face of the action taken by other countries would have acted as a powerful psychological barrier to any transactions at the old rate of exchange, and trade might have been brought to a standstill. There was thus no alternative for India but to follow the other sterling area countries and devalue the rupee as a defensive measure.

THE DEVALUATION TABLE

The following table, given in *The Mail*, shows at a glance the old and new rates of currencies in terms of dollars and sterling:

		Old rate	New rate
Britain, dollars to the £	..	4.03	2.80
India, Rupees to the dollar	..	3.309	4.76
Rupees to the £	..	13.33	13.33
Burma, Rupees to the dollar	..	3.309	4.76
Rupees to the £	..	13.33	13.33
New Zealand, dollars to the £	..	4.03	2.80
Australia, dollars to the £ A	..	3.22	2.24
S. Africa, dollars to the £	..	4.03	2.80
Eire, dollars to the £	..	4.03	2.80
Ceylon, Rupees to the dollar	..	3.30	4.75
Israel, dollars to the £	..	3.00	2.80
Norway, kroner to the dollar	..	4.96	7.14
Denmark, kroner to the dollar	..	4.81	6.692
France, francs to the dollar	..	330	350
francs to the £	..	1097	980
Straits Dollar (cents)	..	46.75	32.5
Canada, dollars to the £	..	4.03	3.08
dollar to dollar	..	1.00	1.10
Czechoslovakia, crowns to the £	..	210	139.5
crowns to the dollar		50	50
Sweden, crowns to the dollar	..	3.60	5.18
crowns to the £	..	14.50	14.50

FOREIGN CAPITAL FOR INDIA

If India needed foreign capital and if it was to be encouraged to come in, it must be given an assurance of non-discrimination, without which it was inconceivable that any foreign capital would come in. The need of the hour was to have more and more production and the Government of India had no reason to believe that the growth of foreign-controlled concerns, even with the assistance of some protection that nay be given to any particular industry in general, would be detrimental to the interests of the nation. On the other hand, this was bound to be advantageous to the country at large and also would be in the interest of Indian industrialists in the long run.

In these words the Government of India have replied to the memorandum submitted by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry on the subject of foreign capital.

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WOMEN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME

Governor Mody who describes himself as "a bit old fashioned, does not like women taking part in the rough and tumble of political activities.

He does not fancy their receiving physical training either—"it gives me positive fright."

He sighs for the good old days when women confined themselves to their proper sphere—home.

"What would happen if you turned on your husbands some day and gave them a taste of your quality?" he asks and adds sympathetically: "I can imagine a young man thinking hard before he contemplated matrimony with a girl who could drill, box and wield a lathi with deadly effect."

The Governor was addressing a large gathering on the occasion of a physical training demonstration by 1,200 girls of Eahila Vyayamshala on the police grounds at Kanpur.

RECOVERY OF ABDUCTED WOMEN

Ten-thousand nine-hundred and nineteen Muslim women and children were recovered in India Union as against 5,801 non-Muslim women and children in Pakistan territory upto the end of May, 1949, according to figures available to the Government of India.

During seven months' upto July, 1948, non-Muslim women and children recovered in Pakistan territory numbered 5,510. In the subsequent nine months only 265 recoveries were registered.

On the other hand, 9,423 Muslim women and children were recovered before August 1948 in Indian dominion. Since then upto the end of April, 1949 the number of recoveries increased to 10,083.

It is stated that there are over 50,000 names on the missing list of the Enquiry and Search Service organisation of the Government of India. According to an official review, recovery from Pakistan in the past few months had been "very slow".

INDIAN LADY ADDRESSES OHIO LEGISLATURE

A young Indian lady, Mrs. Rajammal Devadas, has become the first foreign student to address the Ohio State legislature.

At the invitation of the Speaker of the House she spoke on social and economic conditions in India and afterwards the House passed a resolution of appreciation.

Mrs. Devadas, who is studying for a Degree in nutrition at Ohio State University, has addressed several American associations and recently spoke at the National Convention of the Home Economics Association in San Francisco.

"TEN MODEL WOMEN OF THE WORLD"

Princess Margaret Rose, for her "social poise", was named as one of the ten model women of the world, chosen by the Vogue School of Fashion-building.

India's Ambassador to the United States, Srimati Vijayalakshmi was named for her "intelligence" and Madame Henri Bonnet, wife of the French Ambassador to the United States, for being "helpmate and fashion-wise." The others were Americans.

PURDAH DISAPPEARS IN PAKISTAN!

Hardly one per cent. of the women of Pakistan observe purdah, said Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, President of the Pakistan Women's Association, when she and two other office-bearers of the Association held informal discussions with the women members of the World Town Hall Seminar at the Prime Minister's house in Karachi.

The remainder, she added, living in villages, worked shoulder to shoulder with men in the fields and were an economic asset to their men.

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U. S. MEMORIAL FOR GANDHIJI

The United States Senate, on Sept. 14, approved the erection of a memorial in Washington to Mahatma Gandhi.

The Senate passed without objection the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Bill to erect a memorial within five years without expense to the United States Government.

The Bill had already been approved by the House of Representatives and now only requires President Truman's signature to become law.

It gives authority to the India League of America or any other group, organised for the purpose, to erect a memorial and provide the funds necessary for its construction and maintenance.

The Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, wrote last June to a joint Senate-House Committee considering the Bill, expressing his approval.

The memorial will take the from of a building, containing the works of Mahatma Gandhi and exhibits of Indian culture.

DRAMA COUNCIL FOR INDIA

To co-ordinate dramatic activities in the country, an association called the Indian drama Council was formed at a meeting of representatives of a number of Dramatic Associations on Sept. 4 Mr. G. D. Sondhi was elected Chairman.

The organisers of the Council propose to run it on the lines of the British Drama League to foster the theatre movement, to supervise and encourage dramatic activities, and to work for the establishment of open air theatres and a national theatre in India.

U. S. AID TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The United States Government, during the post-war period, had lent over 10,000 million dollars to various foreign countries and had made outright gifts or grants of thousands of millions of dollars more, the Commerce Department announced.

It added that 4,704 millions of the money lent, consisted of aid to Britain and the additional 2,120 million dollars credits went to France.

PUBLICITY CONFERENCE

The necessity of employing India's national and regional languages in Government publicity so that it could reach the masses was stressed by Mr. Morarji Desai, Home Minister, Government of Bombay, in the course of his inaugural address at the conference of provincial Directors of Publicity.

"It is not enough," Mr. Desai said, "that various schemes are undertaken and executed by Governments. It is necessary that people should know about them and know correctly. If we wish to harness the co-operation of the people, it is very essential that the people should know exactly what they are to co-operate with."

"Unless and until the people know the schemes thoroughly and know what is expected of them, it is not possible to harness any effective co-operation between the activities of the Government departments and the people," he added.

Mr. P. C. Choudhury, Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, presided.

NEW MOTOR OIL

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Political Speakar: "I'm pleased to see this dense crowd here tonight!"

Voice from the back: "Don't be too pleased. We ain't all dense!"

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

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Crisis Government in the Indian Constitution

BY PRINCIPAL SRI RAM SHARMA

VERY few constitutions make provisions against their own unworkability. The Government of India Act, 1935, contemplated Indian refusal to work it and thus gave birth to Section 93, enabling the autocratic Governors to carry on the Government on their own when Government under other provisions of the Act seemed impossible. The draft constitution in its Section 188 simply paraphrased Section 93 limiting however the unfettered discretion of the Governor to carry on administration to two weeks but leaving it to the President, however, to make arrangements for a larger period. The clauses as passed recently limit the right to proclaim an emergancy to the President and allow him to carry on Government under the proclamation for two months.

The debate that accompanied the passage of the Act indicated woeful ignorance of the place of emergency Government in a constitution as also of the way in which a constitution is worked. As the provision stands, the President is authorized to proclaim an emergency. When it was objected to that this would create personal dictatorship it was considered enough to assert that 'we intend' that the President should proclaim the emergency on the advice of his ministers. What was considered to be a parellel provision in an English Act was cited as an authority that this would be so. It was conveniently forgotten however that English Constitutional conventions and English Common Law make it obligatory in England that, to be legal and enforceable, all orders of the formal sovereign be signed by a minister. We have not inherited the English common law nor English constitutional conventions. Nor is the President in the Indian Constitution the sort of 'formal' head of the Government that he is in England. He is an active member of the Government using his personal discretion against the political judgment of his ministers, sending messages to the legislature obviously over their head and suggesting amendments to bills passed by the legislature under the direction of the Cabinet. Nothing would have been lost if the President had been directed to act with the approval of the cabinet when he proclaimed an emergency. What members of the Constituent Assembly say to-day is not law. It has even been said in connection with another constitution that the greater part of the (constitutional) development has been away from the avowed intentions of the founders.'

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The British example cited differs in another way from its Indian copy. The emergency powers granted to the British Cabinet by the Emergency Powers Act of 1920 can only be invoked under the circumstances which the Act has carefully defined—threat to the supply and distribution of essentials of life. Further the powers thus granted do not extend to making strikes illegal or picketing an offence. The English proclamation, though made by the Cabinet, makes it necessary that it be communicated forthwith to Parliament if it be sitting; if it stands adjourned Parliament is to be summoned to meet within five days of the issue of the proclamation and is to continue sitting throughout the emergency. The maximum punishment for offences created under the regulations made for meeting the emergency is imprisonment for three months and fine of one hundred pounds.

The French state of siege was also referred to during the debate. But a state of siege in France can only be declared by the French legislature by passing a law. If the legislature is not in session, it meets automatically within two days of the proclamation by the President who can only do so on the advice of the Council of Ministers.

The powers of the American President as Commander-in-Chief were also trotted forth. The President of the Indian Republic would also be the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. It follows that if American interpretation of the constitution were to hold good in India, the Indian President would not need the emergency powers at all for taking the measures that the American Presidents took without those provisions.

What has been rather inconveniently forgotten by the Drafting Committee is the very essential fact that in England, France and the United States, the legislature is sought to be actively associated with the executive during the emergency whereas the Indian Constitution does not do so. It visualizes personal dictatorship of the President or, on his behalf, of the Governor by associating an emergency with the impossibility of carrying on the government under the provisions of the constitution. Of course, it is Section 93 writ large!

The President possess certain other powers, which coupled with emergency powers, can be used by an unscrupulous person for establishing a personal dictatorship. He summons the legislature; he need not do so during the emergency. The Ministers hold office during his pleasure, he can dismiss them and appoint a Prime Minister dependent on him alone and having no majority in the legislature. The Hitlerian *coup-de-etat* is made easily possible.

It was also said that the President can be impeached for the violation of the constitution. But the emergency powers conferred on him and exercised by him in his discretion will not constitute a violation of the constitution. His power to summon and dissolve the legislature is not dependent on the ministers nor is his 'pleasure' to continue them in power or to deprive them of it. The power to impeach a President cannot be exercised during the emergency. By the time the emergency is over, a *coup-de-etat* may have made mincement of

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the constitution. Dictators when once they assume power seldom leave chances of being impeached intact in the constitution. These are not imaginary dangers. The Weimar constitution and its end are there as significant warnings. What was made possible there without some of the looseness which surrounds our emergency provisions can certainly happen here. It may be said that our Presidents will not play that game. Hindenburg was elected in Germany to defend the constitution and not to overthrow it. Prince Louis Nepoleon was not made President in order to establish an empire. Democratic tradition is not even knee deep in India at present. Democracy is an infant in arms, barely two years old. It is necessary therefore that all the precautions that are necessary in our peculiar circumstances should be taken to avoid that emergency government does not have the way to personal dictatorship. Deficiencies in 'Constitutional Conscience' here have at best to be provided by constitutional enactments. The present provisions scarcely make an attempt to do so. By implications they seem to distrust the legislature more than they do the formal heads of the Government, It is time that the drafting committee made up its mind about the sort of a constitution it is advocating. It cannot have the 'best of everything' for the simple reason that constitutions mix ill together and when they do they may produce an explosion.

What is Wrong with the Pound-Sterling ?

PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

ENGLAND is faced with a difficulty which is essentially industrial and not monetary. There are commodities *e.g.* wheat, barley, tobacco, cotton, sugar, petrol etc,, which are essential for her but which she cannot produce herself. She has to buy them from other countries mainly America. But this normally is no difficulty. A country may not produce all her requirements. She may as well import those articles from the country which produces them. But these have to be paid for and for paying them, England requires a large amount of American currency, the dollar. For England as for other countries, the problem is of dollar shortage. She requires dollars but dollars in suitable quantities are not available to her. Shortage of dollars does not, of course, mean that America issues less dollar notes now than before. Dollar notes are quite plenty in America but the question is: How can England get them for buying her requirements? She can have dollars if America gives as loan, or if England disposes of her stock of gold and American investments or if she draws upon the reserve of dollars which she has piled up. But all these are temporary measures. England cannot receive the loans or dispose of her gold or draw upon her reserve of dollars indefinitely. These will soon be exhausted. The solution, therefore, lies in her ability to sell her goods and services to America. The supply of dollars which England so badly requires now for buying from America

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those articles which she cannot herself produce, comes from those exporters of English goods to America. If the exporters sell more to America then there will be plentiful dollars in England and she can conveniently buy her necessaries from America. It will also do if England can sell goods and services not necessarily to America but to some other country which in her turn sells goods to America. Suppose America buys nothing from England but buys jute from Pakistan or coffee from Brazil. England may sell her goods to Pakistan or to Brazil and get the currency of these countries. America has to buy jute and coffee. So she demands Pakistani and Brazilian currencies. Here England can offer her stock of Pakistani and Brazilian currencies and in return get American dollars with which she may buy goods from America. To-day unfortunately England can do neither. Once her industrial position was such that she could sell her manufactures and offer services by her banks, insurance companies, shipping etc. on a huge scale and could command a large amount of foreign currencies with which she used to buy food-stuffs for her working classes, raw-materials for her industries and articles of luxury for her rich inhabitants. Other countries were then industrially undeveloped. Today America is highly developed. Her manufacturing industries are flourishing, her banks, insurance and shipping companies are expanding; she has practically unlimited and inexhaustible mineral and natural resources; she produces foodgrains and raw-materials on a huge scale. Her phenomenal progress in science and technocracy, her superb organisation of business methods and her unrivalled position as a producer of agricultural and mineral products, have changed the balance in her favour against the old world. Not to speak of atom bombs, bomber planes and battle-ships, the most ordinary things including text-books, periodicals, chewing gums, shredded wheat, playing cards and looking glasses she can produce better and cheaper. Because of this American competition England is able to sell her goods and services on the old scale neither to America nor to other countries. The British export trade has dwindled and the market for her goods is considerably reduced. The result is that the value of the English currency formerly called the pound when it was convertible to gold, now called the sterling which is nothing but the name of the inconvertible paper currency of Great Britain just as we call our inconvertible paper currency as the Rupee, is falling in terms of the dollar. Let us see how this takes place. If at one time one pound exchanges for five dollars or to put it in another way, one dollar exchanges for four shillings, as both come to the same thing

£. 1=$. 5

or $ 1=4 sh.

and then Englishmen begin to buy more from Americans than Americans buy from England, the supply of dollars at London (which comes from the sellers of English goods to America) will be less than the demand for dollars (which comes from the buyers of American goods in England).

Exporters of English goods to America have claims on American currency *i.e.* dollars, but they have less, whereas

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importers of American goods into England want to have more dollars because they have to send them to America for their purchases. Hence as a result of the interaction of demand and supply the dollar in terms of the pound will rise. This is so in case of any other commodity in the market. Hence instead of one dollar exchanging for four shillings as was the case previously, one dollar will exchange for five shillings or one pound will exchange for four dollars. The new rate of exchange will be

£. 1=$. 4

or $. 1=5 sh.

It may so happen that next moment the balance of trade may be in favour of England which means that Englishmen have sold more goods to Americans than the Americans have sold to England. The value of the pound then will rise and in this way the rate of exchange fluctuates according to day-to-day market conditions. There is usually a normal level centering which the fluctuation takes place and this normal level is determined, subject to certain qualifications by the internal purchasing power of the respective currencies. After all we accept our currency as well as foreign currency for what it can buy. If in England one pound can buy X quantity of goods and services generally and that quantity of goods and services can be bought in America with five dollars it means that one pound is worth five dollars. The rate of exchange of these two currencies will therefore always tend towards this figure, although there may be temporary fluctuations. Suppose, next, that the purchasing power of the currencies in their respective countries has altered. During the war inflation in different degrees has taken place in all the countries and there is no reason why the rate of inflation should be the same everywhere. Let us suppose that the price level in America has risen from 100 to 200 and the price level in England from 100 to 400. This means that the purchasing power of the dollar in America has halved whereas the purchasing power of the pound in England has decreased four times, so that the new ratio of exchange between the dollar and the pound is

£. 1=$. 2½

or $. 1=8 sh.

If things are left to themselves and if there is no restriction or intervention on foreign trade, currency and exchange, the new ratio of exchange will come to this point. But in modern times Government seldom allows the rate of exchange to reach its natural level. Internally the pound is half of what it was formerly because due to the rising price level it buys half of what it did before; but the Government so manipulates that the pound externally exchanges for the same amount of dollar as before. In our hypothetical case on the basis of their respective purchasing power one pound is equal to two and half dollars but the currency authority maintains the exchange rate of the pound in terms of dollar as one pound equal to five dollars. Here is a case where the pound is overvalued. It is externally more valuable than it is internally. The pound buys less in goods and services in England but it commands

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a larger amount of dollars when exchanged.

What gain does a country reap by keeping its currency overvalued and how can this situation be maintained for long? When for any reason, a country has to pay large amounts to foreigners in the foreigner's currency it is convenient to have the currency overvalued. Many countries have foreign loans and the loans with interest have to be paid in foreign money. Sometimes it is a question of prestige The value of one's own currency has to be kept high, at least externally, even if internally it purchases less, because it adds to one's prestige. A country with a depreciating currency may be suspected and looked down upon. Here, in the case of England she has to buy certain goods from America and it is clearly advantageous for England if a smaller amount of her currency exchanges for a larger amount of American currency.

Suppose England buys tobacco, and cotton for ten thousand dollars. If the pound is over-valued she pays only 2000 pounds but if it is not over-valued, according to our hypothetical case she has to pay 4000 pounds. But it may be convenient to have an over-valued currency—while it is difficult to maintain the over-valued ratio. In this instance, we easily find that English goods are dearer in America and American goods are cheaper in England. An Englishman with one pound can buy only X quantity of goods in England while an American buys that amount of goods in his country with two and half dollars. This is because inflation in England has been higher and internal purchasing power of the pound is reduced. But if the same Englishman exchanges his pound he gets five dollars with which from America he can buy double of X quantity of goods. The result will be that in the absence of any restriction and intervention on trade and exchange, more American goods will be sold in England and the demand for dollars relative to its supply will vastly increase. Where will the dollars, then, come from? Ultimately the supply of dollars must come from the exporters of British goods into America but the rate of exchange discourages British exports. The difficulty of the currency authority in England is that at this rate of exchange, Englishmen want to buy heavily from America and the demand for dollars is strong but that there is no supply of dollars in England as English sellers cannot sell their goods abroad. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, then, has the following alternatives. During the war inflation took place and the purchasing power of the pound has diminished. Let the old rate of Exchange in terms of dollars be maintained but at the same time the internal purchasing power of the pound may be increased so that there will be equilibrium between the internal and the external value of the pound. But to increase its internal purchasing power means that the price level in England is to fall. Falling price level means deflation and it increases unemployment. After the war of 1914—18 England followed this policy of deflation with all the sufferings of falling prices and unemployment. This time this policy will not be advised by any. Another alternative

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is to reduce the cost of production of goods without deflation and unemployment. If the cost of production is reduced England will be able to sell her goods abroad and with the exports, she can buy her requirements from the dollar area. This reduction of the cost means that newer machines and newer processes of production with the better organisation of business are to be introduced. This is a question of time and the rate of progress in technocratic improvement seems to be much slower in England than in America where it is phenomenal, or the wage rate of the labourers may be reduced, in which case the cost of production will be lowered. This hardly is desirable and the labour organisations in England will never support such a policy. The third alternative is to reduce the external value of the pound in terms of dollar to its natural level. This means devaluation of the pound. If the internal purchasing power of both the currencies justifies the rate of the exchange at £ 1=$. 2½, let it be the market rate. Instead of keeping the rate at £. 1=$ 5 let it be reduced to its natural rate £. 1=$. 2½. Obviously at this rate American goods will be dearer in England and she will not be able to buy her requirements of sugar, tobacco, petrol, etc., on the old scale. The price of these articles will go up and the British consumers will not be able to consume on the scale on which they do now. This means that the British people will have to lower their standard of comforts to which they are used. This the British Chancellor of the Exchequer is unwilling to do. It seems that without reducing the value of the pound in terms of dollars in a straightforward way the currency authority will try, as so long it can, to maintain the higher value of the pound by some artificial restrictions on trade and exchange. England requires dollars to buy certain essential goods from America but has not the money to buy them because she cannot sell her goods there. However she can restrict American imports in such a way that only essential goods from America will be bought and the little amount of dollars she gets by her exports to America will be utilised in buying her requirements. The over-valued pound makes American goods cheaper in the English market. The government, therefore restricts imports but not by a general tariff. Importers are to submit their requirements and if the government is satisfied that the particular item is essential and should be allowed, then only the import will be allowed. The dollars which the country gets are utilised for importing only necessary and useful articles. In principle there is nothing wrong in this policy. Penicillin may be imported but not Rolls Royce Motor Cars. But the difficulty is practical. Opinion differs as to which item is essential and necessary and which item not essential. In issuing licences and permits petty officers exercise their discretion in their own way; the trade becomes so much irritating and vicious. It gives rise to corruption and bribery. After the war of 1914-18 Germany was faced with the same difficulty and she put restrictions on trade and practised exchange control and management with ruthless perfection and reduced it into a system.

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For sometime England followed this policy of exchange control and maintained the higher external value of her currency. At last the external value of the pound in terms of dollars is reduced and brought to its natural level. Henceforth American goods will be dearer in England. There will be less imports and greater exports. Her prestige is affected and the standard of comforts with which the English people are used is a little lowered. But this was more or less inevitable. India kept her relative position with the pound unaltered but in terms of dollars, devalued its rupee. Practically India had no other alternative but to follow the pound. Besides the sterling balances her foreign currencies are mostly in sterling and her trade position with the dollar area is unfavourable. By devaluing the rupee American imports will be discouraged but it is doubtful to what extent her exports will increase.

CHILD WELFARE EXHIBITION IN DELHI

Picture taken at the Child Welfare Exhibition organised by the Indian National Committee of the United Nations Appeal for Children, held recently at the Lady Irwin College, New Delhi. The exhibition was opened by the Hon. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Minister of Health. H. E. Lt.-Gen. Sir Archibald Nye, U. K. High Commissioner in India, and Lady Nye at the United Kingdom section of the exhibition

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Liberty and Authority in a Changing World

By Prof. S. RAMASWAMI AIYER, M.A.

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FEW writers on political and social questions of our time have provoked and influenced thought in the measure that Bertrand Russell has. There is in all his writing a vigour of thought, an incisive and arresting originality and freshness of approach, a wit and a lucidity that are altogether unique. These qualities enable him to deal with the most abstract and difficult questions in a way which helps even the average reader not merely to understand but to come to conclusions for himself on the issues raised. True, now and again, there is also an apparent lightness of touch, a levity of tone, a tendency to reduce complex issues to a degree of simplicity so deceptive as to give almost the impression that those who fuss about their complexity are actuated by some sinister ulterior motives. But the public have shown themselves wisely tolerant of these minor mannerisms and vagaries of this most gifted and brilliant writer. His wide popularity as a broadcaster on issues of the gravest moment is due as much to the splendid clarity of his exposition as to the gay lightheartedness of his manner. Speaking to the invisible, quite possibly non-existent and incalculably miscellaneous 'radio' audiences of to-day is one of the new trials of our time. The task calls for qualities so unique that only a gifted few achieve success. There are those who shout platitudes into the 'mike' and there are those who rush rapidly through, with total disregard of the sentence-accent as of their invisible listeners, 'packed' theses on serious subjects. It is indeed a mercy that we can 'switch off' and leave such 'talks' to waste their sweetness in the desert air. Bertrand Russell, however, as these lectures* show, has a blend of just those qualities which make listening to him as pleasant as reading his written work. Seldom has even Russell been as direct, informal and lucid on a serious theme as here. And Russell's well-known, though somewhat gaily irreverent detachment from credal and institutional loyalties (a sign of excellent physical and moral health in Russell, as in all of us) makes him exceptionally stimulating on the particular issues he discusses in these lectures, the first of the Reith Lectures recently instituted by the British Broadcasting Corporation. These lectures, given as part of the famous Third Programme of the B. B. C., were repeated over the Home Service of the B. B. C. and had such a wide welcome that they have now been made available in a permanent form. The reception the lectures have had is more than a tribute to Russell's rare gifts, it is a sign of the growing anxiety of all classes of people to find their intellectual bearings in a changing, yea, a crumbling world.

The fundamental problem to which Russell addresses himself in these lectures is, as he says on p. 11, "how can we combine that degree of individual initiative which is necessary for progress with the degree of social cohesion that is necessary for survival." Inevitably, Russell's discussion of this age-old problem invites comparison with the classic discussions of it by Mill, in his essay 'On Liberty' and by Locke, in his 'Second Treatise on Civil Government,' and by a great many others. Whether or not the occasion or the audience for which the lectures were designed compelled it, Russell's treatment of the subject seems in comparison with for example, Mill's essay, rather thin. Mill and other thinkers of the nineteenth century Liberal school wrote for an audience more peculiarly inclined than we, in our time, are, to take these issues seriously and to evaluate them with painstaking earnestness and intellectual integrity. Russell's manner, in these lectures, as in his famous Brains Trust performances, is that of a casual and informal commentator, talking in asides almost, rather than that of a systematic expositor of a thesis,

* Authority and the Individual: Reith Lectures by Bertrand Russell, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

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There is, in the result, a deceptive impression of superficiality, and almost of triviality, left on the mind, on a first reading. But though Russell does not give or purport to give a systematic exposition of the chosen subject, there is a great deal of serious thought in these addresses, expressed not merely with the splendid rational clarity of the English (or shall we say, the French) eighteenth century, but with the stimulating provocativeness, the breezy argumentativeness and wit characteristic of Russell. And besides, the subject is of the first importance. It is almost literally a matter of life or death to us of the present time. We stand precariouly poised in a world in which the menacing rumblings of yet another war can be heard. The growth of communism, especially in Eastern Europe and South-East Asia and the menacing spread of social disorder and economic misery over wide tracts of a world already torn to tatters by the fell hand of war at its cruellest compel us to reassess our values and reinforce and sustain our faith in those values which endure the merciless tests of our time.

Russell, in stating the problem in the form in which he does it in the opening lecture, might seem, to some, to be uncritically preoccupied with the ancient threat to the freedom of the individual man presented by the state, which worried the thinkers of the liberal school of nineteenth century England. Though we have travelled far enough in time to recognize the need of both individual freedom and social organization, the problem has hardly been finally solved. Indeed one of the most disquieting features of the present time is the menacingly new conception of freedom itself, of which Soviet Russia is the armed missionary. The thinkers of the nineteenth century, and particularly Mill, were anxious to maximize individual freedom, in the sense of absence of restraint from the State. The State as they conceived it, was more a necessary evil, than a positive agent of social welfare, a hinderer of the hindrances to the good life rather than the deliberate and all-powerful organizer and planner and conscious controller of the nature and extent of individual well-being. Freedom had a moral and spiritual meaning and the creative use of freedom in the moral, intellectual and spiritual spheres was, to them, the highest fulfilment of human personality. But today, to the wise as to ever-growing numbers of the semi-instructed and to extraordinarily large numbers of the wholly uninstructed, freedom is the knowledge of necessity. And paradoxically the growth of bureaucracy under fascist, socialist or communist systems of Government, asserting an omnicompetence never claimed by the most authoritarian and arrogant of ancient despotisms and dictatorships, is actually welcomed by them as investing freedom with a more valuable 'positive content.' Mill and his school felt that only by the limitation of social restraint to the barest minimum could the individual grow to his full stature. They realized the need of a measure of social co-operation for enabling the individual to contribute constructively to social progress but their conception of progress itself was something different, in its essence. The good individual, rather than the good society, was the primary end. Society was a means, though an indispensable means.

Russell traces the historical background of the question with telling brevity, pointing out how the sphere of individual freedom inevitably diminishes, (though hardly with the mathematical exactness which he seems to see in the process) with the enlargement of the size of the community. The force of custom, sufficient as it was to ensure cohesion, though of a rather minimal kind, within a tribe, is ludicrously inadequate in relation to; the large modern aggregations of peoples, organized in political frameworks of varying kinds, and spread over vast stretches of space, sometimes over entire continents. The apparatus, enormously complex and menacingly efficient, of physical coercion (which lies, however, mostly skilfully concealed behind the modern State, except in times of civil commotion, external war or internal

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economic crisis) is a logical necessity of the size of modern social organization. As Russell shows, not merely is this apparatus a necessary consequence of the growth of social organization, it is a condition of survival. Indeed a system of Government transcending even National States and embracing the entire world is no longer to be regarded as a poet's dream but is the sole condition of security and safety in the modern world.

The threat to individual freedom arising from the wide extension of the sphere of Government and from the New Despotism of modern bureaucracy is there. Laws passed by parliaments of elected representatives to-day invade many spheres hitherto jealously guarded from such encroachment, as a matter of personal honour and sacred, inviolable principle. Worse, they are reinforced by a formidable, and largely unintelligible mass of 'delegated' executive legislation and orders. The sphere of social action, in these days of planning, is inevitably, if somewhat alarmingly, wide. But the aims and objectives of modern social action have also changed enormously. Indeed it is the truly tremendous change in the aims of social organization and collective action that has compelled the immense and almost revolutionary transformation and enlargement of the machinery of the State. There is nothing radically unnatural in this development. The desire for concerted and fruitful social functioning is as natural to man as the desire for creative individual self-expression. Indeed, the real problem in social engineering is to secure such an adjustment of the stresses and strains in social construction as would make the individual gladly accept the demands of social cohesion and feel none the less secure and free to pursue his more essentially personal aims. As Russell implies in the course of his argument, there is no natural antagonism between authority and liberty though there is, between authority and anarchy. But somewhat inconsistently, Russell seems to suggest that there was more real liberty in small, primitive communities. The liberty and scope for the personal initiative available in a rather small community are doubtless valuable and have played no mean part in the achievement of some of the more exquisite values of civilization, as in ancient Greece. It is also true that the modern State is an enormous and greedy Leviathan and far the most formidable of modern man-eating monsters. The crippling limitations, the detailed inquisitions and the vexatious extensiveness and intensity of modern bureaucratic regulation of individual lives seem indeed a formidable prison house for man. That they breed a sense of individual insignificance fatal to individual creative endeavour and that they generate a widespread and potentially dangerous sense of frustration and futility making for social instability are true also. But science and the growth of civilization released forces which operate not within small areas or groups but over the entire world. It is too late to stay the march of time or of science. We cannot any longer bid the coming one world stay far away, in the fancy of the idealist, poet or dreamer. Economic laws, political necessity and scientific discovery have wrought out a formidable new unity of the entire world which every war renders only more real! The truth is that the process of social enlargement is not in itself a liberating or an enslaving process. It is all a question of the bias or twist given now and again to the working of this process of seemingly inevitable evolution. If modern governmental regulation seems more oppressive in its incidence than ancient tribal custom, it is not due to any inherent quality of wicked meddlesomeness on the part of Government. It is rather because, in the complex and difficult conditions to-day, we have been compelled to leave much to be done by Government which men either cared for little or did for themselves in primitive society. Russell fails, we fear, to take account of the fact that we enjoy to-day (and care to have) a more rational freedom than our ancestors did. And we run no risk to-day of being stoned to death for a breach of tribal

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customs or taboos. Individual eccentricity is more often ignored than ridiculed, and is seldom punished except by the publicity which the sensational press affords it occasionally, in its attempt to give savour to the bored lives of its large, leisured clientele.

The decline of liberty is not therefore exclusively, as Russell seems to think, a function of the size of the social structure. Many other factors have been at work, not all of them evil. National patriotism, religious and cultural idealism and the desire for a higher level of material well-being have played a powerful part in enhancing the authority of the State. But these and other similar factors have developed rigidities and tensions in the social fabric which today threaten its existence. The Party system, for example, was designed not to destroy individual freedom of thought or action but to organize like-minded men into a coherent instrument of constructive activity in a democracy. But its latter-day functioning has been, in almost every democratic country, destructive both of true democracy and of individual freedom. Secular religions like communism have come into existence which exact a degree of obedience and blind conformity which neither the State nor the Church even claimed before. The strangle-hold that communism secures over the minds of its followers is the most formidable threat there is to our cherished ideal of individual freedom. Inquisitions and excommunications, auto-da-fes, compulsory genuflexion before the new Czar of all the Russias—all the formidable apparatus of spiritual coercion formerly wielded by the Church are in operation in the communist-controlled world today, with a deadly efficiency that one quails to think of! Russell is vividly aware of the monstrous challenge to the dignity of humanity implicit in the claims and schemes of Soviet Russia. It is however comforting to be assured by him that formidable as the dangers confronting us today are, there are radical weaknesses in the Russian moral and material techniques that will ruin their monstrous conspiracy against human freedom and progress.

Discussing the aims of Government in the fifth of these lectures Russell would appear to imply that justice itself, and not merely its economic implications, is a recently developed purpose of Government. This is far from accurate. Indeed even Plato, in *The Republic*? as Russell himself says in his History of Western Philosophy, was mainly concerned with the question of justice. But it is undeniable that the economic implications of the ideal of social justice have come to the forefront only recently. And this would seem to be rather natural, for it is only in comparatively recent times that the concentration of wealth in comparatively small groups of men has raised social dangers compelling a radical reconsideration of the whole question. Odly enough, the effect of the incessant modern preoccupation with the economic aspect has been favourable neither to individual liberty nor to social peace so far.

Russell says further, 'Justice has come to be interpreted as equality.' Does he accept that current interpretation? We would have been glad to have Russell's views on the insistent mischievous confusion created by the formidable propaganda in favour of an ideal of equality which threatens peace and progress and freedom all round. Russell doubtless wants the limits of equality to be borne in mind. But what are the limits? What is the true meaning of equality? In what spheres is equality to be maintained? Russell briefly states the case, rather self-evident though, against the equality achieved by the universalization of poverty among individuals as among nations. But the issue of equality is surely urgent and important enough to merit fuller discussion than is afforded here. Incidentally we should like to know on what authority Russell says that the art of writing would never have been invented if there had been no economic injustice in Egypt and Babylon. This kind of generalization, like that

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which T. S. Eliot has ventured on recently in his defence of classes and castes as essential to the growth of culture, has no scientific validity, as it doesn't seem to rest on adequate, conclusive evidence. It is however something to be thankful for that notwithstanding the remarkable journey Russell has made towards a Rightist standpoint in this regard, he recognizes that "there is no necessity, with modern methods of production, to perpetuate economic injustice in industrially backward nations, in order to promote progress in the arts of civilization."

Russell realizes that a world Government is indispensable to-day. But, he asks, and rightly, what are the chances of such a society holding together, in the absence of the cohesive force of the fear of external attack? Are self-interest and the pursuit of the collective good strong enough as impulses of human conduct to sustain the coming World Government? Inevitably some form of world Government, loose and remote in the beginning but gradually exerting real power, will take the place of the international anarchy that prevails still in spite of the lessons burnt into us by two world wars. But what of the new dangers that that might bring in its train, asks Russell. "We might create inadvertently, a new prison house, just perhaps but none the less joyless and spiritually dead", he fears. The impulses to adventure, to unregulated individual action, to experiment for oneself with life, give life its chief value and indeed it savour. How shall we reconcile the preservation of this indispensable instrument of progress, *viz*, the mental and moral freedom of man with the need of universal peace? Russell says the answer lies in devolution, the world government leaving matters not affecting the prevention of war to national governments and national governments leaving matters of local concern to local self-governing agencies and all authorities, (*i.e.*,) the world government, national governments and local authorities leaving man free in respect of his mental and moral life. It is refreshing to find the age-old Hindu ideal, revised and re-affirmed by Gandhiji in the form of the principle of decentralization, thus recognized as the principle which will save society.

In the concluding lecture on Individual and Social Ethics, Russell, reiterating that progress is dependent on the utmost degree of individual freedom and individual initiative, stresses the need of personal morality to guide free man, in his condnct. Obviously acceptance of the moral code of the community by man is not enough. Man must be eternally vigilant and discriminatingly critical in the obedience he yields to the rule of his class or society and must distinguish between custom and law. It is only natural that Russell should say that very much stronger grounds are needed to justify disobedience of a law than for disregard of conventional morality. The religious reformer would place the individual conscience above the law and claim for the universal moral law primacy over the law of the State. But the historical study of the growth of "morality" is a disillusioning experience and would support Russell's stand. Even so, the greatest advances in the moral sphere have involved disobedience both of law and of custom. Russell, who has travelled quite a distance since he wrote *Roads to Freedom* and *Justice in Wartime* thinks civil disobedience would become a duty but rarely. His confidence in the wisdom and good sense of modern legislatures and Governments seems to have recently increased enormously and not with much reason! But Russell is right in saying that respect for law, though not an absolute principle, is one of great weight. Even so, discriminating disregard of law and custom will, as often in the past, be indispensable to the moral as well as social progress of mankind.

The performance of public duty is not the whole of what makes for the good life; there is also the pursuit of private excellence. . . . "Without civic morality, communities perish, without personal morality, their survival has no value." That is splendidly put indeed. But what is Russell's view of the end of this pursuit of

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personal morality? Doesn't this ideal ignore altogether the essentialy spiritual nature of man? Is the vigorous and fearless assertion of individual moral freedom to have no higher justification, no loftier purpose, transcending mere human law and human limitation? Is the struggle for freedom worth while at all, except in the context of the need of the spirit in man to realize and fulfil itself, untrammelled by the limitations and inhibitions of the temporal process? Russell, as his Freeman's Worship shows, is obviously not to be regarded as reconciled to a purely secular view of the problem of human moral freedom. But the entire western school of philosophy to which Russell belongs has rather lopsidedly concerned itself with this secular aspect. Truly the problem is but an aspect of the vital issue of ends and means with which eastern thought has been, down the ages, and indeed right up to Gandhiji, comprehensively and continuously concerned. It is perhaps not too much to ask Russell, who asks men to comprehend and control those natural forces that they embody in themselves with some of the terrifying skill which they show in handling those that are outside of themselves, to set about the task himself and give us, here, as in many other matters of moment, a stirring lead.

The Lilycroft Open-Air Nursery School

BY DR. M. HAFIZ SYED

LIKE an obelisk overlooking the whole city towers the huge chimney of Lister's mill, one of the largest textile factories in the world. Huddled around it are rows and rows of ugly back-to-back cottages, crowded with children, yet drab and drear, with never a blade of green nor a bit of garden.

The surrounding thoroughfares are noisy day and night with heavy traffic: 'buses, huge mill lorries, traction engines, motors, and carts—all fraught with danger to child life. Such is the immediate environs of the Nursery School, though, oddly enough, within half a mile is the best residential part of the city. The Nursery School draws children and parents from both, with the happiest results. Many of the parents are factory workers or are in some way connected with the factory—weavers, spinners, doffers, dyers, engineers, labourers, carters, book-keepers, overlookers, managers,—thus representing very different grades inside the mill.

BUILDING AND EQUIPMENT

Set well back from the road, Nursery School and garden are like a veritable oasis of green, of quiet and of beauty. Mothers entering say, "Well, now who would have believed it! and right under the chimney too!" Or again, "it is funny, but you always seem to have the sunshine here!" And so we have, for the school faces due south, trapping every gleam of sun both summer and winter, strengthening and straightening rickety limbs, bringing roses to pallid cheeks and a sparkle to pretty eyes.

The school, looking more like a large house, is simply built, bungalow-fashion, overlooking a garden. On the sunny south side the walls are formed of glass folding-doors which are thrown wide open to light and air. A verandah runs the entire length of the building, its glass roof lets in the light, but keeps out the rain. Adjoining the verandah is a broad asphalt "run," then lawn, garden borders, and children's tiny gardens where they plant and tend bulbs and flowers. Roomy, bright playrooms face the garden and trees. Thus there is ample space for plenty of movement to develop sturdy little limbs.

There are large strong toys to pull and push—carts and wheel-barrows are served for what the children call locally a "flitting"

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(when nursery furniture has to be moved about). Then there are fine engines made by interested fathers; motors, swings, a rope ladder for climbing, a large playhouse, empty boxes and tubs, wooden blocks and gardening tools. There is also Montessori balance-board or inclined plane for the more adventurous, and the ever popular "sand pit". Here chubby brown youngsters serve up ice-cream sandwiches, "peas and pies," and other delicacies to their hearts' content, or play at "Morecambe Bay."

Everything in the Nursery School environment is thus designed for activity of body and, through the body and the senses, the mind. One sees all day long busy, happy little people engrossed in their own very important affairs. Activity means development, and concentration leads to direct character training.

We have occasionally had a child brought from a home where the mother works and leaves the child for some old woman to "mind". Such children do not know how to play. They remain passive or frightened, almost stupid for a time. Such was Ronnie, who had been tied all day with a strap to a table leg; and Irene, who had been tightly fastened up in a chair, so that at two years old she could not walk. In another case the mother brought her little Rosie and said, "Teacher, you will look after my little Rose, won't you? She is all I have now. You see, my first was drowned in a wash tub whilst I was away at work. My mother was too old to mind her properly. There was no lovely nursery like this where we lived." Poor mother! Rosie is well cared for now.

The School accommodates sixty children of from two to five years old. About 60 per cent are from homes where mothers go out to work. We have factory workers, charwomen, housekeepers, waitresses, bookkeepers, laundresses, lady doctors, a city alderman, and a magistrate among the mothers. Over and over again they express their relief from anxiety and say how much better they can work, knowing their little ones are cared for and happy at the Nursery School.

All those who can afford pay 2s. a week for food. Unemployed parents and widows have considerable reduction or in some cases pay nothing. In some cases the richer parents pay the fees of the poorer ones!

THE SWIMMING BATH

The north side of the building is occupied by kitchen, cloak room, tiny lavatories, and bath-room, with miniature swimming bath and showers, hot and cold water, etc.

Each child has his own private peg with his name, his towel, toothbrush, and toilet accessories. Do you wonder he shows great pride in ownership? Any morning one may hear shrieks of delight from the bath-room. Here, in the long, shallow bath, twelve little water nymphs, boys and girls, splash about in great glee. Their beautiful naked bodies are a delight to behold, so softly rounded, so supple and lithe, the despair of an Angelo! They "swim" and "float", play motor boat, mermaids, ducks. Floating toys—fishes, ducks and boats—help in the fun, and the little nymphs must finally be chased out. The water is warm, but a cold shower under the "rain", and a brisk rub with warm towel obviate any chance of chill. Delicate and ailing ones are massaged with oil. This water play stimulates circulation and digestion, and acts as a fine skin tonic. The Nursery mothers, who are so fine in co-operation, have made a rota, and help in turn every morning in the bath-room. They, too, are learning lessons. They tell us how it has taught them to train their children in self-help, how to be more patient, gentle, consistent, in their handling of the children. Thus mothers and teachers co-operate and mutually help each other.

Again, mothers, who in ignorance overburden their little ones with too many garments or with unsuitable clothing, have practical lessons in rational dress from

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wiser mothers whose healthy babies wear few but suitable under-garments.

THE NURSERY DAY

The Nursery day is a long one, beginning at 8 a. m. and closing at 5 p.m. Nursery teacher must needs love children and love work! It is however, a very happy day, filled with brightness, charm, and infinite variety.

To the children it is a busy and serious affair, and the morning period is the busiest. There are rabbits to be fed, ring-doves to be cared for. The pretty pigeons fly down for their corn and sparrows wait for crumbs There are flowers to arrange and furniture to make ready. Then comes dancing and games with rhythmic movement to music—a period of never-ending delight, second only in popularity to the beloved "swimming time." After activity comes a rest—story or picture book, Peter Rabbit or Little Black Sambo, or Three Little Pigs—"Now over again," they say. But look! The cuckoo clock calls out "Lunch! Lunch!" Quickly tables are laid and tiny "waiters" serve milk and biscuits without spilling a drop. There Jack spills his milk, so he trots off for a cloth and dries it up himself. Then there is clearing away and sweeping up till not a crumb remains. Next comes play with all kinds of materials or toys. Dorothy is busy house-keeping, Evelyn is cooking onions for her man's dinner, but Joan says she is giving hers ice-cream! Mary's baby has "terrible measles"; John is pressed into the role of doctor and orders "Hospital," the mother weeps, etc., and so the play goes on, spontaneously and delightfully rehearsing domestic or street activities. Another group keeps a shop, whilst Bill and his pal mend up the Rolls-Royce, lying flat under our one motor to do so! Other groups have bricks or blocks, chalk, or beads, or perhaps sit quietly in the garden with doll or book, or watching the birds.

Washing for dinner becomes a most enjoyable affair when you may have your very own bowl, when you may splash and make pretty soapy bubbles, and brush your own hair till it shines, gazing in a tiny mirror.

Nursery dinner is served by "waiters" and "Waitresses" in proper style. Play in the open air sharpens up appetites. Jimmy, a very poor little Irish boy of three years old, is a good "teacher man," but even he succumbs after three servings of shepherd's pie and two of rice pudding, and toddles off to bed on fat little legs to sleep it off! Finally, dinner through, sleep for all rounds off a busy morning.

SLEEP

This period is one of the most important in the Nursery routine. Whatever the weather, summer and winter, it is always in the open air. Warmly wrapped in blankets the children never catch cold, but waken with the rosy flush of babyhood and a sense of well-being. Moreover, every child sleeps every day for from one to two hours. The value of this quiet, restful sleep, undisturbed by noise, is incalculable. We see highly strung nervy babies grow placid and contented, fractious ones become soothed and happy; whilst, with sleep, food, and sun, rickety limbs grow straight, and children more and more beautiful, under our very eyes.

HEALTH AND EPIDEMICS

The open-air Nursery School proves conclusively the fundamental need of an outdoor life for healthy childhood. There are far more hours of direct sunshine than is generally supposed, even in an industrial city, and a garden facing south traps them all. Mothers and teachers have learnt that, if kept warm and well-nourished, children thrive in the open. They lose bronchial and catarrhal troubles, appetites improve, children even from the best homes gain in vigour and vitality, whilst nervous children gain in tone, balance, and general well-being. Rickets are cured in from one to two years. Accompanying this physical development is a stimulation and development in mentality which is even more marked.

Epidemics are unknown in the open-air Nursery School. All open-air schools of

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every type give the same verdict. Even tiny babies develop an extraordinary resistance to infection and epidemic disease when, in addition, scrupulous cleanliness is observed.

CLEANLINESS

Thorough cleanliness of both person and surroundings is observed. Floors are washed daily in disinfectant. Towels, etc., are boiled weekly, and each child has his own separate blankets, bed, and personal things. If such a standard could be made possible in all schools for little children throughout the country, epidemics would soon be stamped out, with their yearly toll of child life needlessly sacrificed, and the pathos of bereaved parents.

CHARACTER TRAINING

In an atmosphere of freedom and happiness there is elimination of fear. With space for movement, with varied activities, choice becomes possible. This is an important factor in character training.

There are few rules, and the children are allowed to do much for themselves, carry through their own affairs without undue adult interference. Children are not prevented from making mistakes nor scolded when they do. They are expected, if possible, to make the mistake good. If they spill sand they sweep it up and leave all tidy. This freedom of action and thought develops initiative, courage, resource, and self-reliance.

Do they never quarrel? Very seldom, and then they generally settle their own affairs very quickly. Children of a mixed-age group teach, help, stimulate, discipline, and "mother" each other in a remarkable way. They acquire from each other good personal habits of cleanliness, speech, and order; they acquire good social habits of cleanliness, speech, and order; they acquire good social habits of manners, of courtesy, and to some extent of self-discipline-*e.g.*, in waiting "turns" also of unselfishness. Children are naturally kind, they do not need to learn this, and never is this more apparent than through the universal kindness shown to any very delicate, ailing, or defective child. Such a one becomes the nursery "pet". Joan hurried to nursery every morning and cannot stay away because her little Pearl will need her. Everyone shares even the most precious of toys with Baby Jackie, who has to lie on his bed all day with a bad heart. They save a "sweetie" or a biscuit for him—they laugh and play with him and keep him happy all the time.

Mary, aged now five years, has for the past year mothered Geoffrey, a defective child of six and a half. After doctors, hospitals, clinics had given him up, the despairing mother brought him to us as a last resort and begged us to take him in, just "to make him happy," said she. He could not make any movement unaided and had to be carried about and be fed, he could not talk, and had no teeth. His subsequent development has been remarkable. First he learned to stand, then to walk a few paces, and now after one year he can walk, is beginning to speak, feeds himself, and is cutting his first tooth. He is a happy, contented child, to the delight of his mother and family.

His first responses arose during the period of rhythmic movement, when he began to beat time with his hands. The Nursery School doctor has recorded physical development on the child's medical schedule, but nowhere can record be made of the stimulation and happiness engendered by loving child companions; of the desire to develop arising from inner laws, nor of the infinite patience, gentleness, and love showered upon him by all the children, but especially by Mary the little "mother."

THE NURSERY SCHOOL AS A FAMILY

Childhood is too wise, too loving for class distinction. Children from every possible type of home play and work happily together. Where the school is also a community, children make many links in unexpected ways, between parents of widely differing social status, to their mutual advantage.

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Through the Parent's Club a real family spirit has grown up. Parents feel a responsibility to each other and to the school. Even a slack mother pulls herself up and is ashamed to send her child dirty or untidy.

The mother wearied with the cares of a large family or with ill-health, the mother who has begun to lose heart, finds fresh hope and cheer in companionship and fellowship at the Mother's Club. This meets weekly and there is a membership of seventy. The Nursery School works in co-operation with the Maternity Welfare Committee of the city. This Committee allows ailing mothers to go with their babies to a beautiful holiday home in the country at a nominal cost. At the Mothers' Club, held in the Nursery, the women are mutually helpful. They teach each other to knit, sew, cut out, renovate, and even to do tailoring. One will share a recipe and bring a lovely crispy home-made cake for all to taste with their welcome, unfailing cup of tea. There are also discussions, debates, lectures, musical evenings, etc. Parents arrange their own social evening-*e.g.*, whist drives, pea and pie supper, benefit concert, sketch party, etc. In sickness, confinement, distress, or bereavement, they help each other in many ways. Mrs. H. was suddenly left a widow with seven little children. A benefit concert organised and given entirely by Nursery mothers realised £ 15 to help her through temporary distress. Mrs. E. was ordered to hospital for six months with suspected serious spinal troubles, leaving six little ones behind, the eledest fourteen years old. Paid help was impossible. One Nursery parent took her to hospital in his car, another paid Nursery fees for one child. Another, a poor woman, did all the family mending for six months, and yet another kept an eye on the house, so that the family had a good dinner every day. The mother has just returned cured and strong to find all well with her family and little ones. So one might continue through many similar cases of real Christian service.

Each Xmas a rich mother invites all the mothers to her house and give them a real "Yorkshire Tea," with "knife and fork" and "spice cake." A Nursery friend gives an annual picnic in her lovely garden during the summer.

Sick visitors go to all cases of illness, taking a little gift of fruit, flowers, or food from our "Mutual Help Fund." In connection with the Club there is also a savings bank, a holiday fund, a clothing club.

Nursery Fathers are running this year a study course in "Social Evolution". It is their first venture upon such an ambitious syllabus of study. They are led by a tutor from the Workers' Educational Association. The fathers also help in many ways, but are not so well-organised as the mothers. Mr. K. does our gardening when unemployed. Mr. B. makes beautiful dolls'—beds, engines, carts. Mr. W. can do nothing, but he sends gifts of fruit and "parkin-pigs" at "Plot," and so the school becomes one family of children, parents, and teachers, all helping each other in common service and love.

Our failures? Yes, we have a few failures—parents who never come near us, but in no cases have we neglected the child. From these the Nursery School makes a new demand, sets new standards of cleanliness and behaviour. Gradually the mother co-operates, till, at last she too becomes proud to possess such a pretty, lovely child—a child who has, as she says "nice ways" and "so polite." Said one such mother one day, "Our Jane has got that particular since she came to the Nursery School that she will have a cloth on the table now—no newspapers for her! and we must all say Grace too!"

So do the little ones take the Nursery School into their homes, in many ways drawing home and school nearer, mother and teacher to a better understanding of each other's problems, and a closer co-operation in the interest of the child.

"And a little child shall lead them."

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JUTE IN THE INDIAN DOMINION

By Dr. K. R. SEN, D.Sc.

Editor-in-chief, "Journal of the Science Club," Calcutta.

THE division of India into two independent States has resulted in the raw jute production being almost wholly confined to one state, while all the jute mills stand on the soil of the other. The income from jute to undivided India, before the World War II, amounted to about a quarter of India's total income from exports. That shows how important jute was to India's economy in those days. The jute industry of the Indian Union has now become endangered by insufficiency of the available raw jute within the territory of the state, while, for the same reason, any export of raw jute by the Indian Union has become impossible. On the other hand, Pakistan's position to-day is merely that of an exporter of the raw fibre. But, if the newspaper reports are to be believed, the country has a tendency to look away from her immediate neighbour to find a market for this its agricultural produce. The resulting crisis in the future production and trade in respect of almost a monopoly commodity of the former undivided India, has given a head-ache to both the Government as well as the Industry.

The possibility of a solution out of the *impasse*, which at once suggests itself, is that of mutual co-operation between the Indian Union and Pakistan to such an extent as will show that, so far as jute is concerned, the forced and unnatural division of the country has not materially affected the common underlying unity of the two people. But mutual agreement in such case, the income from jute and jute goods can be divided between the sister states to the benefit of both. To maintain such a *statns quo* much good will and mutual confidence are of course necessary. But remembering the perverse history of the origin of the seceding state, as well as the tariff struggles that ensued almost immediately after the division of India, it is hardly considered likely that such a golden arrangement can ever be possible, except temporarily, under duress of the changing world conditions.

Jute industry in India has also got another, and more powerful, enemy to contend with. It is the dwindling market for jute goods brought about by the development of local substitutes by the consumer countries. It is a well-known fact that the U.S.A. has been trying for long to be independent of India's jute and has also partially succeeded in using cotton and treated paper bags in place of jute containers for transporting foodgrains, sugar etc.

It is obvious that an increase of production of raw jute in the Indian Union, which will only increase the total produce of the Geographical (*i.e.* undivided) India, cannot be a *long-term* solution to the problem. It will merely increase the total world crop of iute, while the market gradually gets smaller and smaller. In this perspective, it appears that the *Indian Union may now profitably direct its attention to developing both the natural and the man-made long fibres, and utilise the existing jute machinery to produce goods from them.* Even if that does not bring wealth from outside, as jute did, it will at least prevent drainage of India's wealth to other countries possessing well developed textile industry.

The natural long fibres of very good quality, which can be easily cultivated in India, and put to versatile use, are: (1) ramie or china grass, and (2) stinging nettle. These fibres can, with proper attention, not only ease the situation in which the Indian jute industry finds itself today, but they can also supplement India's deficient supply of cotton. In addition to these natural fibres, jute mills of India can also take to rayon spinning and weaving. The man-made fibres, particularly of this category, together with the finished fabrics produced from them, drain away crores of rupees out of India every year.

A sub-tropical climate with abundant rainfall is most conducive to the cultivation of ramie. The water in the soil should only be sufficient to keep it just moist.

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Sodden soil is harmful to the growth of ramie plants. The upper soil should be fine *loam* easily reducible to powder. For proper drainage of excess of soil moisture, a porous sub-soil is necessary. The time for planting ramie is spring or autumn.

Annual yield of ramie is very high. Two to five crops are successively available from one planting. Maximum amount of the best quality fibre is obtained by harvesting a crop just when the bark at the base begins to turn brown in colour. It is essential that ramie should, like jute and other bast fibres be harvested at the right time. Earlier cutting results in the production of weak and immature fibres. If cutting is done too late, the fibre obtained is harsh and brittle.

Re-cultivation of ramie and nettle fibre in India, is thus likely to place the jute mills of the country which at present face a critical situation, again in a sound position. For, fabrics can be produced from both these fibrres, on the one hand, to replace the fine jute goods with still better stuff and on the other to compensate for the deficient supply of cotton cloth for wear due to scarcity of that raw material.

Apart from these two natural fibres, there is also a great possibility for India of developing production of some of the important manmade fibres. It is possible to adopt and utilise the jute mills for the processing of such fibres as well. The possibility of quickly adopting the jute machinery to rayon processing was proved by some of the Dundee mills recently when jute supply to the U.K. fell very low, and these mills changed over from jute to rayon manufacture.

It is clear, therefore, that India between the natural fibres--ramie and nettle—and the man-made rayon fibres, has immense possibilities of *immediate* development of the long fibre industry. Such jute machineries as cannot be fed by the normal jute crop of the Indian Union, can *at once*, be switched on to the utilisation of the at-present available man-made rayon fibres, and as soon as possible, to that of the nettle fibre of wild but abundant growth. Even if Pakistan fails altogether to supply raw jute to India at reasonable price and free from duties, these fibres, rayon and nettle, may well tide over the difficult period prior to proper cultivation and decortication (or rettling) of ramie and nettle being carried out.

It cannot of course be stressed too strongly, however, that to give proper effect to the suggested scheme, it is necessary *at once*, before anything else, to establish a *Long Fibre Research Institute* for both agronomical and technological researches. The institute should be situated near the region of cultivation of the two natural fibres under consideration. It should be financed by the Government, the Jute Industry, the Cotton Textile Industry and the Rayon Textile Industry together, in order to ensure engagement of close attention of both the Government and the Textile Industries to the work of the Institute. The Institute should be unstintingly provided with uptodate equipments and library, and should be under the charge of a well-qualified and experienced 'Physicist'. The work of the institute should start with *the fundamental investigations*, and there should be no attempt to stampede the research workers to production of results for quick exploitation by any industry.

THE PILOT

BY

J. N. MALLICK, M.A.

The sun is set; the gloom hath spread;
  And all my friends are gone.
Upon this dreary shore of Life
  I wander all alone.

I weave a garland of my dreams;
I catch a glimpse of distant Light;
My heart is trembling fast in fear;
The stars are twinkling clear and bright.

Where *Maya*'s lute is calm and mute,
Where Passions roar no more,
O Pilot, lead my shatter'd bark
  To that uncharted shore.

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HAS POETRY A FUTURE?

By Mr. WILLIAM HOOKENS, M.A.

—:o:—

Of late we are beginning to have a good few futurists who predict anything from wars to boot laces. And there are some who, obsessed as they are with the present, are beginning to see the future as a very gloomy one. Naturally much cannot be expected from them when it comes to prophecies on poetry.

It is true, Lord Macaulay, the voracious reader and historian-critic of the last century, made a prophecy to the effect that poetry best survives under primitive conditions and that civilisation is anathema. True as he may seem at first blush, there is no denying that the last century was not such a troublous one as ours, though the triumph of Materialism and the Darwinian theory of survival did upset many to Atheistic tendencies which not even the Oxford Movement could put a stop to. . . . .

During the last Great War of 1914-18, we had poets like Rupert Brooke who sang in divine strains of the soldier who fought and died a martyr, making his country a gloriously new country of hope and eternal bliss: The end of the war saw the people disillusioned, and unemployment and retrenchment gave ample opportunities for people to begin a life of sexualism as sanctioned by Freud and company! And instead of poetry and religion, men and women and children began wallowing in the filth of the gutters.

George Gissing saw nothing but unending confusion in a world where Democracy was the form of government, and looked on people as so much chaff meant to be burnt at will by wily politicians and good for nothing leaders. Bernard Shaw wrote cynically on the bad things he saw and T. S. Eliot gave us the "Waste Lands" in commemoration of an evil and disillusioned world of greedy, hollow men! Eugene O'Neill saw in life nothing but rank sexualism. . .

As opposed to this, we have the buoyant confidence of the moderns during and after the war of 1939-45. Many poets fought doggedly with a courage only known to men of grace and power, chanting poetry as they marched! And their poetry lives in "The Penguin New Writing" as a symbolic something which Hitler could never destroy!

It is said of Winston Churchill that he read more of poetry than any war Minister has ever done, and this explains Why England won in spite of overwhelming odds and little or no preparation. As for Lord Wavell he collected "Other Men's Flowers" to instil courage in himself as well as in those whom he led.

Only Hitler and his peopls forgot the place of poetry in life, and no wonder the satellites of Hitler are no more, except as a haunting nightmare of unadulterated evil. The lack of poetry spelt lack of morale in the German people and this explains why the young and old are yet in concentration camps, and why, in spite of constant vigilance, there is juvenile delinquency galore!

Modern poets are doing their utmost to keep poetry in the tradition of the ancients, and the greatest honour goes to T.S. Eliot who has now proclaimed the organ-voiced poet as the equal of Shakespeare for witchery of language and rhythm and the myth-making faculty, with the added grace of giganticness and the habitual perch. Cecil Lewis, Edmnnd Blunden, Edith Sitwell are other well-known poets who bring to poetry the realness of life warmed by imagination.

Thousands of people now frequent Hyde Park to hear the poets recite the great masters, allowing the words of poetic import to transform their lives. And Edward Hulton's "Picture Post" of 1st May this year shows the concentrative gaze of man, woman and child on the poets who chanted with fullthroated ease the beautifully sublime poems of Chaucer and Shakespeare and Miiton. Poetry is coming to its own and its future is an assured fact, because it is, as Matthew Arnold says, worthy of the higher destinies of Man!

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

TIME AND SPACE

When I consider the shortness of my life, lost in an eternity before aud behind, "passing away as the remembrance of a guest who tarrieth but a day," the little space I fill or behold in the infinite immensity of spaces, of which I know nothing and which know nothing of me—when I reflect this, I am filled with terror, and wonder why I am *here* and not *there*, for there was no reason why it should be the one rather than the other; why *now* rather than *then*. Who set me here? By whose command and rule were this time and place appointed me? How many kingdoms know nothing of us! The eternal silence of those infinite spaces terrifies me.—Pascal: *Pensees*.

. . . .

TEACH ME A SONG

Teach me a song so sad with memory,
So wild with hope, so keen with love's pure fire,
An angel hearing it, shall wish to be
Human and capable of vain desire,
Foolish like me, by mine own passions wrung,
That he may sing but once as I have sung.

Teach me a song shall sound above the stars,
Out-distance time and drown the noise
of doom;
One that shall triumph past the golden bars
Of heaven, and past the silence of the tomb;
One that shall crowd all space, beneath, above,
With the full volume of the praise of love.

—*A Clutton-Brock.*

. . . . . .

MARRIAGE

When you're a married man, Samivel, you'll understand a good many things as you don't understand now; but vether it's worth while goin' through so much to learn so little, as the charity-boy said wen he got to the end of the alphabet, is a matter of taste! o'rather think it isn't.

—CHARLES DICKENS: *Pickwick Papers.*

. . . . .

SORROWS

Light sorrows speak, but deeper ones are dumb.—*Seneca.*

THE AID OF ACCIDENTS

Some are born rich without work, others are born to a position in which they can become rich by work; the great majority are born to hard work and poverty throughout life, numbers to indigence. Next to birth the chief cause of success in life is accident and opportunity. When a person not born to riches succeeds in acquiring them, his own industry and dexterity have generally contributed to the result, but industry and dexterity would not have sufficed unless there had been also a concurrence of occasions and chances which falls to the lot of only a small number———Energies and talents are of much more avail for success in life than virtues.———In the situation of most people no degree whatever of good conduct can be counted on for raising them in the world without the aid of fortunate accidents.

—*J. S. Mill.*

In this connection one is reminded of a moving passage in Haldane's Autobiography where he speaks of the decisive part that the contingent or the fortutous plays in one's life. Having achieved a great many things in life with considerable distinction he was perhaps the last person of whom it might be said that he stumbled on greatness by sheer chance. Yet he felt that we greatly underrate the part that accident and good luck play in shaping our career and giving us such success as we have achieved. "The contingent plays a large part even in the best ordered lives," he said, "and we do well to ask of philosophy to teach us how to make ourselves detached from the circumstances it brings, whether happy or otherwise."

THE JOYS OF LIFE

For me life has no joys but these:
To search for new discoveries,
To burn my flesh at life's great fire,
To quench my soul of its desire.
To rise upon ambitious wings
To risk my life for gorgeous things.

But new discoveries soon blend
With stale regret, and then they end.

—*Gerald Cumberland.*

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SPENCER'S LAST WISH

John Morley records in his Recollections *that in the autumn of 1903, Herbert Spencer wrote to him that the end could not be far off—an end to which he "looked forward with satisfaction." His remains were to be cremated, and he had forbidden any such ceremony as is performed over the ashes of those who adhere to the current creed. "At the same time" he went on—*

I do not like the thought of entire silence, and should be glad were there given a brief address by a friend. On looking round among my friends, you stand out above others as one from whom words would come most fitly; partly because of our long friendship, partly because of the kinship of sentiment existing between us and partly because of the general likeness of ideas which distinguishes us from the world at large.

This is very much like the Brahmo substitute for Vedic rites at death and marriage. One form of ceremony takes the place of another. If both are of no intrinsic import who would like a change in tradition sanctified by immemorial usage?

. . . .

THE ROAD TO WISDOM

There is no short cut, no patent tramroad to wisdom: after all the centuries of invention, the soul's path lies through the thorny wilderness which must be still trodden in solitude, with bleeding feet, with sobs for help, as it was trodden by them of old time.

—GEORGE ELIOT: *The Lifted Veil.*

. . . . .

LINCOLN'S WISH

Die when I may, I want it said of me by those who knew me best, that I always plucked a thistle and planted a flower, where I thought a flower would grow.

...*A. Lincoln.*

. . . . .

SPEECH-MAKING

The manner of your speaking is full as important as the matter, as more people have ears to be tickled than understandings to judge.

—*Chesterfield.*

HUXLEY ON EXTINCTION

In a letter to John Morley in 1883, Thomas Henry Huxley, a gallant crusader in the cause of Agnosticism, wrote these words:

It is a curious thing that I find my dislike to the thought of extinction increasing as I get older and nearer the goal. It flashes across me at all sorts of times with a sort of horror that in 1900 I shall probably know no more of what is going on than I did in 1800. I had sooner be in hell a good deal—at any rate in one of the upper circles, where the climate and company are not too trying. I wonder if you are plagured in this way.

All philosophic minds that gvae a thought to this solemn enigma in that age of rationalism, be it Spencer or Huxley or Mill or Balfour, were sailed by these difficulties. "My answer to this query, says Morley, "I cannot recall."

That it was a negative is certain, perhaps supported by a reference to Lucretius' world-famed third book or Phiny's ironic reproach of *avida nunquam desinere moralitas*; or our Englishmen must endure.

Their going hence even as their coming hither;
Ripeness is all.

. . . . .

WORK

Who first invented work—and bound the free;
And holiday rejoicing spirit down
To the ever haunting importunity
Of business, in the green fields and the town—
To plough, loom, anvil, spade—and Oh, most sad,
To the dry drudgery of the desk's dead wood

—*Lamb.*

. . . . . .

PEACE

When I set myself sometimes to consider the diverse agitations of men, and the troubles and dangers to which they expose themselves. . . . I see that all their misfortunes come from one thing only, that they know not how to dwell in peace, in a room.

—*Pascal.*

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SONG OF MYSELF

I think I could turn and live with animals,
they are so placed and self-contain'd
I stand and look at them long and long.

They do not sweat and whine about their condition.

They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins

They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God.

Not one is dissatisfied, not one is demented with the mania of owning things,

Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago,

Not one is respectable or unhappy over the whole earth.

—*Walt whitman.*

. . . .

LAMB AND WORDSWORTH

My attachments are all local, finely local. I have no passion to groves and valleys. The rooms where I was born, the furniture which has been before my eyes all my life, a book case which has followed one about (like a faithful day, only exceeding him in knowledge) wherever I have moved—old chairs, old tables, streets, squares, where I have summoned myself, myold school—there are my mistresses. Have I not enough without your mountains?

—[*Lamb's letter to Wordsworth.*]

. . . . .

"I AM THE TRUTH'S"

The centuries are the conspirators against the sanity and authority of the soul..... Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your mind.....Check this lying hospitality and lying affection. Live no longer to the expectation of those deceived and deceiving people. Say to them, O Father, O mother, O wife, O Brother, O Friend, I have lived with you after appearances, hitherto. Henceforward I am the truth's.....No law can be sacred to me but that of my own nature.

—*Emerson.*

TO LIFE

Hardy is too clear-eyed to miss the tragedy behind the glitter of life and there is a curious mingling of light-hearted frivolity and deep feeling in his lines "To life."

O Life with the sad seared face
I weary of seeing thee,
And thy draggled cloak, and thy hobbling pace,
And thy too-forced pleasantry!

I know what thou woulds't tell,
Of Death, Time and Destiny—
I have known it long, and know, too well
What it all means for me.

But canst thou not array
Thyself in rare disguise,
And feign like truth, for one mad day,
That Earth is Paradise?

I'll tune me to the mood,
Aud mum with thee till eve,
And may be what as interlude
I feign, I shall believe!

. . . . .

THE POOR

Do you know what it is to be poor—downright, cruelly, hideously poor, with a poverty that is graceless, sordid, and miserable! Poverty that compels you to dress in your one suit of clothes till it is worn threadbare that robs you of your own self-respect and causes you to slink along the street vaguely abashed, instead of walking erect among your fellowmen in independent ease. This is the grinding course that keeps down your noble aspiration under a load of ignoble care.

—*Dickens.*

. . . . .

PANDAVAS AND KAURAVAS

"When there is insult from others, we are a hundred and five;* when there is mutual quarrel, we are only five and they are hundred."

—*Yudhisthira.*

* Dhritharashtra, the blind old King of Hastinapura had a hundred sons known as Kauravas; and his brother Pandu had five—the Pandavas of Mahabharata fame.

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GUARDIANSHIP OF 'INDIA'

(A MOCK TRIAL)

By Mr. R. JAVANTHINATHAN.

———:o:———

[*N. B.*:—The characters in this trial are purely imaginary and no offence is meant to anybody living or dead.]

Characters figuring in the trial:—

The Hon'ble Mr. Chief Justice Spirit-De-Gandhi of the Supreme Court of Conscience.

Plaintiff:—Mr. Common Man.

Defendant:—Mrs. Jai Hind Lal.

Plaintiff's Counsel:—Mr. Anarchy, B.A., LL.B., BAR-AT-LAW.

Defendant's Counsel:—Mr. Patch-Abyss Sitaramiah, M.A., M.L.

Plaintiff's Witnesses:—

(1) Mrs. Ginger Potash Narayan.
(2) Mrs. Sorehead-Chatter Bose.
(3) Mrs. Gaol Walker.
(4) Miss Danger.
(5) Mrs. Communalism.
(6) Mrs. Parochialism.

Defendant's Witnesses:—

(1) Mrs. Steel-heart Pat-All. (lady doctor).
(2) Mrs. Un-Mount batons (mid-wife).
(3) Miss Democracy.
(4) Mrs. Babu Raja Press-Hard.
(5) Mrs. Patriotism.
(6) Prof. Mrs. Realist.

Clerk of the Crown.
Stenographer.
Exhibit 'A':—Child 'India' (Two years old).
Court Sergeant.
Usher of the Court.
Advocates, spectators, etc.

It was a red letter day for the independent sovereign dreamland republic, when its Supreme Court of Conscience assembled to dispose of a novel suit, the like of which was never heard of in the annals of legal jurisprudence. The suit, involving as it did, the question of guardianship of a two year old child by name 'India,' called for more common sense than any legal acumen for its disposal.

The court hall was packed to capacity and pin-drop silence reigned in the hall. People all over the country were breathlessly awaiting the posting of the case, and as the day of hearing was announced, they became more restless on account of curiosity and sensation and all their minds were focussed on the famous judge. The Hon'ble Chief Justice Mr. Spirit-De-Gandhi who was acknowledged as a pre-eminent specialist in the research of conscience presided over the bench.

The court Sergeant clears his throat and cries out, "Silence, Silence". (It was 11 A.M. sharp). The Usher of the court (announces) "The court has assembled for the day".

Hon'ble Mr. Spirit-De-Gandhi C. J.: (to the clerk of the crown) What cases have been posted for to-day?

The clerk: (With a bow of respect) O. P. No. 9999 of 49 filed by Mr. Common Man. (so saying, he places the relevant papers on the table of the Chief Justice who peruses them with a smile, which is interpreted in a whisper by the plaintiff's counsel as an auspicious start for them.)

Usher (calls out) "Common Man, Common Man, Common Man!"

(An emaciated half-clad old man enters the court and falls prostrate before the Judge.) Usher [again calls]: Jai Hind Lal, Jai Hind Lal, Jai Hind Lal!

An aged lady with a furrowed forehead with a child in her arms enters the hall and slowly bends her head towards the Judge.

Plaintiff's counsel Mr. Anarchy gets ready for opening the case. Defendant's counsel Mr. Patch-Abyss Sitaramiah occupies his seat.

Chief Justice: Let us proceed with the case. I am afraid, unless we hurry up, we may not be able to finish this today. And I am particular that I must be able to

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dispose this off today. Clerk, now read out the plaint.

Clerk of the Crown: Puts on his glasses and inserts a pinch of snuff in his nostrils—(Reading the plaint in a well measured tone.)

"Whereas in the year of Grace 1947, during the month of August, the plaintiff known as Mr. Commen-man, having been blessed with a child, "India" through his beloved wife, the late lamented Mrs. Mohandas, handed over the babe to the defendant known as Mrs. Jai Hind Lal, in fulfilment of the desire of his departed wife.

Whereas experience during the past two years has shown that the defendant is totally incapable of bringing up the child, and it has been established beyond a shadow of doubt that the child has no hope of surviving the malnutrition to which it is persistently subjected to, and its consequent diseases.

And whereas, the plaintiff feels it is high time, the child is restored to him, himself being the legal guardian of the child, so that he can entrust it to a really good lady who knows child-nursing better.

The plaintiff prays that the Supreme Court of Conscience be pleased to grant a decree annulling the guardianship of Mrs. Jai Hind Lal and vesting the same in the plaintiff who is morally, legally and naturally the *de jure* guardian of his beloved child."

The clerk, finishes reading and draws in another pinch of snuff, which he kept flavouring throughout his reading the plaint.

Chief Justice:—Well. This, I think, is a case which has complicated facets but if both sides are able to see eye to eye with each other, I am confident my task will become simple and easy. (Looking at the Plaintiff's counsel) Alright, you can proceed.

Plaintiff's counsel, Mr. Anarchy, B.A., LL.B. (Bar-at-Law) opens the case :—" My lord, I have the honour to present before your Lordship today, a pathetic case, a brief of which any lawyer would be greatly proud. It is not my purpose, My Lord, to drag on the case to a weary length producing unlimited witnesses, which as experience has shown in the past, will only make the judge nod on the bench in a mood of drowsiness. I have therefore just six witnesses to examine and that too on points which have direct bearings on the case. This is a case which has excited the people everywhere and Your Lordship might be well aware how the talk about it, is almost on everyone's lips. It would appear evident from the face of the plaint itself, that the defendant has so far successfully continued to be in illegitimate possession of my client's child, and has resisted all the attempts on the part of my client to get back the child of which, before any canons of law and justice, he is the true guardian. Since, My Lord, the defendant in this case happens to be a lady, I wish to emphasise before this court, that it is not my purpose to cause undue and unchivalrous embarrassment to the tender sex to which she belongs, and accordingly, I have arranged for the production of all my witnesses from the same sex as she belongs to, which I hope Your Lordship will appreciate. First let me examine my witnesses with the court's permission, as I feel, it would be improper on my part to encroach on Your Lordship's indulgence without getting down to brass-tacks."

Usher calls:—"Ginger-potash Narayan, Ginger Potash Narayan, Ginger Potash Narayan."

A middle aged lady dressed in simple khadi wear, but looking charming and dashing, gets into the witness box and swears.

Mr. Anarchy:—Madam, what do you know about the defendant?

Please tell the court in brief your knowledge of child-nursing and your opinion of the defendant's capacity in that art.

Mrs. G-P. Narayan:—(Assuming her characteristic vehemence). I belong to Bihar province and I am the organiser of the famous child welfare centre that carries on its activities all over the country. Besides that, I am in charge of the Patna Laboratory which has won universal popularity for its unique tonic food for children known as "Socialism-brand milk". We distribute our milk tins freely to all who desire them, and if I am not proud, our product, has achieved a name unparalleled in the history of commerce and trade. I may mention for the information of the court, that during the recent exhibitions held in Bombay and elsewhere, people simply

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swarmed round our shops and there was a tumultous clamour for our product. Statistics will show that the sales were on that day beyond all comprehensible proportions and the rival traders were forced to wind up their businesses stealthily and decamp. It is therefore axiomatic that the public have well realised the efficacy of our product which is so marvellous in the cases of defective growths of children. Out of sheer pity for my friend's husband Mr. Comman Man, I approached the defendant times out of number and appealed to her to use my product for the child, which she bluntly refused. When people all over the country vie with one another to taste my milk product, why not this single woman? Had only the child been handed over to me, when its dear mother Mrs. Mohandas died, what a buxum baby it would have grown into by now? The court will pardon me for being self-laudatory and I submit I have said nothing but hard facts. At times, naked truths are stranger than fiction."

Defence Counsel:—*Mr. Patch-abyss Sitaramiah* (cross-examining the witness) Did you not study in the same school as my client and were'nt you both trained by the same master?

Mrs. G. P. Narayan:—There is no denying the fact. But I am sorry to find that my erstwhile colleague has miserably failed to act up to the lessons of our revered master.

Def. Counsel:—But I can see no reason why you should refuse to co-operate with my client who bears absolutely no ill-will against anybody much less against you. After all, the child which she is rearing up belongs to a third party and she has no axe whatsoever to grind in the matter and her service to the child is purely altruistic.

Mrs. G. P. Narayan:—She would never listen to me so long as she chooses to remain in the opposite camp. Her advisers are quite well known to me and they care very little for the child and are constantly working for the diminution of your client's interest in the welfare of the child. That is their business and proven nature.

Def. Counsel:—Can I take it that, at the time of levelling such caustic criticisms against my client, you are, as a responsible woman, equally conscious of the difficulties and responsibilities involved in the delicate task of child nursing, especially a motherless one?

Mrs. G. P. Narayan:—Of course you can well do so. But those difficulties about which much fuss is created, can be dissolved in no time if she only cares to listen to me.

(Cross-examination of the first witness was over).

Usher (Calls out) "Sore-head Chatter Bose! Sore-head Chatter Bose! Sore-head Chatter Bose!"

[The second witness got into the witness box. She was a stiff necked old lady and her face bore the stamp of seriousness. There was a tension in the atmosphere, as she stood erect like a man.]

Mr. Anarchy:—Madam, what is your experience in the field of maternity and what is your opinion about the way in which the defendant nurtures the child of my client?

Mrs. S. H. C. Bose:—I hail from Bengal and am a leading doctor of the place. Only recently I undertook a continental lecture tour. I am also the principal of the Bose Psycho-Chemical Research Institute which is a world famous institution. I am an avowed specialist in restoring warmth to cold bodies of children and making them agile and dashing so that in the long run they may become expert fire-eaters.

Mr. Anarchy:—Well Madam, Have you anything to say about the condition of my client's child and did you ever happen to examine and diagnose it? What is your opinion about the same?

Mrs. S. H. C. Bose:—Quite a year ago, I diagnosed the child and recommended my unique preparation called "Social republican laxative pills". As a rule I never talk in praise of my stuff, because, it will be an insult to the intelligence of every household woman to be introduced to my pills. Even when I was away in Europe last month, I learnt people actually boxed with one another to get a bottle of my laxative, which is so indispensable particularly during the present season.

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Mr. Anarchy:—Will you tell the court what your pills can do in the case of my client's child? Don't stray away from the point at issue and confine your remarks to the child alone.

Mrs. S. H. C. Bose:—Yes Sir, I crave the court's pardon for any of my irrelevant remarks. The simple reason why I recommend my pills to the defendant's child is that it has the miraculous quality of purging the child of all the impurities pervading throughout its system which have manifested in the forms of the detestable itches of corruption (not to mention of the itching palm), swelling of black-marketing, cataract of suspicion and other ailments of selfishness, nepotism and inefficiency etc. Once, I had the opportunity to remain in the camp of my esteemed friend, the defendant. When I urged her to take my advice, she turned a deaf ear to my words. Finding that my association with her would only undermine my reputation, I chose to sever my ties with her as a good professional doctor. It is therefore plain as pikestaff that unless the child is recovered from the defendant and admitted immediately to a clinic like that of mine, some calamity would certainly befall the child. I say this not with an air of blowing my own trumpet but in the genuine interests of the innocent babe. This is all my humble submission.

Cross-examination by the defendant's counsel started.

Def. Counsel:—Are you not the sister of the late Military Doctor Sabash Chandri Bai of Great War II fame?

Mrs. S. H. Bose:—Yes. I proudly confess the fact.

Def. Counsel:—Are you not using your famous sister's name while you canvass patronage for your drugs?

Mrs. S, H. Bose:—May be, to a certain extent. But the quality of my drug is there to convince the masses.

Def. Counsel:—Am I to take it that you have developed a sore head on account of your failure as a doctor and hence you have chosen to become a businesswoman under the camouflage of a research institute?

Mrs. S. H. C. Bose!—But I deem it a service to humanity in either way.

Def. Counsel:—Would you concede the fact that your medicines have never been heard of outside your province and you have no market elsewhere?

Mrs. S. H. C. Bose:—That is why I am advertising for agents all over the country. So far as the child in question is concerned, I would submit to the court that it is suffering more from a bad nurse than from a bad disease.

Cross examination of the second witness was over.

Usher (calls out) 'Gaol-Walker, Gaol-Walker, Gaol-Walker'.

[Next moment the witness box was found occupied by a stout woman with blood-shot eyes, who was dressed in orthodox Hindu fashion, significant of Maharashtra culture.]

Mr. Anarchy:—It is time, madam, you depose your views about the defendant and her mode of upbringing my client's child.

Mrs. Gaol-walker: I am proud to be associated with this case. This is not a case which concerns merely the guardianship of a particular child, but the fate of a thousand year old culture depends on the judgment of this case. I represent the true Hindu Culture and hailing as I do, from Maharashtra, I am the founder of "Rashly serving the Society" familiarly known as R.S.S. My organisation imparts lessons to all the Hindu folk in the art of warding off the jealous eyes that may be cast on their children by vicious minded persons, which according to Hindu custom is inauspicious and portends evil for the children. And we spare no one whom we deem a doubtful visitor to our child.

Mr. Anarchy:—Will you now tell the court your connection with the defendant and your experience with her ways of rearing up my client's child?

Mrs. Gaol-walker: That is my sole purpose here sir. Our aim being service to humanity particularly to the younger ones, I approached the defendant more than once and impressed on her the necessity of bringing up the child in chivalrous surroundings so that when

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its age advanced, it could become a hero of Hinduism and be a terror to its enemies. I also warned Mrs. Jaihind Lal against walking over the trap of vested interests but my attempt unfortunately did not succeed and soon I realised that the defendant was an incorrigible woman".

[Cross-examination by Def. Counsel started.]

Def. Counsel :—Does it not occur to you that your suggestions of bravery will only make the child in the long run, a rebel and a treacherer to the noble ideals of its departed mother ?

Mrs. Gaol-Walker : Never so. On the other hand, it will grow into a great Hindu Warrior.

Def. Counsel : Don't you realise that your ways of child-rearing will instil in the child the community-consciousness, while it was the expressed desire of the late Mrs. Mohandas that her child ought not to know any community at all ?

Mrs. Gaol-Walker—" My humble view is that the negation of community would only make a child inglorious like a bastard."

[Cross examination of third witness was over.

Usher (Calls out next witness) : " Danger ! Danger ! Danger !

[All eyes turned to the witness box. There stood a young lady with a hammer-sickle bordered sari and an attractive leather bag in her hands containing crackers, light-bombs etc.]

Mr. Anarchy :—Comrade, it is now the fortune of the court to hear your melodious voice. Will you say what all you know about the defendant's bonafides in her rearing up the child of Mr. Common man ?

Miss Danger :—(In a cascade of eloquence) Though born in this dreamland, I received my higher education in a Russian university. My opinion is that any child would be a spoilt child if it is denied the privileges of sports and amusements. Of course I, for my part, tried my own way to pursuade the defendant to my point of view, by providing amusement to the new born babe through acid bulbs and bombs. But Mrs. Jai Hind Lal took things amiss and she never hesitated to hand over me to the police. Any amount of my shouting that the sport of communism was the only remedy for the sickly child proved of no avail. I reserve the rest of my points for cross-examination.

Def. Counsel :—Is it your enlightened view that the child of two years should learn throwing bombs and other sports of vandalism for its healthy growth ?

Miss. Danger : There only lies its consciousness of freedom which is vitally essential for its growth as a democratic champion.

Def. Counsel :—You mean freedom without responsibilities.

Miss Danger :—Who cares for the so called responsibilities ? When the child itself likes the game very much what right has this illegitimate guardian to prevent it from the joy of sports ? A true mother would'nt certainly deny her child the pleasure of sports. (Cross exam. of 4th Witness was over)

Chief Justice (getting fed up with onesided arguments) *to the clerk* :—How many more witnesses on the plaintiff's side ?

Clerk : Two, my lord. Mrs. communalism and Mrs. Parochialism.

Chief Justice : I must have time to hear the defendant's side also before I rise up. I think the plaintiff's case has been over-stated and hence direct these two witnesses to depose only if they have any fresh points, and thereby save the time of the court.

Usher : " Communalism, Communalism Communalism" (A middle-aged lady with an apparel appearing as black as rain-bearing cloud, next stepped into the witness box.)

Mr. Anarchy : Madam, without straining the patience of the Court, tell in brief what you have got to say about the defendant ?

Mrs. Communalism : I for one, can say nothing from personal experience about the upbringing of a child. I am a widow from my thirteenth year and never had

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the fortune of bearing a child. But I can quote authorities to prove that hybridisation is the sole cause of the diminution of India's great culture and capacity. The ailments of the child in question, referred to in the course of the depositions, are in my view, due to adulteration of the blood by various unworthy associations. Unless the purity of a particular caste is maintained, the advancement of a child will be only a mirage and the success with any amount of attempts will be lurking round the corner. Each child is required to grow under a distinct shade of tradition and culture and each is expected to represent a particular form of greatness in its own way. The country must not be reduced to a brothel house by indiscriminate hybridisation, but should bear on it the greatness of undiluted varieties of cultures.

Def. Counsel: (cross-examining) What is your community, madam?

Mrs. Communalism: Hindu (non) Brahmin.

Def. Counsel: Do you know the origin of man on earth?

Mrs. Communalism: I don't usually bother about the remote past.

Def. Counsel: Don't you think that the present is the result of the past alone and is the cause of the future?

Mrs. Communalism: When animals have divisions and distinct varieties on grounds of breed, and when we take particular care to see that a dog or cow of good breed does not mix or copulate with an inferior variety for purposes of avoiding degeneration, why not we human beings in possession of a sixth sense apply to ourselves the same code of purity-keeping?

[Cross-examination of the fifth witness was over.]

The last witness to be examined on the plaintiff's side was Mrs. Parochialism, who quickly getting into the box on being called by the Usher of the Court, began:

I crave the pardon of the court for initiating myself into this case without being formally asked. I know Your Lordship's time is precious and therefore thought that no formality should stand in the way of myself and Your Lordship. I shall briefly state why I oppose the monopoly of the child by Mrs. Jaihind Lal. I belong to the south but I had occasion to tell the defendant several times that it was absolutely essential to construct separate rooms for different purposes which will greatly facilitate the recovery of the child. Your Lordship knows well how a hygienic sense is necessary for the attention of a sickly child. Instead, the defendant madly persisting in her own fetish of doing everything in a same hall, did cause injury to the growth of the child. I pursued the matter further in order to convince her that at least one room of "Andhra model" would do well. She thoughtlessly discounted my suggestions and said that my advices only grated on her ears. Her only plausible argument was that it was not time for the child to have the luxury of different compartments. But I am pursuing further. (No cross examination took place by the defense counsel. It was 1 30 p.m. and His Lordship rose for lunch.)

When the Court reassembled after lunch, Mr. Patch-abyss Sitaramiah began examination of the defense witnesses.

Chief Justice (to the Clerk): How many on this side?

Clerk (fumbling over the papers) Six, My Lord. And all on this side are also lady witnesses.

Chief Justice: (To Defence Counsel) Ask your witnesses to be as brief as possible. Ladies as a class are garrulous by nature. Otherwise, the time for arguments will have to be curtailed.

Defence Counsel: As Your Lordship pleases.

Usher: "Steel-heart Pat-All, Steel-heart Pat-all, Steel-heart Pat-all."

[The first defence witness entered the box with a grim face and in a confident pose.]

Def. Counsel: Doctor, put it in a nutshell before His Lordship how you

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treated the child of the plaintiff which is under the care of my client.

Mrs. Pat-All : I shall not occupy much time of the Court. I am aware brevity is the soul of wit. I am a lady doctor of Ahmedabad and my service has been so far free of cost to all those who seek it. When I was called upon to attend the child "India", I readily accepted the engagement purely in a selfless spirit of devotion, and threw my heart and soul exclusively for the service of the sickly child. The condition of the child when I saw it for the first time, was awfully discouraging. Due to forcible delivery preceded by hard labour, the child was born almost in the grip of all possible infantile ailments. It had on its body from top to toe, 562 patches, dreadful to eyesight and loathsome to any civilised mind, and these patches were diagnosed by me as 'State-patches.' At that time scarcity of "(baby) food" baffled every family man. Even orders on foreign firms were not promptly complied with. The child was suffering from economic anaemia and somehow it gulped a cup of communal poison which resulted in the heavy bleeding on its right side. I set my shoulder to the wheel of revitalisation, and cured the numerous patches one by one, which called for asinine patience and extra-ordinary tolerance. The patches vanished, with the grace of God, one by one but suddenly a danger manifested in the form of a navel ulcer which threatened the very existence of the child. I shudder to think of the melancholy state of affairs with which I came to grips, and heaven only knows what a sort of dismay had enveloped me. I threw the burden on the Almighty and set myself to the task. Mrs. Jaihind Lal was spending sleepless nights, and I operated on the ulcer with such uncanny skill as was called for by that delicate task and thank God, success attended on the child relieving my heart of a heavy load of anxiety and suspense. It is being referred to by all foreign medical men as a miracle in the history of surgery. I am referring to the "Hyderabad ulcer" that developed in the centre of the child's body. Next, it was my lot to prepare the tonic of nationalism which was given to the child as an anti-dote to the venom of communal poison. It was also attended by success. I am now consoled by the thought that the God who placed me on trial so mercilessly was at last kind enough to enable me to come out of the trial with flying colours. My task was sincerely done and it is now my prayer that the child must grow from strength to strength and help its father, Mr. Common man. This is all I have to say.

Cross-examining, the plaintiff's counsel *Mr. Anarchy said*:—Why did you categorically refuse to administer the famous medicines commended by my witnesses?

Mr. Pat-All:—Those medicines may be good. But they are unhelpful to a child like the one we are discussing about, which is suffering from a peculiar disease which defies all patent drugs. If administered, they will prove worse than the disease. I know all these witnesses who put selfishness over service, and the discrepancy between their words and deeds. (Cross examination of Dr. Mrs. Pat-All was over).

Usher calls out: Mrs. Un-Mount Baton, Mrs. Un-Mount Baton: Mrs. Un-Mount Baton.

[An English lady with an attractive personality dressed in a spotless white gown got into the box. She flaunted a pair of forceps in her dainty hands which indicated that she was a mid-wife.]

Defence Counsel:—Madam, will you please enlighten the court on the conditions that prevailed at the time of the child's birth?

Mrs. Baton:—It was my privilege to attend on the late Mrs. Mohandas during her confinement in August 1947. The birth pangs were so poignant that forceps had to be resorted to, to effect the issue. Never before in my career as a mid-wife had I come across such a complicated delivery and so I employed all my skill and found it at last to be a twin-delivery. Since the condition of the children was hopelessly bad, I did a trick by handing over a child to a Muslim woman of my acquaintance with instructions to rear up

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the child as her own. The one left with Mrs. Mohandas was named as "India." Bleeding was profuse during and after delivery. It was rather an epoch in my life's career and I cannot recall the pathetic event without drawing tears from my eyes. I can however assure the court that but for the assistance rendered to me by Mrs. Jai Hind Lal, the child wouldn't have survived the calamities that befell it one after another.

Cross-examining, *Mr. Anarchy* :—Weren't you, as a reputed mid-wife aware beforehand that Mrs. Mohandas would deliver a couplet?

Mrs. Baton :—Of course I knew it well. But I never foresaw the pains and complications that followed the delivery. God only has to be thanked for the safe delivery of the children. I myself wondered how the children issued out alive. It really baffled all possible stretches of imagination.

Mr. Anarchy :—Can you prove before this court that Mrs. Jai Hind Lal was really any good at nursing the child? Was it not improper for her, as a novice in the art, to have undertaken the responsibility and thus cheated the plaintiff?

Mrs. Baton :—Far from it. It was she and she alone who was competent to take care of the child especially when it had lost its mother. Mrs. Jai Hind Lal though not a qualified nurse or a doctor, knows pretty well the practical mode of child-bringing in a natural way. Because, she was for a long time, closely associated with the late Mrs. Mohandas from whom she had received the necessary inspiration and instructions for nurturing the new born babe. I can imagine no truer and greater nurse for the motherly guardianship of the child than the defendant who by now has amazed the entire world with her unique way of riding over the storm and stemming the tide to steer clear of any difficulty that may lie in the way. Her intellect is both dazzling and dashing.

Mr. Anarchy :—Why then, did you leave for your country without assisting the defendant at least until the child was able to stand on its legs?

Mrs. Baton :—That is not my business. With the safe delivery of the children, my work as a midwife was over. But as an obligation, I remained with the defendant for some time more and as soon as I found the child was out of danger, I thought I had better quit and accordingly did.

(Cross-examination of the second witness was over).

Usher: Democracy! Democracy! Democracy! [A young (urchin) girl with a blank look was shown into the witness box.]

Mr. Anarchy :—My Lord, I raise an objection to the examination of this urchin girl. She is an infant, and no minor can give evidence.

Chief Justice (to the Def. Counsel) :—What have you to say for this?

Def. Counsel : Miss democracy is an important link in the chain of my case. In our country, democracy is in an infant stage and yet it is as important to the nation as its life-breath itself. I appeal to Your Lordship that the minority may be overlooked as a special case and the witness allowed to depose.

Chief Justice : You can include her points in your arguments and I am not going to relax the rigid technicalities of the law whosoever may figure as plaintiff or defendant. The witness is discharged.

(The young girl catching the sign of the defence counsel skips out of the box and exits).

Chief Justice (To the clerk) : Before calling any witnesses, you must check up the age and other conditions qualifying them to depose. This is my last warning to you.

Clerk of the Crown :—Yes, My Lord.

—(*To be continued*)

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TOPICAL CARTOONS

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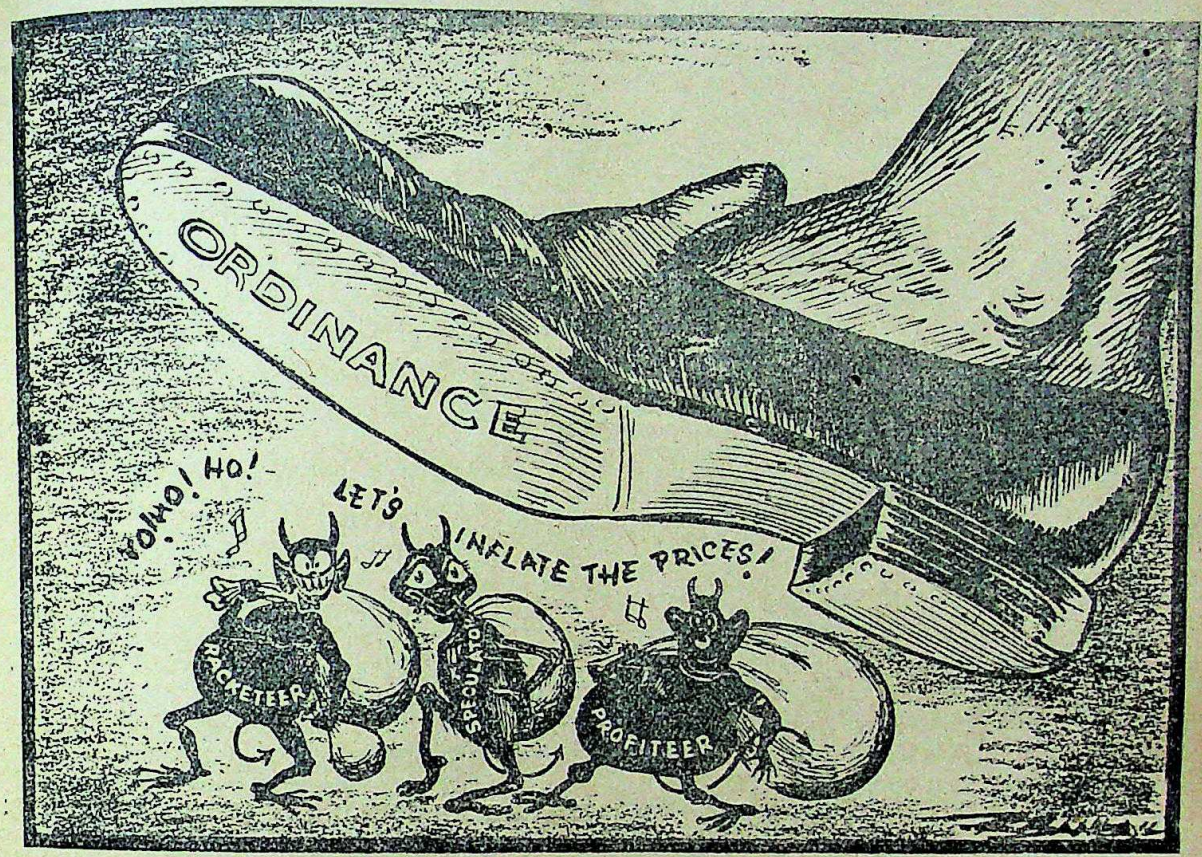
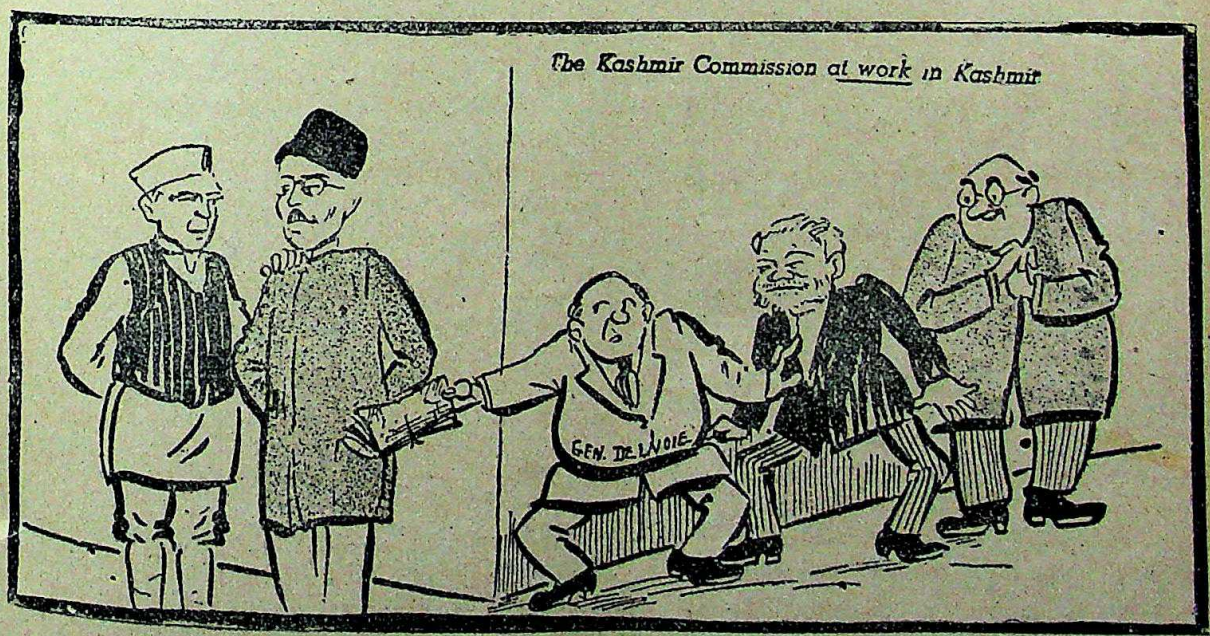


CRUSH THEM!

Courtesy: *The Pioneer.*



Courtesy: *Free India.*

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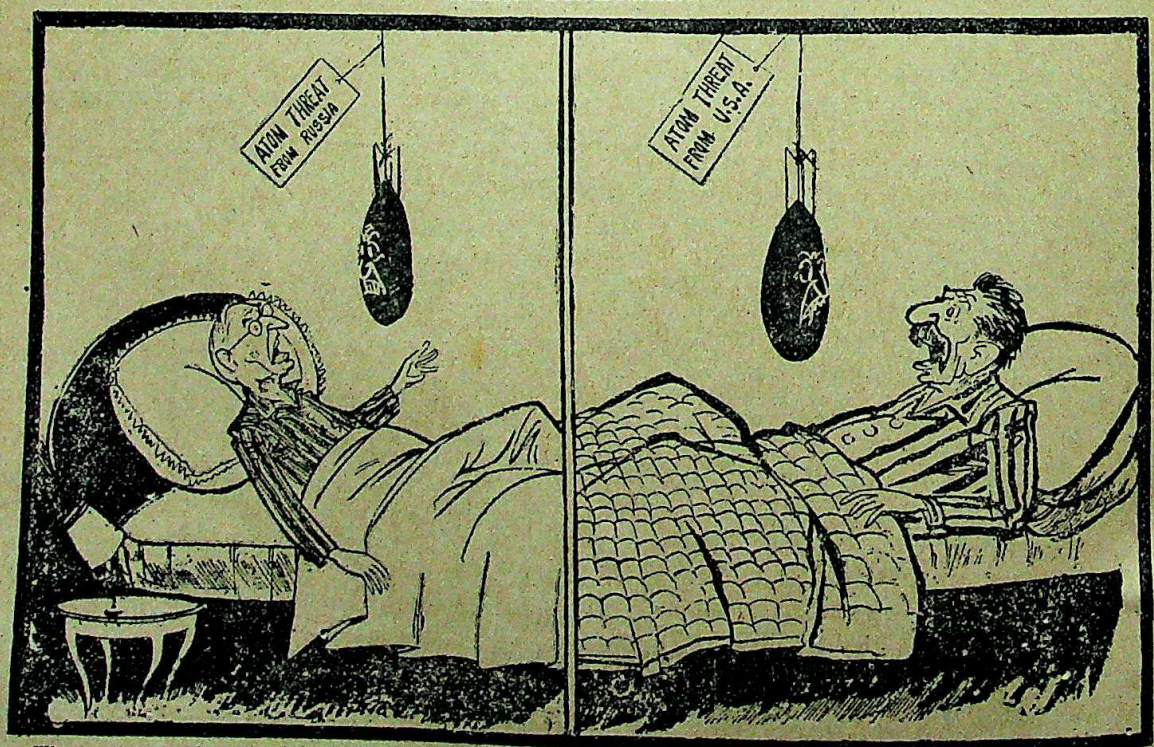
BEFORE HE COULD SAY (JACK) ROBINSON!
Courtesy: *Bharat.*

THEIR NIGHTMARE



There was only one defence against the atom bomb: 'Don't go to war' says Dr. Infeld.
Courtesy: *The Leader.*

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Legislation authorizing the erection of a memorial to the late Mohandas K. Gandhi was signed recently (September 28, 1949) by President Harry S. Truman of the United States. The memorial (to be located in Washington, D. C.) will be a building land-scaped with Indian trees and shrubbery. It will house pictures, books, relics, and art objects of the life and times of Gandhi. The India League of America has undertaken the construction of the memorial.

The photograph, taken at the White House, Presidential mansion in Washington, shows President Truman as he signed the bill. Seated beside him is Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Indian Ambassador to the United States. Looking on are (left to right): Emmanuel Celler, member of the United States House of Representatives, who introduced the legislation; Loy Henderson, United States Ambassador to India; Sirdar J. J. Singh, president of the India League of America; A. Bhadkamka, secretary to Madame Pandit; and George McGhee, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs. (SD-61251.

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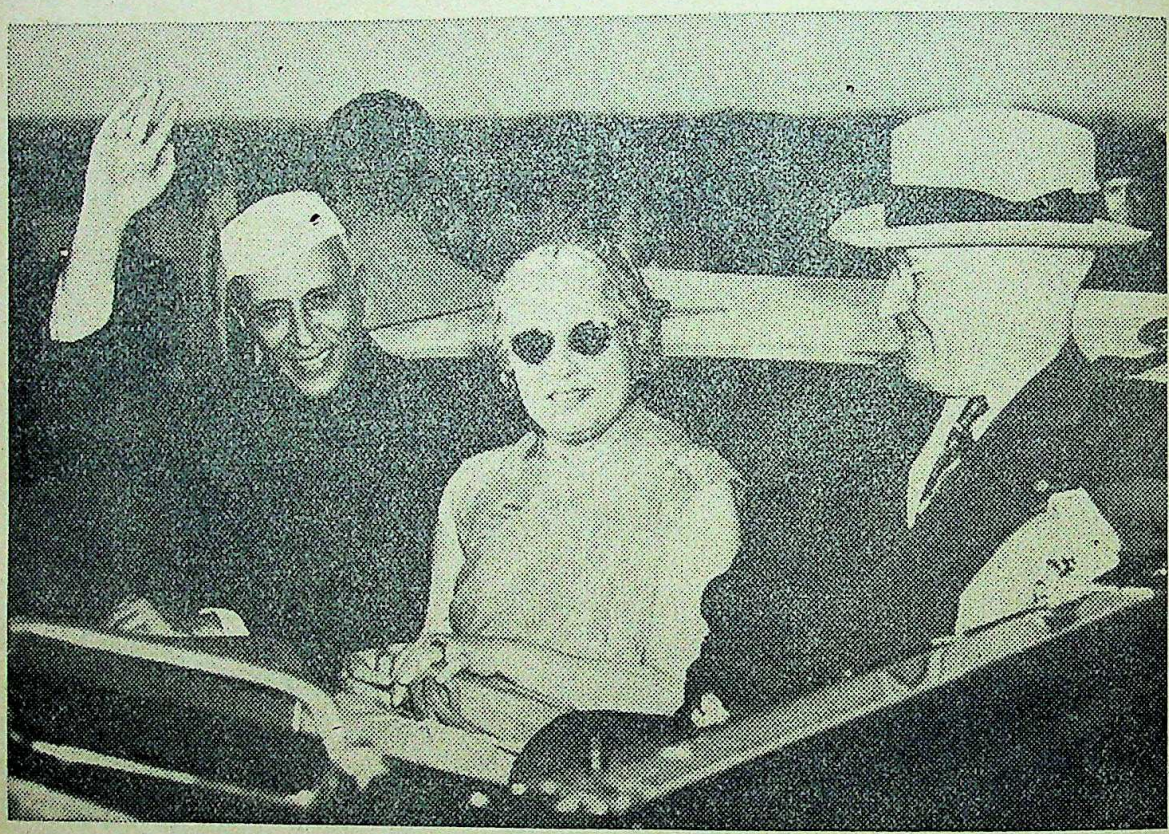

Arriving in the United States (October 11, 1949) for an official visit, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, was greeted at National Airport, Washington, D. C., by President Harry S. Truman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and other high officials of the United States Government, and Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, sister of the visiting statesman and Indian Ambassador to the United States.

During his 4-week stay in the United States, the Prime Minister will visit New York City; Chicago, Illinois; San Francisco, California; Madison, Wisconsin; a number of universities, industrial plants, and national shrines; and the Tennessee Valley Authority project.

Prime Minister Nehru (at left), accompanied by his sister, Mme. Pandit, Indian Ambassador to the United States, and President Truman of the United States, leaves National Airport for Blair House, temporary Presidential residence where he was guest of President and Mrs. Truman. (SD-61347.)

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Pandit Nehru's Visit to U. S. A.

THE Prime Minister's visit to the United States was one of the major events of the last month which attracted more than usual attention in the press of both hemispheres. The Pandit who had travelled widely in Europe and Asia had never before set foot on American soil. It was his long cherished desire to visit the great Western democracy and make personal acquintance with its leading personalities. Pandit Nehru's own reputation as a scholar and leader and heir to the Mahatma had preceded him; and doubtless from the President down to the common citizen—all were eager to see the great Indian patriot. But Nehru is also the Prime Minister and the executive head of a great country which has just achieved its freedom after a struggle in which he himself had played no small part. Thus both on his own account and as representing a new born nation Nehru's visit to America aroused the greatest interest in the New World.

And with characteristic American generosity the President and people of the U. S. gave the Pandit a welcome which for warmth and grandeur had been unprecedented. Churchill himself, the hero of the great war was not acclaimed with greater demonstrations of respect or cordiality. Flying in the President's own plane, received by the President personally at the U. S. Capital, with the honours reserved for heads of States, and going through a programme of honours and addresses at Universities and parties of financiers and Big Business—nothing was wanting to make the Pandit's visit a resounding success.

It was evidently a personal triumph for the Pandit as much as it was an honour to the country he represented. President Truman, welcoming Pandit Nehru to America in a neat little speech hoped his four-week visit would be "a discovery of America"—a delicate reference to Nehru's own "Discovery of India as much as to its first discovery by Columbus."

"Mr. Prime Minister, I am very happy to welcome you to this country on behalf of the Government and people of the United States. I greet you not only as the Chief Minister of your Government, but also as the loved and respected leader of a great nation of free people.

"Destiny willed it that our country should have been discovered in the search for a new route to yours. I hope that your visit, too, will be in a sense a discovery of America.

"I extend to you the hospitality and goodwill of the people of the United States with the hope that your visit among us will leave you with the firm conviction that we are indeed your warm friends."

Pandit Nehru, replying to President Truman's address of welcome reciprocated with equal brevity and aptness.

"This moment when, for the first time, I am setting foot on the soil of this great country, is of great significance for me because it brings about the fulfilment of a long felt desire.

"I bring to you, Mr. President and to this great Republic the cordial greetings of my Government and my people, of the new Republic of India, and I trust that these two Republics of the Western World and the Eastern World will find many ways of working together with friendly and fruitful co-operation for our mutual advantage and the good of humanity."

Ever since his landing in Washington it has been roses, roses all the way. A leading official of the State went so far as to compare the Pandit with Lincoln and Jafferson. The Pandit knows—none better than he—that such praise is not to be taken literally but as a gesture of the abounding goodwill and magnanimity of his hosts.

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Nehru's tour was evidently a goodwill mission for better understanding between East and West; but then it is hardly likely that the presence of the Indian Prime Minister in America at such a time could leave urgent political and economic problems just where they were. His outspoken declaration of our foreign policy at Columbia University and his contact with Big Business in New York could not have been in vain. In a studied address to the Columbia University the Indian leader enunciated the principles underlying our foreign policy. India's foreign policy can no more be described as "Sitting on the fence" than Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence could be termed "surrender" in any sense.

Repudiating the suggestion that neutrality between the Russian and Western Democratic blocs meant passivity, indifference and an attempt to profit by staying out of a conflict which involved the rest of the world, Pandit Jawaharlal said:

> India came into the family of nations with no prejudices or enmities, ready to welcome and be welcomed. Inevitably she had to consider her foreign policy in terms of enlightened self interest, but at the same time she brought to it a touch of her idealism. Thus she has tried to combine idealism with national interest. The main objectives of that policy are: The pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject peoples; the maintenance of freedom both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population.

The Pandit's mission from every point of view, socially as well as diplomatically, has been accomplished with such brilliance and efficiency that it should be deemed a striking success. Time will show whether it was a triumph of personality or a triumph of principles and policies as well.

Dr. Foss Westcott

The death of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Foss Westcott, former Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon removes a great landmark in the history of the British Church in India. Dr. Westcott came to this country 60 years ago and had ever since given of his best to the service of the Christian Mission. A revered leader of the Church he soon came to be regarded as a friend of India by all sections of the people. His generous activities among the poor and the depressed, coupled with his well-known simplicity and saintliness of character won him universal esteem. Above all his bold advice to his flock to play their part in the nation's life, his own activities in connection with the uplift of the masses in company with Gandhi and Andrews, and the part he played with Dr. Sapru in his drive for peace and conciliation made him a great and respected figure in the counsels of the country. Such a record of service and purposeful life—it would be long before we can witness again among the children of the Church.

Trusteeship

India told the U N. Trusteeship Committee that she feared British and French initiated administrative unions involving trust territories were not advancing the U. N. aim of self-government or independence for the trust areas.

Prof. Mohammad Mujeed, India's representative, said "developments since 1946 indicate that some administering authorities are following a policy which seems, in some aspects, to be almost diametrically opposed to the U. N. principle of the maintenance of the separate political identity and existence of the trust territories."

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A Moral International Code

That Russia too is in possession of the atom bomb may or may not be a stabilising factor in the future of the world. But the fact remains that the rivalry in the arming of nations is the immediate result of the fear complex. Any plan for the banning of the use of atomic bombs must therefore be a welcome relief to a distracted world.

We therefore welcome the efforts of Sir B. N. Rau, Chief Indian delegate to the United Nations, who has outlined what he described as "the beginning of a moral international code" banning the use of atomic bombs.

Sir Benegal, who said he was speaking "as an individual", proposed that the 59 member States of the United Nations should make a fresh attempt to frame a declaration on atomic energy control through the offices of the International Law Commission.

This Commission, an agency of the United Nations, is preparing a convention on the rights and duties of States. Sir Benegal considered that control of atomic energy, having been declared no longer a matter of purely domestic concern, could well be included among these duties.

India in the Security Council

In spite of Pakistan's persistent propaganda against India, India was elected to the United Nation's Security Council after what Mr. Hector McNeil described as a "magnificent" vote. Only two out of 58 did not support her, says a Press Correspondent,

and from the fact that during the past few days, Sir Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan Foreign Minister, has been going from delegation to delegation asking that they should not vote for India, it is easy to guess that one of them is Pakistan; the other is likely to remain a mystery.

Sir Zafrullah characterised India's success as "embarrassing" as the Kashmir dispute is pending before the Security Council. Pakistan will doubtless see to it that if not Kashmir some other Indian question will always be on the agenda. But are not other members of the Council involved in similar disputes? And who has suggested that any of them should resign on that account? Indeed, as has been truly observed India may now be expected to redouble her efforts to reach a solution of the Kashmir problem which will at once bring peace to this sub-continent and enhance the prestige and dignity of the United Nations.

The Atom Bomb

The news that Soviet Russia has the Atom Bomb has set the world agog. Excitement, verging on panic, prevailed in the United States--which first produced the Atom Bomb—following President Truman's announcement. America is now busy devising precautionary measures against atomic bomb attacks. A New York correspondent describes how the U. S. is preparing for the battle of the atom in World War III.

United States military chiefs, he says, are putting into operation a campaign to educate troops in protective measures against atomic bomb attack in any future war.

More than 2,000 officers of the Army, Navy and Air Force have been selected to undergo specialised training to tell the forces just what to do—and what not to do—when an atomic bomb explodes.

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Congress and R.S.S.

The Congress Working Committee has decided to admit R. S. S. men into the Congress fold. It, however has stipulated that their eligibility would hold good so long as their organization remained a non-political body.

This decision meant a reversal of an earlier decision of the Committee taken at Meerut nearly two years ago, a few months before the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, urging the Government to ban the Sangh for its violent activities.

A General Secretary of the Congress explained that the Sangh having eschewed politics and violence, its character had changed since then. He did not also fear any infection of the Congress ideal should R.S.S. men join the organization, because acceptance of the ideology and discipline of the Congress would apply equally to all its members.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel

We offer our respectful felicitations to the Sardar on his 75th birthday and wish him many more years of health and service to the country. The Deputy Prime Minister is in many ways the complement and completion of the ever youthful and effervescent Pandit whese popularity as heir to the glory and glamour of the Mahatma has made him a more prominent figure in the counsels of the world. Nehru is the dreamer turned politician while Patel is a stern realist. The Sardar is described as 'India's iron man and the real rock of the foundation of administration in this country." He is truly the dynamic force behind the political and administrative machinery of India. Posterity will perhaps credit him with the greatest achievement of the century—the welding of the 600 and odd minor States and administrations of the country into an integrated India. The Sardar was Gandhiji's soldier in active service for two decades and had given proofs of his solid work and sacrifice in the cause of India's freedom. But Free India to-day, faced with numerous problems no less difficult and delicate, needs his invaluable counsel and guidance as much as she did during the black days of our struggle for liberty. Indeed, we need him more now than ever before. The Sardar is not given to much speaking. His strong and silent but determined action coupled with his unerring judgment and efficient direction has saved the country from many a dire misfortune in the past and will doubtless stand in good stead in the face of such crises in the future.

Indonesian Republic

The Draft Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, which will shortly become a sovereign, federal State, was published at the Hague on Nov. 1.

It was drawn up by a joint committee of the Republican and Federalist delegations to the Round-Table Conference on Indonesia, accepted and initialled by the leaders of the two Indonesian delegations, and given the general approval of the Dutch delegation.

The constitution was not one of the regular agreements of the Round-Table Conference, but all parties felt it was necessary to produce it at this stage to show that sovereignty was being transferred to a democratic, free, and federal State.

When the final constitution is approved by the Constituent Assembly and confirmed by the Government, it will be proclaimed by the President of the Republic.

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The Prime Minister on Kashmir Issue

It is clear that India's stand on the Kashmir issue has not been correctly understood abroad. While Pakistan has carried on a relentless propaganda in England and America, the Indian case has been misrepresented so thoroughly that, strangely enough, even papers like the *Manchester Guardian*, with its tradition of fairness and reasonableness, have taken an inexplicably wrong attitude. This is partly or mainly due to our lack of proper and adequate publicity in respect of this important issue.

We therefore welcome the Prime Minister's forthright declaration on the Kashmir dispute at Ottawa, a declaration which comes none too soon. It is something that our Prime Minister, for once, descended from his high moral altitudes to discuss this live issue, bristling with controversy. He called on Pakistan unequivocally to declare that she will never resort to arms again as a means of settling the Kashmir Affair.

The Pandit who was addressing a large gathering of Pressmen explained the Kashmir situation in detail and showed Pressmen, most of whom have only a garbled idea of the dispute, how Pakistan has no position at all legal or constitutional, in Kashmir.

> She has no business to be there. We are unable to accept India and Pakistan being treated as equals in the dispute. Pakistan is the brutal aggressor. That aspect of the aggression should never be lost sight of by the United Nations in dealing with the question. We do not accept the two-nation theory. It was fantastic to say that one's nationality depended on one's religion. Pakistan was deliberately creating a theocratic state and appealing to the grossest form of religious bigotry. We cannot tolerate this Jehad business. If we accepted this two-nation theory it would upset the whole balance of things in India and also in Pakistan.

The only course now left for settling the Kashmir issue was through mediation, said Pandit Nehru. But before that both countries must declare they will not start a shooting war again.

Sardar Patel and the Services

Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, speaking in the Constituent Assembly on a motion seeking to incorporate in the constitution the guarantees given to the Indian Civil Service paid a glowing tribute to the services of the members.

He said if the members had not behaved properly and loyally in the last two years, the Union would have collapsed. It is nice to see the Sardar of all men paying this tribute to the services—the socalled steel frame of the British bureaucracy. But is it not a trifle overdone when he declared that he would walk out with the services? As for the claim bountily made that but for the services there would have been a breakdown in the administration, the rude fact, as a contemporary reminds us is that,

> the administration did break down, and there was an intervening period of chaos, which was mercifully short. It would be a hazardous claim to make for our services that even now, after two years of improvisation, we have arrived at a degree of despatch and efficiency at all comparable to the state of affairs in the old era. The truth is that the wheels of government move provokingly slowly; and the zeal of our ministers has merely collaborated to make the bureaucratic machine ten-fold more crowded and cumbrous. Petty breakdowns of the administration are going on before our very eyes; but the Sardar has apparently averted his gaze for them.

Arbitration Again

Tha partition of India naturally led to boundary disputes and the parties unable to come to a decision had to accept the Ratcliffe award which still has in it the germs of endless disputations. Once again boundary disputes have arisen between East Pakistan on the one hand and West Bengal and Assam on the other. India and Pakistan have agreed to remit the issue to a two-man tribunal, which will be presided over by Lord Justice Algot Bagge, a Judge ot the Supreme Court of Sweden. Should there be a difference of opinion between the Indian and Pakistani members, the decision of the Chairman will be final. The tribunal will commence its work in the first week of December. It is to be hoped that the Radcliffe award will not be repeated.

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL AND ITS RESULTS. By S. Gopal. Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d.

This slim little book, which won for its author the Curzon Memorial Prize of Oxford University in 1947, is a brilliantly compact and critical survey of the economic and social effects of the Bengal Permanent Settlement. Cornwallis, its originator, believed it to be a beneficial piece of land reform. But as Mr. Gopal notes, the Permanent Settlement, stimulated a regrouping of social forces and a readjustment of economic relations which profoundly, and largely adversely, influenced later developments in Bengal. With masterly concision, Mr. Gopal traces the history of the settlement and the economic, social, political and administrative problems that it gave rise to in the course of its operation over the long period following the decision to effect this settlement. Much the most serious aspect of the sttlement was that it proved to be a serious handicap to social progress, rendering it impossible for the Government to discharge those expanding obligations of the Welfare State towards the people, which when the settlement was effected would have seemed quite revolutionary and subversive. That it enabled the rise of a prosperous middle class and a wealthy aristocracy which assimilated western culture is true. But the masses have suffered for all this and today they have compelled a radical change, which is still in progress. Mr. Gopal has made a clear, concise and luminous contribution to the study of the economic history of Modern India.

THE FAITH OF ISLAM. By Dr. Mirza Abul-Fazal. Published by S. A. Urnus, Aziz Bagh, Sultanpura, Hyderabad (Deccan) Price Rs. 3-4.

Dr. Mirza Abul Fazl is a distinguished scholar of Islamic subjects who has to his credit quite a number of books in various languages. He is a researcher of great merit and takes immense pains in collecting his material in order to prove his point of view from authentic sources. He is always guided by his liberal instinct and rational outlook in interpreting and expounding the various aspects of the teachings of Islam, which, in certain quarters, is unfortunately misinterpreted and misunderstood. For example, how could anyone doubt the Catholic and tolerant spirit of Islam if he reads the following prayer mentioned in the Quran (S ii 130) and quoted by the author, "Say ye, We believe in God, and what has been revealed to us, and what was revealed to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and what was given to Moses and Jesus, and what was given to the (other) prophets from their Lord—we make no distinction between any of them: and to Him we submit." Expounding this prayer the learned author says "And it is not only to Moses and Jesus and Mohammed that the Moslem owes allegiance, but to *all* the prophets of *all* the nations who have appeared in the different ages of the history of mankind. Thus, along with a thousand others, all the Vedic Rishis of old, and Krishna, Mahavira, and Buddha of India, Zarathushtra of Persia, and Confucius of China, have alike a place in the hearts of all the followers of Islam. The book is recommended not only to Muslims but to those who wish to have a correct idea of the teachings of Islam.

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A LAYMAN'S BHAGAVAD GITA. By A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S Vol. 1. P. P. 259. Price Rs. 5. Published by the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras 4, 1949.

Mr. Ayyar's translation of the Bhagavad Gita is not a superfluity. The book is not a mere English translation of the verses of the Gita. On the other hand the author (or rather the translator) has attempted a successful imitation of the ancient commentators in drawing parallels though not often with the aid of vedic counterparts but with apt illustrations from the sayings of recent sages like Mahatma Gandhi, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, and the like. Of particular note is the author's success in presenting apt parallels from the great Tamil scripture, the Kural. The occasional parallels from the koran, the bible and the Zench Avesta also illustrate the author's efforts at gathering honey from various flowers. Apart from being exhaustive in his references the author has drawn on numberless illustrations from everyday life to drive home the lessons to the reader. Perhaps to a close student the volume may appear to abound in assertions and in exact translations of peculiar vedic usages. But it is clear that this is not due to any shortcoming in the author's vocabulary. The title to the volume gives the clue. The purpose is to drive the book home to the layman and this necessity has conditioned the translation.

The most noteworthy feature of the book is what has been termed the introduction which is really a brilliant summary of the quintessance of the Geeta. This summary preferably should find a better place at the end of the book after the lay reader has perused the same than before it. One feature which distinguishes the author's presentation from many of the works on the Geeta is his belief that the first chapter has equal importance with the rest; this view is a departure from the Geeta tradition.

The volume will reward any one who goes through it. The second volume will be awaited with interest.

DEVATMA SHAKTI. By Swamy Vishnu Tirtha Maharaj. Published by Shri Shaukaflalji, Bhatnagar, Retired Dt. Engineer, Dabra, Gwalior.

In past years several attempts have been made to write some books on the meaning and spiritual significance of Kundalini Shakti. Shri Rele's mysterious Kundalini is fairly well-known. The subject of Devatma Shakti can be fairly dealt with only by such writers as have had direct experience of this divine power in man. Mere book knowledge is of no value, nor can it be taken as a safe guide for such aspirants as earnestly desire to have their Kundalini Shakti awakened in them.

Swamy Vishnu Tirtha Maharaj is one of those few Sanyasees in this country, who has undertaken to write this highly instructive, inspiring and informative treatise consisting of 16 chapters, everyone of which is meant to give us a clear, concise idea of the various aspects and effects of the rise of this divine power in man. It is a complete book in every respect. There is no relevant and useful fact which has been left out by the learned author. The book is sure to be of help and guidance to such aspirants as are keen to tread the path of spirituality. It will interest our readers to know one of the marvellous and beneficial effects of the awakening power in man. On page 193 we come across the following statement:—

"When you are in meditation, future unfolds its secrets to you or the hidden meaning of scriptures, *vedas and vedanta* shine on your understanding, all doubts vanish, you acquire an insight into the abstruse meaning of the works on spiritual science even at their first glance. you acquire strange powers of oratory and feel not the need of approaching even Brahma, the creator himself, for knowledge and you acquire self confidence, understand then that Kundalini the bestower of *Sidhis* (occult powers) has come into action."

The book is heartily recommended to all lovers of spiritual wisdom.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

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Oct. 1. MosTse Tung's Proclamation creating the Chinese People's Republic, broadcast from Peking.

Oct. 2 Gandhi Jayanti day.

—Separation of Judiciary inaugurated in Madras Province.

Oct. 3. Russia breaks with Chinese nationalists.

—Red China asks U. N. for recognition.

Oct. 4. Standing Committee on Industries formed.

—Export Committee recommendations published.

—Master Tara Singh released.

Oct. 5. Dr. Matthai, speaking in Parliament, puts forward an eight point plan to counter effects of devaluation.

Oct 6. Congress Executive decisions on W. Bengal and Andhra Province affairs.

Oct. 7, Pandit Nehru leaves for U.S.A.

—East German State established.

Oct. 8 General Council of Indian National Trade Union Congress meeting at Lucknow suggests high level commission for industries.

—Pandit Nehru in London.

Oct. 9. Governor-General inaugurates Indian Territorial army.

Oct. 10. Constituent Assembly gives guarantees to the Services.

Oct, 11. Pandit Nehru receives Royal reception in Washington.

Oct. 12. Nationalists evacuating Canton.

—Consambly adopts draft regarding scales of salaries of high State officials.

Oct. 13. Nobel Prize awarded to Lord Boyd-Orr.

—Nehru addresses U. S. House of Representatives.

—East Zone German Republic formed.

Oct. 14. Dr. Rajendra Prasad inaugurates Bharatiya Sanskrit Sangam at New Delhi.

Oct. 15 Reds enter Canton.

—Benares merges in U. P.

Oct. 16 Field Marshal Sir William Slim in Delhi.

—Nehru lays wreath on Roosevelt's grave.

Oct. 17. Mr. Bhimsen Sachar resigns leadership of E Punjab Congress Party: Dr. Bhargava is elected leader.

—New Yorkers greet Pandit Nehru.

Oct. 18. Columbia University honours Nehru.

—Nehru, addresses Columbia University on peace through moral force.

Oct. 19. Death of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Fsso Westcott at Darjeeling.

—India to sign World Tariff agreement

Oct. 20. India elected to U. N. Security Council.

Oct. 21. Egypt offers mediation in Kashmir dispute.

Oct. 22. Pakistan minorities present memo of grievances to their Prime Minister.

Oct. 23. Ottawa welcomes Pandit Nehru.

—United Nations Day,

Oct. 24. Mr. Attlee announces cut in British expenditure.

Oct. 25. Asian nations pledge support to co-operation at F. A. O. Conference, Lucknow,

Oct. 26. Indonesian Constitution outlined.

—Russia demands recall of Yugoslav envoy in Moscow.

Oct. 27. Enquiry ordered against two ex-Ministers in East Punjab.

—T. N. C. C. adopts J. V. P. report on Andhra Province.

Oct. 30. Nizam allowed a privy purse of 1 crore per annum.

Oct. 31. Sardar Patel's 75th birthday celebrations in New Delhi.

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

THE KASHMIR PROBLEM

"I will feel it to be one of the greatest accomplishments of my own career if this mission is carried out successfully, for then I will have helped to bring about peace by means of ballots instead of bullets. I recognize, however, that the best solution will be that which is directly and freely negotiated between the States" says Admiral Chester Nimitz in an article in *United Nations World*.

The Admiral goes on to say that when United Nations Secretary-General Trygve Lie asked him to act as administrator of a plebiscite to determine whether the peoples of the State of Jammu and Kashmir desire to join India or Pakistan, he accepted with pleasure. He felt that it was a "challenging assignment."

Referring to his work as Plebiscite Administrator, the U.S. Admiral says: "Two steps have to be taken before the plebiscite can be organized: (1) the "cease-fire" which became effective in the disputed area on January 1, 1949, and (2) an agreement by India and Pakistan for a truce in Kashmir.

"I hope to see this important truce agreement signed at the earliest possible time. I will then be able to leave, with a first contingent of 25 principal officers and secretaries, to join the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and discuss with the two Governments all details of the plebiscite. Once the truce has been settled, I expect to be formally appointed as Administrator of the plebiscite by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. I will move to the Vale of Kashmir to direct preparations for the plebiscite on the spot. Provided there is an early truce agreement, it can possibly be held late in the summer of 1950 or spring of 1951, and will be one of the most important the U.N. has supervised.

"The success of the plebiscite will depend not only upon the co-operation and support of the Government of India and Pakistan, but also upon willingness to co-operate on the part of the Government and people of Jammu and Kashmir. From what I have heard and learned, I have the conviction that we will have their whole-hearted support. However, to gather the ballots in this difficult and rugged country, with inadequate communications, will be quite a job. We will also have to cope with the resettlement of refugees, for we want all *bona-fide* residents who fled the country during the fighting to have a chance to return to their homeland and participate in the plebiscite in which some two million people will probably vote."

Dealing with the same subject the London *Economist* suggests that the solution would appear to be for the United Nations to provide an International Force, as the League of Nations once did for the Saar.

"India clearly cannot accept as satisfactory a plebiscite to the Azad Kashmir areas so long as the Azad Kashmir forces are not disarmed. Pakistan cannot be expected to believe in the neutrality of Sheikh Abdullah's police. Yet the withdrawal of all troops and police by both sides involves a very severe risk, of anarchy and the rule of the local hooligan conditions in which a plebiscite could not be held at all. This is a risk, says the journal, which India in particular cannot possibly face, since the Maharja's accession makes it legally responsible for the peace and good order of the country."

The paper goes on to suggest that six or seven thousand men of the International Force would be enough. "But the authority of the Force would have to continue for a considerable period. Refugees have to return, proper election rolls have to be drawn up and time has to be given for the different alternatives to be adequately expounded to the population."

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THE MIDDLE EAST

With events moving rapidly in the Far East the importance of the Middle East is likely to be ignored. But in that area, as is well known, the two great powers—U.S.A. and U.S.S.R—are manoeuvring for position. Mr. M. N. Roy commenting on the situation, in the columns of the Anniversary Number of the *Forum* observes that there is no ground for the apprehension that Pakistan will go red. But the Anglo-American policy of lionising Nehru and pleasing the Indian Government may drive Pakistan towards an alliance with Russia. "In that case, the internal security of India can be more easily threatened by Communist infiltration from the East as well as from the West. The Government of India and its Anglo-American patrons will be in a helpless position. Alliance with Russia will not be a *casus belli* against Pakistan. The strategic control of the Near East three years ago enabled the Americans to bar the Russians advancing towards the Persian Gulf. Can they be stopped now if they seriously try to reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean at Karachi? Because of geographical reasons, an alliance with Russia will not mean a bear's embrace for Pakistan. Therefore, the latter may welcome such a possibility in order to spite Britain and America, or perhaps to blackmail them. In any case, Liaqat Ali's Moscow visit throws light on the obscure events which have recently been happening in the North-Western frontier region. It may also compel an early settlement of the Kashmir issue, on the battle-field. And it is not outside the realm of possibilities that the little war in Kashmir will spread in the Near East."

Except on the assumption of the possibility of some such serious development in the near future, Afghanistan's attitude towards Pakistan, he says, cannot be understood. "Either Russia is pulling strings to compel Pakistan to seek her protection, or preparations are being made to take the Kashmir issue back to the battlefield. On this issue, the U.N.O. has made a laughing stock of itself. At the same time, Britain and America are afraid of Russian infiltration through Kashmir, if it went to Pakistan. The fear is occasioned by Russian activities in Chinese Turkestan. Afghanistan's hostile attitude would threaten the rear of the Pakistani army in the case of the resumption of war in Kashmir. That would settle the issue in favour of India. On the other hand, exactly this apprehension might induce the Pakistan Government to see the usefulness of an alliance with Russia. In that case, the present Afghan regime can be changed in favour of one willing to join the Russo-Pakistan alliance. Ex-King Amanullah's brother is already reported to be on the scene."

Having driven America out of China and with the confidence of Communism holding its ground in the Far East, it would be natural for Russia to attempt recovering her lost ground in the Near East.

ECONOMIC SET BACK IN INDIA

India is facing a terrible economic set-back according to "A Businessman," who writing in the *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, says:

"After almost three years of independence what has been our country's achievement in the economic and financial field? From being one of the greatest creditor nations at the time the last war ended, India may before long turn into a debtor country. Our sterling balances have gone down from Rs. 1,750 crores, at the time of the war, to less than Rs. 825 crores without augmenting our productive resources and materially adding to our prosperity. The Government of India deposits with the Reserve Bank have shrunk from over Rs. 450 crores to Rs. 135 crores. We have already taken a loan of 100 million dollars from the International Monetary Fund and further loans are contemplated.

No big internal loans can be raised and Government securities have to be constantly supported. The floatation of new industries

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has become impossible. The money market has never been so tight during the last 30 years as now. There is no investment activity. The Share Market has collapsed. Bank deposits have gone down considerably on account of continuous stringency, and advances by banks are rising. Unemployment in the country is on the increase due to diminishing economic activity.

As against a favourable balance of trade in former years, India's trade deficit is now of the order of over Rs. 150 crores. Taxes have increased all round, killing all incentive to economic activity and investment. The middle class and the upper middle class, which have been the mainspring of our economic and commercial activity, have been gradually impoverished. Their savings have disappeared as they have been over-burdened with all sorts of direct and indirect taxes.

Even the increased taxes have not been utilized for any productive purposes and have merely fed the top heavy Government revenue expenditure which for the provinces and Centre has risen from Rs. 200 crores for United India before the war to about Rs. 600 crores after partition. The increase in taxes to the extent of Rs. 400 crores has not been utilized for any benefit to the people or to the country as a whole. The food crisis has assumed serious proportions and our dependence on imports of food has continued to increase. Labour has become inefficient and indisciplined. Factories are closing down with fall in production and lowering of purchasing power. Exports have become difficult due to rising cost of production. Although law and order has been maintained, irresponsible statements of some of our public men are adding to indiscipline and lawlessness. All these factors have combined to make the country poorer."

TWO WISHES

"I wish," she sighed, laying down the newspaper, "that we lived in a house where everything was done by touching buttons"

"I wish," sighed her husband, "that I lived in a shirt that had buttons to touch."

NATIONALISATION IN BRITAIN

Discussing the background of nationalisation in Britain Mr. P. Derrick observes in an article in the *New Review* for September that the "arguments that have been used to defend the nationalisation of the basic industries since 1945 cannot, for the most part, be used to defend the nationalisation of sugar and cement as proposed in the Labour Party's statement of policy. Sugar and cement are dominated by a few firms; but they are not, like railways and electricity, natural monopolies. There is a technical case for nationalising water supplies; but there does not seem to be any urgency and nobody seems to mind if they are nationalised or not."

In 1945 the Labour Party succeeded in convincing the country that the nationalisation of certain basic industries was technically desirable. "If they want to go on with nationalisation they will have to persuade the public that it is a policy which is socially desirable irrespective of technical considerations. They will also have to persuade the public that those industries which have been nationalised are operating more efficiently than they would have been without nationalisation; before considering the chances of further nationalisation in Britain we would do well to examine in some detail how the nationalised industries have been working."

What is true of Britain is equally true of India where the demand is becoming more and more insistent. Here as in Britain it is necessary to know if the nationalised concerns are more efficient than they were before? Are the workers satisfied? Does nationalisation fulfil their expectations? What is most the appropriate form of nationalisation?

Only when we have examined nationalisation in operation, the writer concludes, can we tell whether it is, on the whole a success and whether it is likely to be extended to other industries.

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MARCHING WITH THE CENTURY

Founded in 1900 by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the *Hindustan Review* has entered its fiftieth year. On this occasion its founder-editor recalls in its July issue the beginnings of the journal half a century ago.

The first issue appeared in July 1900, from Allahabad. The place of honour in it was given to a young publicist-lawyer, who attempted a survey of the administration of the then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, which was the official designation of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh of to-day, or rather had been so since 1902.

"That young publicist, and quite a struggling junior lawyer at that time was Pandit Tej Bahadur Sapru—afterwards the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur—distinguished not only in India but abroad as an erudite lawyer, a skilful advocate and perhaps the greatest Indian authority on constitutional law."

As regards the policy of the *Hindustan Review* the matter was very carefully considered by the organisers—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Satish Chandra Banerjee and Pandit Tej Bahadur Sapru—and the founder editor, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha and it was finally decided to issue a statement on the subject as the declaration of that policy. This statement, which was issued as a preliminary circular had appeared for now nearly fifty years and still appears to-day as follows:

The *Hindustan Review* is not the organ of, or affiliated to, any party or group.

The articles contributed to its pages do not represent any consensus of beliefs or ideals. The only qualification for admission of articles into it is, in the view of the editor either distinction of individuality or force of conviction, either literary gifts or earnestness of purpose for reasonable or legitimate objects. Any one of these may be the criterion, of inclusion, part from clarity of diction, or the force of the illuminative value of the view expressed in it. We do not expect that all readers of them will agree or sympathize with all the sentiments expressed in them; and, in fact some of the writers will flatly disagree with others.

The Editor still holds that the *Hindustan Review* with its broad nationalist out-look can do more to guide Indian public opinion by offering hospitality to divergent ideas and views than it can by identifying itself with any one particular party, or school of thought in the country. It does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in any article, signed or unsigned, which appears in its pages—other than what may appear as editorials. What it does accept is the responsibility for giving all shades of reasoned opinion a chance to appear before the reading public.

This has been the fundamental policy of the *Hindustan Review* since it first made its appearance in July, 1900, now nearly fifty years back. And this policy, we are told, it proposes to adhere to in future as well.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

The *Aryan Path* for September publishes the first part of the striking address delivered by Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Head of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Madras at the Cornell University, last autumn. Dr. Mahadevan observes that an abiding faith in the self or spirit is the dominent note of Indian philosophy.

"The Upanishadic expression which has been popular with the Indian thinker as a synonym for philosophy is *Atma-vidya* or the science of self. The text which says "There is nothing higher than the self; that is the final limit; that is the supreme goal" represents the central theme of Indian philosophy. Even the realistic systems like the Sankhya and the Vaisesika assign to the self or spirit a primary place. In the Sankhya, *e.g.*, the analysis of Matter (*Prakrti*) and the study of its evolution subserve the purpose of enabling one to discriminate between matter and spirit, and thus to release the latter from bondage to the former. The Indian philosopher looks within before looking without. Philosophy, then, is not the residium of the objective sciences or an examination of their common assumptions, but a quest for the inner reality of things. It is in this sense that Kautilya says in his *Artha-sastra*, "Philosophy is the lamp of sciences, the means of performing all the works, and the support of all the duties."

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TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN THE U. S. A.

In the *Foreign Review* for August Dr. Moti Lal Jain an engineer trained in the U. S. A. describes some aspects of technical education in America and points out the lines on which India could profit from the American example. After urging the need for well equipped Libraries and Laboratories he goes on to say that our technical institutions have very little connection with the industries of the country.

A closer co-operation between industries and technical institutions is highly desirable. It would prove profitable to both. The following suggestions are put forward in order to create conditions for the desired change :

(*i*) Technical institutions should utilize the service of the existing highly trained staff and of foreign trained scholars for research work. If their teaching work is kept to the minimum the standard of teaching will improve.

(*ii*) Graduate teaching (M.Sc. and Ph.D.) should be started in the better equipped institutions. It would enable teachers to keep in touch with recent developments and would spur them on to do original research. Graduate students can be used as part time teachers in the junior classes.

(*iii*) A qualified staff with graduate students as assistants should be able to tackle the problems facing the industries for solution. Research laboratories could work to help the industries of the country directly.

(*iv*) Industries should contribute to the funds of institutions both by donating and by paying for the work done for them. Money from this source should be utilized for equipping libraries and laboratories of institutions.

(*v*) The senior members of the staff in technical institutions should be given one year's leave every five years or so to work in industry as practical engineers.

(*vi*) The syllabus of institutions should be periodically revised by competent people. Members of various faculties of different technical institutions should collaborate with technical representatives of industries and government to plan courses to be taught.

Some machinery should be found, he says, to tap the ideas of the teaching staff in general with regard to the syllabus and courses of study.

"NEHRU'S LEADERSHIP"

The *Time* magazine in a leading article in the foreign news section discusses Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru's visit to the United States and the possibility of impressing him sufficiently to align India as the leader of the Asian Block alongside America in the battle against international Communism.

The magazine says "America has a lot to learn about Asia's key man. Nehru has a lot to learn about America too. No one in the United States is wishing to entangle Nehru and his 355,000,000 countrymen. There was however a strong impulse to disentangle him and his intellectual fellows from some of their clinging suspicions of the United States and its motives."

The article continues "Washington was taking a careful account of the Prime Minister's long-standing prejudice and the peoples' instinctive suspicion of the imperialist West." Such a distinguished guest so requested there would be no conference of high state, no thought of pressure or promise, no hint of alliances or pacts, no talk of loans or investments."

Explaining his appeal for the Indian people, *Time* says while the mass of Indians cannot understand him and most cannot read his prolific writings in English, "nonetheless, he has followed in Gandhi's footsteps as the popular national hero. Partly because Gandhi blessed him. The ordinary folk have overwhelming faith that their Prime Minister will solve not only their national problems but also their personal problems."

A visitor spent a week-end at a hotel. On leaving, he presented the manager with a huge bouquet, saying : "These are for the telephone operators".

"What a nice compliment," said the manager.

"Compliment—don't be a fool", retorted the visitor. "I thought they were dead".

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THE CRAZE FOR GAMBLING

The instinct to gamble is as old as man himself. Through the ages it has taken many forms, but the desire to profit from the turn of chance has never changed. Gambling in one shape or other never ceases, says *Answers*.

Lotteries originated in Italy and, passing by way of France, arrived in England in 1569 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. With typical shrewdness, Elizabeth realised that this was a good opportunity to add to the national revenue. It was therefore arranged that "a very rich lottery-generally of money, plate and certain sorts of merchandise" would be held. Its object was to provide funds for the repair of harbours and fortifications of the country. The first prize was worth about £5,000.

The tickets were sold at ten shillings each, And they could be divided or sub-divided for the convenience of those unable to afford such a large sum."

This first English lottery was not a great success. One of the worst times in the history of English gambling was in the 17th century. "Every form of wagering was rife, much of it was dishonest, and all of it became a real social menace. Fortune-tellers did a roaring trade in prophesying lucky numbers. Lottery draws were scenes of excitement and tragedy. Doctors always attended the gatherings to "let blood" in cases where the sudden realisation of good or bad fortune had an overpowering effect, for the results were frequently followed by suicides, violence and robberies."

It soon became clear that gambling was fast becoming a social evil. Many of the poor were starving in their efforts to win fortunes in lotteries and by wagers. More laws were passed to curb the excessive losses. But gradually uneasiness at making lottery revenue began to be felt by the Government. "In October, 1826, the last English State Lottery was held. After this they were abolished as illegal and none has been held since."

A LESSON IN ECONOMY

Pleading that people should avoid negligent waste of foodstuff and raw materials, Sri B. V. Shikkare shares with the readers of the *Harijan* a lesson he learnt 25 years ago from a Japanese agent under whom he then served. He writes:

He (the Jap agent) was a purchaser of Indian cotton. Every one knows that during the cotton season, the ginning and pressing factories are all covered with great heaps of ginned or unginned cotton. Cartloads of cotton are also brought to cotton-markets. On their way, in the markets and on the factory grounds, considerable cotton is thrown or negligently allowed to drop here, there and everywhere.

Some merchants appoint a person to follow the carts and pick up such droppings. How much he collects depends upon his regard for value and duty. Much is either eaten up by stray cattle or mixed up with dust and goes into the gutters or the town-refuse. My employer gave once a visible demonstration of the amount of wealth we wasted by our negligence. He employed under his personal supervision a few labourers to pick up all the cotton scattered everywhere in the factory compound, got it cleaned and weighed. It was found to be worth more than Rs. 300! He then gathered the factory staff and drew their attention to the great amount of wealth they wasted everyday, thus impoverishing a country already so poor. "Herein lies the secret of your political subservience. You must not waste your wealth, but must study the use of every little thing found in your country, and employ technical science for turning it into a valuable article. A country is alive and prosperous only to the extent it makes itself useful and valuable."

Sales Manager: "What's this big item on your expense-account?"

Travelling Salesman: "Oh, that's my hotel bill."

Sales Manager: "Well, don't buy any more hotels."

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

RACIALISM IN S. AFRICA

Big mass meetings to protest against *Apartheid* (racial segregation) were held last month by the Natal Indian Congress at Newcastle, Glencoe, Dannhauser and Mayfille.

At Mayfille, Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the Congress, said it was puerile to think *Apartheid* simply meant separation of non-European from European, with equal opportunities for development. "If the granting of full opportunities for the growth of non-Europeans was the aim of the Government then there would be no need for *Apartheid* at all", he declared.

"The very object of the separation is to deprive black South Africans of a means to progress and to control them as a reservoir of cheap labour."

For non-Europeans, *Apartheid* meant no vote, no skilled jobs, no trading rights, no family allowance, no unemployment benefits, no school feeding, no passports, and no free movement from one province to another, he said.

"In short, it means that he must be separated from all the good things of life which must be reserved for Europeans only", he added. For Indians it meant complete separation from the shores of South Africa since the Government have decided that policy was to expatriate all Indians to India.

The same resolution passed at all the meetings said *Apartheid* was designed to deprive Indians and other non-Europeans of every remaining human right and ultimately to set up a Fascist police state in which non-Europeans would be no better than slaves, and an European State in which non-Europeans would be outcasts. It called on Indians to oppose every measure of *Apartheid* and expose any Indian who supported such a measure as a traitor to the cause of his people.

Malaya

CHETTIARS IN MALAYA

Chettiars in Malaya, probably the richest section of the Indian community in that country, are apprehensive of their future, writes the P.T.I. correspondent in S.-East Asia.

Mr. J. A. Thivy, Representative of the Government of India in Malaya, stated that the difficulties of the Chettiars had been represented to the Government of India. Proposals had been made to the Malayan Government that the management of the estates and other interests of such Chettiars as opted for it should be entrusted to British firms commanding the confidence of all parties, so that there might be no suspicion that the Chettiars were paying "protection money" to Communist gangsters.

"Protection money" consists of funds extorted by gangsters as their price for saving the parties concerned from their unwelcome attentions.

The payment of "protection money" is an offence under the Emergency Regulations.

In October and November last, the High Commissioner for Malaya estimated that payments of "protection money" to gangsters from all sources amounted to a quarter million Straits dollars (about Rs. 4,00,000) per month.

TRUST FOR CHETTIARS' ESTATES

The All-Malayan Chettiars' Chamber of Commerce has suggested the formation of a Trust or Agency Company to administer small estates of Chettiars in Malaya.

A resolution to this effect was adopted at the annual general meeting of the Chamber held here. It is learnt that proposals on these lines have already been made to the Malaya Government.

One object of setting up such a trust or agency is to clear Chettiars of all suspicion of paying "Protection money" to Communist terrorists.

K. V. AL. M. Narayanan Chettiar was re-elected President of the Chamber.

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Britain

INDIAN STUDENTS IN BRITAIN

The steady stream of Indian students to Britain continues, says the London Correspondent of P. T. I. A total of 372 have just arrived for the next academic year, which began last month.

"As about 400 students have left for home, their studies completed, the Indian student population in Britain remains at just over 2,000 with others in Continental countries like France, Switzerland and Sweden. Surprisingly few of this year's students are Government Scholars. On the contrary the bill for their education, travelling to Britain and maintenance during their three years, or so here, is being paid by their own families.

About 100 of the new arrivals are here for specialised engineering training which they will receive at Cambridge, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield and other industrial cities. Sixty students are medical men, already holding degrees or diplomas gained in India. They will take post-graduate courses in London, Edinburgh and elsewhere. Forty-five students are attending the London School of Economics. About a dozen are going to Oxford and a similar number to Cambridge. Art students number only two—one man and woman. There are a number of students of aeronautics. The remainder are to receive practical training in industrial and agricultural subjects. Twenty-five students who have arrived in London without having ascertained whether a university or other institution could take them may suffer what one India House official called "a long period of waiting and frustration." He told the P.T.I. correspondent "About six of them may find the opportunities to study what they wish. The rest will probably have to take second best such as external degrees at a London County Council instruction instead of degrees as the particular university they had their minds on."

Burma

REMITTANCES FROM BURMA

Mr. S. P. N. Panchanatham Chettiar of Karaikudi writes to the press to ventilate the difficulties to which the Nattukottai Chettiars have been subjected for the past few years in so far as remittance facilities from Burma are concerned. The Government of Burma have been enacting from time to time legislation of a sweeping nature which have had a crippling effect on the Indian nationals there. A communique was issued by that Government some years ago, restricting the amount that can be sent by an individual from there by M. O. to Rs. 40. But even this petty concession has now been withdrawn, with the ultimate result that dependents in India have been put to much hardship. Burma owes much to the munificence of the Nattukottai Chettiars. In the circumstances it will be little short of ingratitude if Burma continues to pursue severe measures calculated to strike at the very root of their existence.

U. S. A.

PANDIT NEHRU'S ADVICE TO INDIANS IN U. S.

Speaking in Hindustani to an audience of cheering Indian residents of New York, who had gathered at India House to welcome him on October 15, Pandit Nehru said he had not come to the United States "to ask for or expect any gift from America."

Addressing the Assembly, he said: "We are too proud and cultured a people to seek favours from others. It was not his intention to ask for "this or that kind of help," he said.

SIRDAR J. J. SINGH

Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, issued a statement recently to deny the "widespread impression in India that I have become an American citizen." Sirdar Singh said: "I wish to state that I have not become an American citizen and that I am still a citizen of India."

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MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS ✱ DEPARTMENTAL ✱ NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

OUTLAWING OF WAR

His Excellency Sri C. Rajagopalachari in the course of a message broadcast from All India Radio, Delhi, on United Nations' Day (Oct. 24) said:

"The Governments of the world founded the United Nations organisation with great hopes of making a new and better world and to end war and establish peace. Alas, however, for mankind, fear has grown greater in recent times, not less. And the strenuous efforts of the United Nations organisation have not brought the outlawry of war nearer than before. Indeed outlawry itself seems to have lost its terrors.

"Unless the abhorrence of violence becomes as strong as religious faith itself, fear, jealousy and ambition will continue to rule the minds of men and nations, and debate and discussion will be carried on with mental reservations. The armament races of old did not prevent war. They led to varying degrees of confidence as regards relative strength, but did not take the nations nearer to the avoidance of war. When war burst, the havoc was all the greater on account of the previous preparations.

"Predictions have been recently made in high quarters that a race in atomic arms is inevitable. There can be no worse news for the world. The race in atomic armaments will not lead to peace any more than the armament races of old did. Let us devoutly pray that this new weapon will go into the limbo of forgotten things or be material only for fables and stories and no longer remain on the programme of nations. Can we not save the last chapter of human progress from becoming a record of total insanity and destruction?

"On behalf of the people of India and her Government, I renew to-day our pledge of loyalty to the United Nations organisation and prayerfully hope that in spite of every discouragement and every obstacle, it will develop an undaunted spirit and serve as an instrument of world peace. An organisation may evolve a soul of its own, which may be greater than that of any of its individual members and thereby the organisation may triumph over the failings of even the greater amongst its members."

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The Constituent Assembly of India, at the end of its nine-day session completed the second reading of the Draft Constitution.

During the second reading, the Assembly added 71 Articles, making the total number of Articles 386, besides eight schedules dealing with States and territories, forms of oaths, provisions relating to administration and control of scheduled areas and scheduled tribes, administration of tribal areas in Assam, legislative lists, regional language, etc.

The last item to be disposed of was acceptance of the preamble of the Constitution after a heated debate on whether the declaration in the preamble should be made in the name of God, which formed the subject of an amendment. After a sharp debate, the House decided to retain in tact the preamble as originally drafted. The preamble reads:

"We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens;

Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all,

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation;

In our Constituent Assembly this—of—, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this constitution."

The date of the commencement of the Constitution which was agreed to is January 26 next.

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

ADDRESS TO CANADIAN PARLIAMENT

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an address to both Houses of the Canadian Parliament, said at Ottawa on Oct. 24 that India desired no leadership or domination or authority over any other country.

But we are compelled by circumstances to play our part in Asia and in the world, because we are convinced that unless these basic problems of Asia are solved, there can be no world peace."

"India's championship of freedom and racial equality in Asia. as well as in Africa, is the natural urge of the facts of geography and history."

Pandit Nehru said that India's past co-operation within the Commonwealth would not cease or alter when she became a Republic. "On the contrary," he said, "it will have the greatest strength that common endeavour derives from a sense that it is inspired and sustained by the free will of free peoples.

"I am convinced that this development in the history of the Commonwealth, without a parallel elsewhere or at any other time, is a significant step towards peace and co-operation in the world."

"It is an outstanding example of the peaceful solution of difficult problems and a solution which is a real one, because it does not lead to other problems. The rest of the world might well pay heed to this example."

Stressing the communion of thought between India and Canada, Pandit Nehru said.

In International affairs, our objectives are similar, and we have found no difficulty thus far in co-operating for the achievement of these aims. I am here to assure the Government and people of Canada of our earnest desire to work for these ends in co-operation with them. The differences that have existed in our minds about East and West have little substance to-day and we are all partners in the same great undertaking."

PANDIT NEHRU'S ADDRESS TO AMERICAN CONGRESS

Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the U. S. House of Representatives and the Senate on October 13. Delivering identical addresses to both Houses of Congress, Pandit Nehru said:

"I have come here on a voyage of discovery of the mind and heart of America and to place before you our own mind and heart. Thus we may promote that understanding and co-operation which, I feel sure, both our countries earnestly desire."

TORCH-BEARERS OF FREEDOM

Recalling his visits to the memorials of the great builders of the American nation, Pandit Nehru observed that these men were the real torch-bearers of freedom not only for the United States of America but for the world, and they had given a message that could not be confined within a particular country.

INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

Speaking of the new constitution that is being fashioned in India, Pandit Nehru said that India would soon be a Republic based on the federal principle "which is an outstanding contribution of the founders of this great Republic". Still India's voice would be somewhat different, because "it is not the voice of the old world of Europe but of the other world of Asia. It is the voice of an ancient civilisation, distinctive and vital. It is both old and new. It has its roots deep in the past, but it also has the dynamic urges of today."

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Stating that the objectives of India's foreign policy were the preservation of world peace and the enlargement of human freedom, Pandit Nehru said that two tragic wars had already demonstrated the futility of warfare and the victor and the vanquished alike were suffering from past wounds and a common fear of the future.

Reiterating India's great desire for peace, Pandit Nehru said that though the ultimate objective was peace and reconciliation, still,

"we are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom, from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral".

"India may be new to world politics, and her military strength insignificant in comparison with that of the giants of our epoch," added Pandit Nehru, "but India is old in thought and experience and has travelled through trackless centuries to the adventure of life. It was out of this ancient and yet young India there arose Mahatma Gandhi and he sought us a technique of action which was peaceful and yet it was effective and yielded results which led us not only to freedom but also to friendship with those with whom we were till yesterday in conflict."

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THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

The "sovereign democratic republic" of India will be born on January 26, 1950—exactly twenty years after the nation took its first Independence Pledge at the direction of the Indian National Congress.

The decision to inaugurate the Constitution on January 26 next was taken when the Constituent Assembly of India adopted an Article which stipulated that on that date the Constitution shall come into force, and the Government of India Act of 1935 and the India Independence Act of 1947 shall cease to have effect.

KASHMIR AND THE INDIAN UNION

The Constituent Assembly passed a new Article 306-A governing the relationship between the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the Indian Union.

The effect of the Article in the words of Acting Minister for External Affairs, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, who moved it, will be that the State will continue to be part of India and the Union Legislature will have jurisdiction to enact laws on matters specified either in the Instruments of Accession or by later addition with the concurrence of the State Government.

In the light of the decisions of the State's Constituent Assembly, the President will either abrogate the Article 306-A or direct that it shall apply with such modifications and exceptions as the Constituent Assembly may recommend.

BAN ON COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES

The Communist Party has been declared an illegal organisation in the Province of Madras.

Explaining their decision to outlaw the party, the Government say that they had so long watched the activities of the Communists in the hope that they would change their attitude, but they have now come to the conclusion that the members of the party are bent upon pursuing violent activities to achieve their objects and hence it is necessary in the interests of the Province to declare the party an illegal organisation.

SALARIES OF PRESIDENT AND JUDGES

Members of the Constituent Assembly took a lively interest in salaries when the schedule containing the terms of appointment for the President, the Governors and High Court judges was taken up by the Assembly.

Dr. Ambedkar gave a straightforward explanation of why it was proposed to pay the President Rs. 10,000 a month, judges of the Supreme Court Rs 4,000 a month, judges of High Courts Rs 3,500 a month, and the Governors Rs. 5,000 a month. The Chief Justice of India would be paid Rs. 5,000 and the Chief Justices in the provinces Rs. 4,000 a month.

All salaries would be subject to income-tax, though the President would continue to receive Rs. 6,64,000 in allowances as at present.

Dr. Ambedkar compared the salaries of judges with those paid in other countries and contended that the salaries proposed were eminently reasonable.

DOUBLE MEMBERSHIP

The Constituent Assembly has decided to abolish double membership of the Constituent Assembly and a provincial or State Assembly on the commencement of the new Constitution. Over 100 members will lose their seats in the Constituent Assembly as a result of this decision.

In filling these casual vacancies the seats of Scheduled Castes, Muslims and Sikhs which fall vacant will be filled by members of the same community.

CONGRESS AND THE J. V. P. REPORT

The Congress Working Committee has adopted a resolution on linguistic provinces endorsing the report of the Nehru-Patel-Pattabhi Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress in December last recommending priority for the creation of Andhra Province. The resolution said that "necessary steps for its implementation can be taken as soon as the conditions in regard to it mentioned in the report are fulfilled."

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NEHRU'S ADDRESS TO COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Addressing a special convocation at the Columbia University on October 17, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that there was "some lesson in India's" peaceful revolution which might be applied to the larger problems before the world today." He said India had tried to combine idealism with national interest.

The address followed the conferring of an honorary Doctor of Laws degree on the Prime Minister by General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Columbia's President.

Pandit Nehru said that the policy India has sought to pursue was not a negative and neutral one but was " a positive and vital policy." "Detachment is neither isolationism nor indifference, nor neutrality, when peace or freedom is threatened, when India's liberty or freedom is in danger.

Neutrality will then be a betrayal of what we have fought for or stood for", he added.

The main objectives of India's policy, he said, were: "The pursuit of peace not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue, the liberation of subject peoples, the maintenence of freedom, both national and individual, the elimination of racial discrimination, and the elimination of want, disease, and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population."

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR E. AFRICAN STUDENTS

Mr. Peter Koinange, East African educationist, left for East Africa on October 7, after a two-months' tour of India.

Mr. Koinange said, he had obtained 34 scholarships for African students in India. Three students, he said, had already arrived, while the rest would be arriving shortly.

RADHAKRISHNAN COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

A complete overhaul of the university educational system and drastic changes in the structure of universities with a view to bringing university education more in line with Indian thought and life and aligning it to the cultural and historical genius of the people have been recommended by the Universities Commission.

The medium of instruction for higher education would be the regional language with the option to use the federal language either for some subjects or for all subjects. Besides, students at the higher secondary and university stages have to be conversant with three languages—the mother tongue, the federal language and English—the Commission recommended.

The Chairman of the Commission, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, explaining the recommendations at a Press conference in New Delhi said that he had impressed on both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education the need for early implementation of the report.

No hasty replacement of English, drastic changes in the examination system and banning co-education in the secondary stage are some of the other important recommendations.

LITERACY IN INDIA

An increase in literacy by about three per cent over the 1941 figures is revealed by the latest official estimates available.

Although no census has been taken after 1941 it is estimated that the percentage of literacy for the whole of India excluding the States has since come to about 17 per cent as compared to 14.7 per cent in 1941. According to the figures available an 8 per cent increase has been recorded in the province of West Bengal alone from 19 to 27 per cent, during the last few years. A further increase is expected at the time of the next census, as a result of the various measures taken by the provinces in the field of education.

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ROLE OF THE LAWYER

"Act as the law requires you to act. If respect for the law is lost there cannot exist any society", said Sir Harilal Kania, Chief Justice of India, addressing the students of the Government Law College, Bombay. Sir Harilal stressed the need for law students having a good knowledge of English. If they wanted to succeed and make themselves useful and not become dangerous and misguiding members of society, he said, they had to be accurate and precise. They could not afford to make loose statements or indulge in loose talk or use loose expressions. In these circumstances a good, sound knowledge of English was essential.

The lawyer, he said, stood between autocratic and unauthorised acts and the safety of the average citizen. It was the lawyer's profession to point out what the law of the land was. So long as the rule of the law prevailed and was recognised as the guiding principle of a civilised nation, there must be an authority which must sit independently of the executive and decide whether the executive's actions were in accordance with the laws passed by the legislature. However bad a law might be, it was the duty of the Judges to administer it and lawyers had to recognise it.

Ideas might have been different when a foreign nation was guiding India's activities, said Sir Harilal, but things had changed. The country would have a new constitution in a few months. Having chosen their representatives for the legislature, it was their duty and obligation to abide by the laws passed by the legislature. Discipline was one of the foremost things needed by them. It was their individual and collective duty to maintain law and order.

He advised students to make an intensive study of the laws, not merely content themselves with superficial knowledge of it. They should be thorough with the fundamental principles of law.

INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY

The scheme to separate the judiciary from the executive, first of its kind in India, was inaugurated simultaneously in two districts of the Madras Province, North Arcot and Chingleput on the 1st of October Gandhiji's birthday.

"The Premier, Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja, who inaugurated the scheme at Vellore, pointed out that the separation of functions was effected by executive orders, without amendment of even a single Act of the Legislature".

The Premier disclosed that by 1950 the scheme would have been introduced in nearly half the Province.

The Chief Justice, Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, speaking on the introduction of the reform at Chingleput, emphasised the need for an independent judiciary, and added that persons dispensing criminal justice should be free from the fear of consequences.

THE GODSE CASE

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on October 12 dismissed a petition brought on behalf of Nathuram Godse, sentenced to death for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, for special leave to appeal from the judgment of the High Court of Simla.

Linked with the petition of Godse were the names of Narayan D. Apte, Vishnu R. Karkare, Madanlal K. Pahwa, and Gopal V. Godse.

The judgment of the High Court of Simla, dated June 21, had affirmed the conviction of the petitioners by the Special Judge at Delhi on various charges connected with the murder.

Nathuram Godse was sentenced to death last February. Six others were found guilty of conspiracy to murder. On appeal to the East Punjab High Court, two, Shankar Kistayya and Dattatraya Parchure, were acquitted.

The High Court recommended clemency in the case of Gopal V. Godse and confirmed the sentences passed on the others.

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TRADE AND FINANCE

NEHRU AND AMERICAN FINANCIERS

Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told captains of American industry and finance in New York that there were three things America could supply to ease the economic situation in India, "not in any spirit of aid but on a basis of mutual advantage".

These things, he said, were food, particularly wheat, technical "know how" of the highest calibre and industrial machinery.

Pandit Nehru declared that economic co-operation between India and the United States was essential not merely for the good of the two countries but for the progress of the world.

TRADE COMMITTEE

The Government of India have set up a Committee to advise them on the constitution of a State-owned and State-sponsored organisation for handling the country's foreign trade.

Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh will be the Chairman of the Committee and Mr. U. L. Goswami, Deputy Secretary to the Commerce Ministry, the Secretary.

Mr. D. K. Malhotra will be the Deputy Secretary of the Committee.

S. AFRICA REJECTS U. S. LOAN

South Africa has turned down an American loan offer because of the "strings" attached, Dr. N. C. Havenga, South African Minister of Finance, said. In an interview in the Queen Elizabeth before she left New York for Southampton Dr. Havenga said that two of the conditions were that South Africa should (1) deposit gold to the equivalent value of the loan in the United States as a security; (2) permit inspection and supervision of her internal affairs regarding the spending of the money. Dr. Havenga said: "Rather than accept a loan which would have been a reflection on our established financial standing we shall cut coat according to our cloth and our imports according to our foreign exchange resources."

BRITAIN'S STERLING DEBTS

Pandit Nehru, addressing a Press Conference at Ottawa spoke about sterling debts owed by Britain to India, said, "I am full of admiration for what the United Kingdom did in war-time. They have done a fine job and stood up bravely against odds. But as the person responsible for India's affairs, I obviously cannot increase the burden on India. That burden is greater in comparison with that of any European country." "Am I going to be generous at the expense of poverty-stricken India?" he asked.

Pandit Nehru said the sterling balances were the result of a period of "great deprivation" for the Indian people. They had supplied goods at less than the market price. Dollars so earned had been converted into sterling, he added.

The whole economic policy behind the sterling balance had led to the Bengal famine in which three million people had perished. The economy of the nation had been affected and the only satisfaction was that the people could look forward to getting some benefit for the war time period of deprivation. Normally, Pandit Nehru said, India would not have to devalue. But she had to do so because the rupee was linked to sterling, Even the sterling balances themselves, the Prime Minister added, were already subjected to "various absorptions and adjustments."

CALL TO WAR PROFITEERS

Prime Minister Pandit Nehru in a broadcast to the nation on the eve of his departure to U. S. A. called upon Indian industrialists and traders to voluntarily come forward and disclose facts and figures of their war profits, earned rightly or illegally, to the Government so as to enable it to assess their untaxed incomes. Unless this question of illegal profits was finalised, he added, neither the business community nor the country would benefit.

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PROGRESS OF WOMEN IN U.S A.

Women are here to stay—in public office. This is the theme of a comprehensive survey of the progress of women in the U. S. A. just completed in Washington.

The survey is a compilation of ten studies in different fields. It shows an increasing number of American women in important Government jobs, particularly in the fields of policymaking and administration. It reveals that nearly 500,000 women are working in the Federal Government with about 500 in positions of authority.

There are about 165 women represented in the diplomatic service to-day as foreign service officers, foreign service reserve officers and staff officers in embassies and legations around the globe. There is one woman minister—in Luxembourg. There are 11 women secretaries of embassies and legations and 50 vice-consuls.

The number of American women holding office in the municipal government has increased yearly since women were granted suffrage in 1920. Today two women are mayors of cities of over 5,000 population, —Portland, Oregon and Sacramento.

Approximately 100 women are serving in important judicial posts in various courts of the U. S. A. Four are in federal courts, several in State courts. Larger cities have women on both domestic relations and juvenile court justiceships and also as municipal justices. Some 50 women are serving as presiding judges of country and probate courts.

MORE WOMEN THAN MEN

There are still more women than men in Britiain. But for two age groups of women—those between the ages of 18 and 24—there are enough men to go round, and a few to spare.

The General Register Office, after years of investigation by local National Registration offices, reports that in England and Waies there are 940 males of all ages to every 1,000 females.

In every age group except 18-19 and 20-24 there are more women than men. There are 2,380,000 "surplus" females, it is estimated.

Britain's population is getting older. The latest figures show that in 15 years the proportion of the population under 15 years af age has fallen from 23 3 per cent. to 21.9 per cent. The proportion of over 65's has risen from 7.4 per cent. to 10,9 per cent.

WOMEN LABOURERS IN TOKYO

Most women workers in Tokyo know little or nothing about the legal regulations which have been made to protect them. This was indicated by a public opinion survey conducted by the Premier's Office, covering a sample of 1,700 workers in 315 factories and workshops.

One interesting fact revealed was that 60 per cent. of women questioned had obtained their position through "family relations." Only 37 per cent. knew about wages and working conditions applicable to their employment. Although 85 per cent. had heard about the Labour Standards Act, fewer than 50 per cent. had the most rudimentary knowledge of its provisions.

FIRST WOMAN TO ENTER ANTARCTICA

Participation in a scientific expedition to the South Pole by Mrs. Edith Ronna the first woman to set foot on Antarctica is but one of the many recent and varied activities in all parts of the world reported by members of the Society of Women Geographers.

The organisation was established in 1925 to provide contact among women engaged in geographic and allied scientific activities. Ethnologists, archeologists, botanists, natural historians, sociologists and experts in folklore, arts and crafts are included in its membership. International headquarters is in Washington, D. C.

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GENERAL

GEMINI'S LATEST

The Gemini Studios have just presented two versions of an excellent picture (Hindi and Tamil) entitled "Strange Brothers". The germ of the story is drawn from "Corsican Brothers", but the way it has been adapted to the taste of our own public makes it almost original. The rendering of the important roles in both the versions reaches a high standard, the most outstanding being that of the polished and attractive villain Marthandan (Zoraver) played by the old veteran stage-artiste Nagendra Rao, who reveals in his acting an economy of style sometimes verging on international standards. Radha, in the Tamil, and Ranjan in the Hindi version, have each in their own manner rendered the double role of the twin-heroes admirably well—Radha scoring fair marks in the love-sequences, while Ranjan scores magnificently in the fencing scenes which go through with the rapidity of lightning and the devastating thud of thunder. Bhanumati is delightful in the kitchen-scene and as the "servant-maid" which she becomes to effect an escape.

The script is well written and the sequences move very fast with just a sense of flagging in the doctor's scenes-with too much of exit and entry, and opening and closing of the same doors leading into the same rooms at a single stretch. After the terrific climax reached by the picture, the way it ends seems tame and rather disappointing. On the whole, the editing is good producing the effect on the audience, of a story unfolding itself naturally and without effort.

Mr. S. S. Vasan, who had already conquered the silver screen with his "Chandralekha" has now definitely marked a new era and a new speed-record in the world of film making with his *Strange Brothers* which, of course, is *not* strange when one knows that S. S. Vasan, more than most men, knows how to dream and plan and toil like a true labourer.

AGARWAL'S EYE INSTITUTE, DELHI

On the occasion of the Sixteenth Anniversary of Dr. Agarwal's Eye Institute, Delhi last month, Dr. R. S. Agarwal mentioned in his report that he had synthesised Allopathy, Ayurveda, Homeopathy and Bates Nature Cure in the Institute and achieved a great success. He revealed that he was greatly inspired and guided by Sri Aurobindo to achieve efficiency and perfection in work. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who presided over the meeting, while praising the work of the Institute and the service it is doing to the nation, gave full exposition of the synthetic method that is being applied in the Institute for the eye treatment. He further hoped that all branches of medicine would recognise the usefulness of synthesis in treatment. Shrimati Ambujammal, Chairman of the Reception Committee told the audience that she had come there all the way from Madras for the treatment and had improved her vision considerably. Prof. Humayun Kabir spoke of his personal experience of the methods in the prevention and cure of defective vision without glasses which he said had a great truth in them. He expressed that the Ministry of Education would help the Institute all it could in further developing the system and making its approach to educational institutions so that the children could benefit from it to avoid the use of glasses in early age. The Sri Aurobindo Mandir Library which was a part of the function was declared open by Sjt. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, M. C. A.

NOBEL PRIZE FOR LORD BOYD-ORR

Lord Boyd-Orr, of Britain former Director of Food and Agricultural Organisation, was awarded the 1949 Nobel Prize for Peace by the Nobel Prize Peace Committee of the Norwegian Parliament on October 12. It is a well merited tribute to the man whose efforts were directed to solving the vital problem of food on a global scale.

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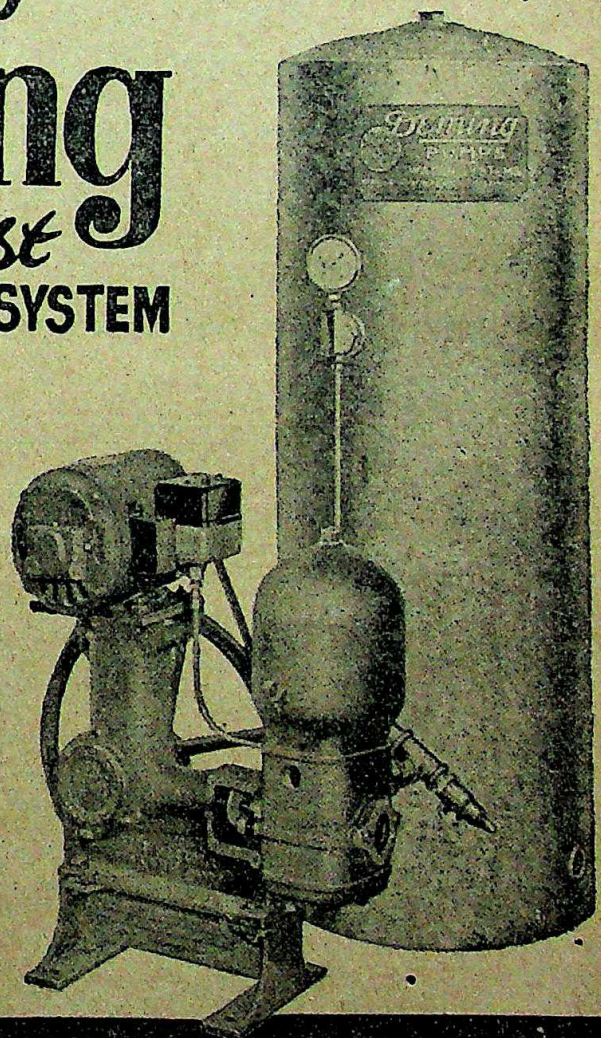

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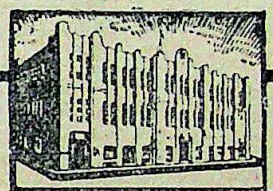

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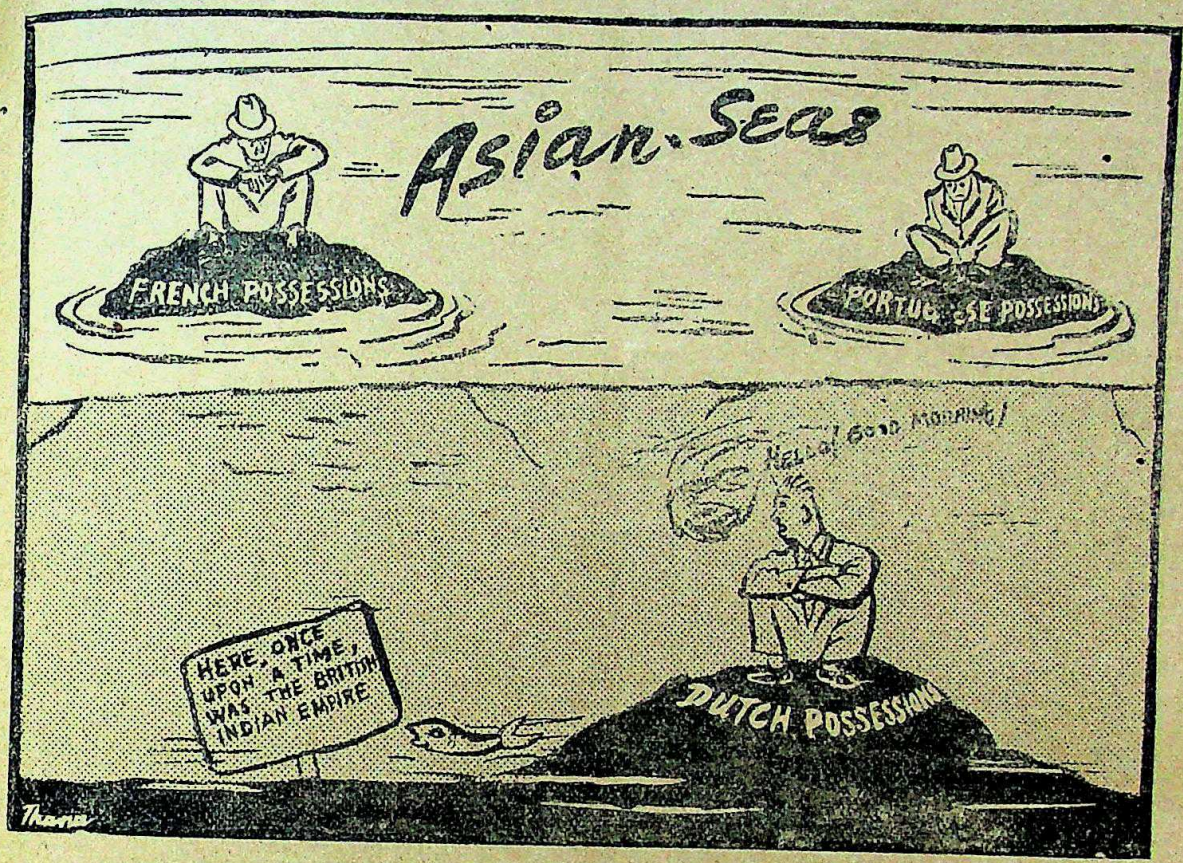
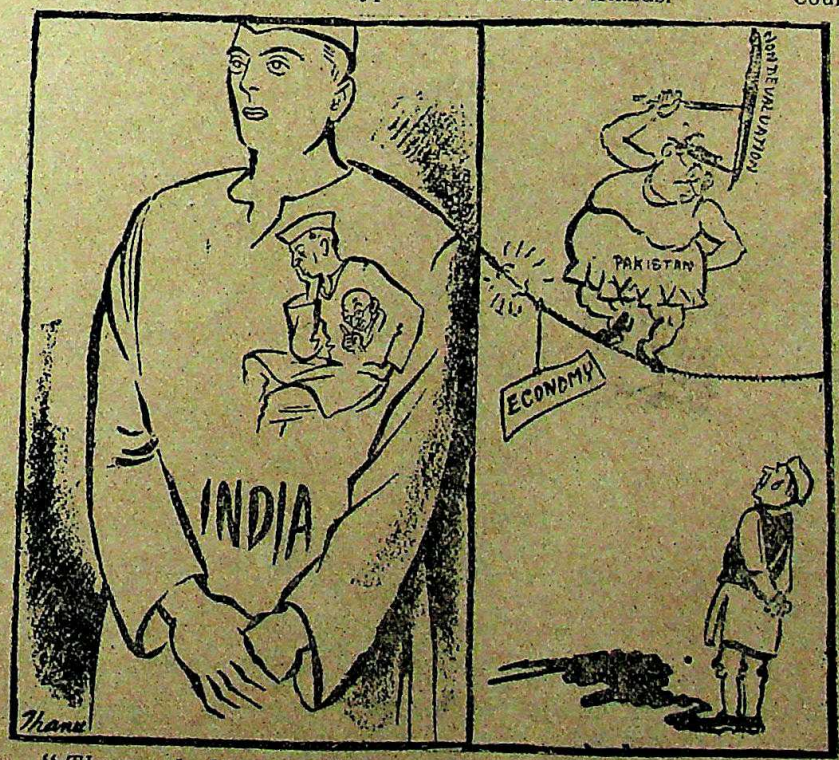


GOING, GOING.....

Recently there were reports of the disappearance of some islands. Courtesy : *Bharat.*



"The people listen to Nehru;
Nehru listens to Gandhi;
And Gandhi listens to God."
—LIN YUTANG.

Pakistan's Economy Drive

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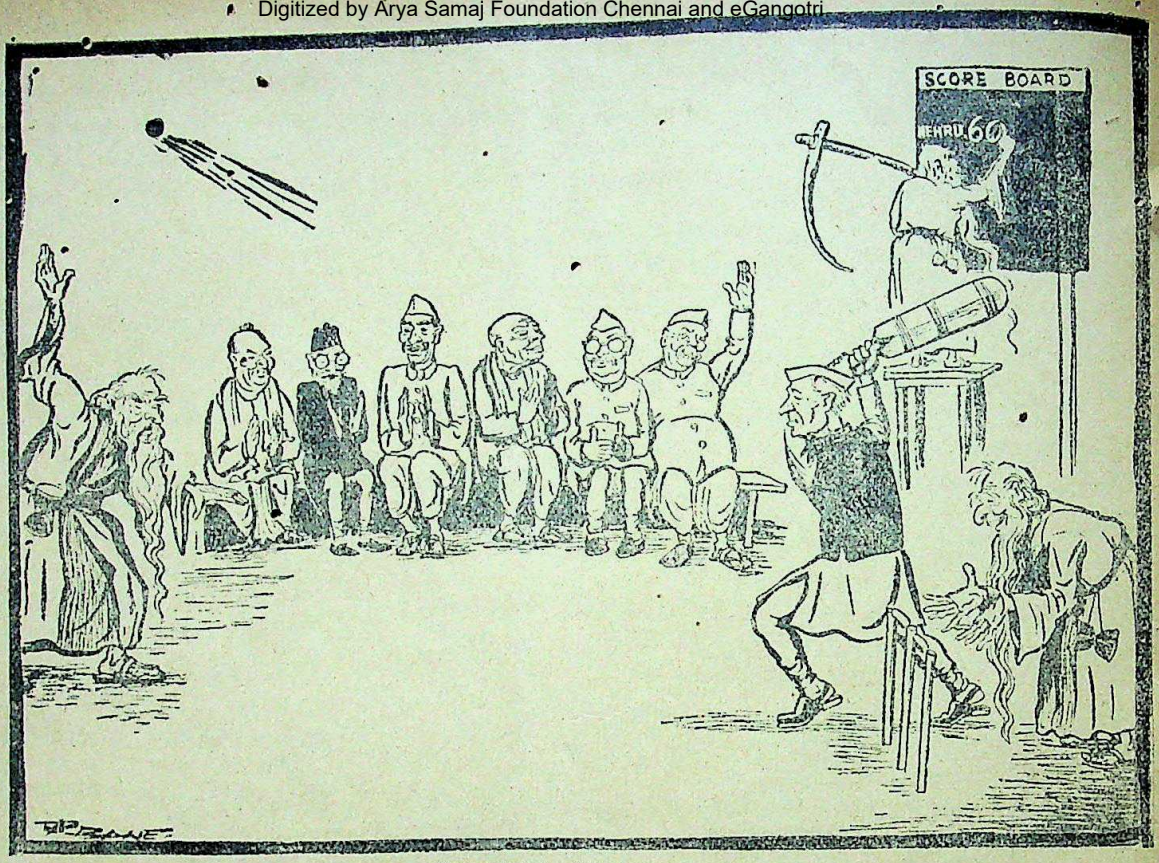

IN FOR A CENTURY!

Courtesy : *The Pioneer.*

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, predicts large-scale trouble if his demands are not met.

Courtesy : *The Leader.*

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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PANDIT JAWAHARLAL AT THE BAR

BY H. E. DR. KAILAS NATH KATJU

Governor of West Bengal

PEOPLE often ask me about my recollections of Pandit Jawaharlal's career as an Advocate in the Allahabad High Court. He was called to the bar in England in 1912 and returned home and joined the Allahabad Bar the same year. His father, Pandit Motilal Nehru was then one of the topmost leaders in the profession and his name was a household word in the U. P.

After practising six years in the Kanpur district courts I came over and joined the Allahabad High Court Bar myself in 1914. Jawaharlal was, as he has told us in his autobiography, attracted towards the Home Rule movement inaugurated by Mrs. Annie Besant in 1916. He threw himself heart and soul into this movement after Mrs. Besant was released a few months after internment. This was in 1917. And then the martial law in the Punjab and its aftermath finally tore away Jawaharlal from the arena of the law courts. Readers will thus see that Jawaharlal's career at the bar was only of a few years' duration. He and I then knew each other fairly well, but not intimately. We met in the High Court but social contacts were slender. Situated as I then was, I could not afford to develop them. It was only when Jawaharlal after 1919 came under Gandhiji's inspiration and threw himself heart and soul in the Congress movement that he began to mix with the masses, and my contacts with him also became warmer, not only with him but also with Pandit Motilal, otherwise he and I lived in two worlds far apart from each other.

People wonder whether Jawaharlal would have been as successful at the bar as his father. That is a question difficult to answer and one can only speculate upon it. The secret of success at the bar really is a mystery for many centuries. People have tried to seek the key in the lives and careers of distinguished jurists and advocates, yet the riddle remains unsolved. Indeed it is always a question of personal equation, personal temperament and how one adjusts himself to one's environments. Of course, there are basic requirements. A duffer and nincompoop and a shirker and one with no capacity for mastering the fundamental elements obviously cannot achieve success, but on the other hand, industry and legal scholarship are also always not passports to success. There is something undefinable about this matter. And there may be some persons of such essential refinement who cannot stand the rough and tumble and coarseness of the atmosphere of the law courts. If one were to be guided by Jawaharlal's life as it has developed through all these years one might be tempted to say that a soul so highly elevated and a personality of such delicate texture and so high-strung and sensitive was indeed not suited for the drab and dismal and sickly surroundings of the law courts in India. I have somewhere likened a law court to an indoor ward in a hospital. In a hospital you see people suffering from physical ailments, whereas in a law court you come across with people suffering from moral diseases and depravities. Neither place is cheerful or heartening and a covetable way of life. Of course, it

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cannot be gainsaid that if Jawaharlal had, in the case of his clients, given even one-tenth of the devotion, integrity, zeal and enthusiasm with which he has dedicated himself to the service of the nation, his success in the profession would have been assured' but here I am not thinking of mere success, but of climbing the heights.

The few years that Jawaharlal had been at the bar formed also part of his growing political interests. It is not only that the law is a jealous mistress but the client is also a very shrewd judge, and it is only after some years of wooing that litigants begin to throng the chambers of a promising and rising junior. Jawaharlal of course began, as son of Pandit Motilal Nehru, with great advantages. He was socially well-known to judges and must have at once come into professional as well as social contacts with leading families, landlords and industrialists in the U. P. who supply the grist for the legal mills everywhere. I remember very well that over a year of his professional life he spent with strenuous exertions as a Junior to Pandit Motilal Nehru in the famous Lakhna case, which formed at the time almost as much a topic of intense public excitement and curiosity as years after did the famous Bhowal Sanyasi case in Bengal. The great question of fact—there was the question of legal interpretation of a document also—in the Lakhna case was whether a young man who claimed himself to be the son of a deceased zamindar was in truth his child lawfully-begotten or only a supposition one put forward by him in his own life time for ulterior purposes. Like Watson I may tell the story of the Lakhna case at some other time. Proceedings lasted many many years and in the final stages I was myself associated as a junior with Pandit Motilal in it.

Jawaharlal had, I think, just started building up a promising practice of his own as a junior when the call of the country tore him away from the Allahabad High Court. In this brief practice of his I was but rarely associated with him but I remember two cases in which he and I came together and the story of both may be worth relating.

Pandit Motilal had started his professional career in the middle of eighteen eightees in Kanpur and people of Kanpur throughout his long life regarded him and loved him and revered him as one of their own. There he had many friends of his youngest days and they were deeply attached to him. One of them was Babu Bansidhar affectionately known throughout Kanpur as Bansi Babu. With Nehru family in Allahabad and with Pandit Prithi Nath, the beloved leader of the Kanpur district bar, Bansi Babu was on terms of the closest intimacy. I think Bansi Babu must have fondled Jawaharlal when he was a baby and when I started my life in Kanpur in 1908, Bansi Babu, on coming to know that I was Pandit Prithi Nath's junior and protege, took me at once under his sheltering care. Now Bansi Babu had various interests in life. He was a zamindar, a banker in a way, and he was a friend of all, ready to do every one a good turn. A young man of his community who sought employment in a bank, was asked to furnish security for good conduct. He went to Bansi Babu, and Bansi Babu readily stood security for him in the sum of Rs. 2,000. This man got his employment but some years later some money disappeared from the bank and he was held liable and Bansi Babu was called upon under his bond, to make good the loss. Naturally he wanted to escape liability. The question was whether the terms of the bond covered the case. The bank took the matter in court and the Kanpur courts decided that Bansi Babu was liable and must make good. He came to Allahabad and took the case to Pandit Motilal and Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, most intimate friends. As a matter of fact I think Bansi Babu always used to stay, when he visited Allahabad, at Anand Bhawan. Both of them declared the case to be hopeless. And then he came to me. I was rather surpised but he was quite frank about it. He said he had con-

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sulted Pandit Motilal, and Motilalji had read the papers and pronounced the case to be hopeless. But he had also said: "Bansi Babu, your case is a small one. It appears to me to be hopeless, but I suggest that for these small cases you should go to the new atheletes, like Jawaharlal and Kailas Nath. Show the papers to them. They have plenty of time and very likely they would be able to discover some point or other or invent it. Neither I nor Tej Bahadur have the time nor the inclination to do so." So Bansi Babu came to me. After repeating these remarks he told me, "I have already seen Jawaharlal and I have come to you. No matter what may happen, I am determined to fight this case in court. I have never lost a case so far and I am sure that you two would win it for me." I laughed and said, "Well, this is not seeking advice but giving a command." So, Jawaharlal and I studied the case and thought we had found something. We drafted the grounds of appeal and I said to Jawaharlal: "Now you must see the case through in the first preliminary hurdle for admission." He did so and very successfully indeed. The case was admitted but then poor Bansi Babu himself died and before the appeal could come on for final hearing Jawaharlal himself had drifted away into politics. The hearing of the appeal constitutes in itself rather an epic story, but I shall not give it here because I am dealing with Jawaharlal and not with myself.

In other case we were opposed to each other. The story is indeed so remarkable and so amusing and in its final setting it became almost a comedy that even after the passage of 30 years whenever I think of it I cannot help laughing outright.

But I must first, to make it intelligible, indulge in an introduction. As I have said above, Motilalji came from Kanpur and so did I, and for years as a beginner in the High Court, Kanpur people sustained me with their briefs. Some of them would take no denial, no matter how rotten the case might appear to be. One day in the hot weather an individual Narain Das by name (of Bansi Babu's community) came with a judgment of a case which he has lost in Kanpur and asked me to file an appeal. He told me that the case was a pretty hopeless one, but the appeal must be filed because if the judgment stood he would be ejected from a house which his family had been occupying for nearly 50 years, and no suitable house was then available to him in Kanpur and the rains were coming and he wanted some time to avoid ejectment, and this could only be done by filing an appeal. I read the papers and indeed the case seemed a perfect flop. It had originated in a dispute among womenfolk. It appeared that a well-to-do individual (Narain Das's maternal grandfather) had 3 sons and a daughter. He was a man of property and owned several residential houses. The daughter was married in a rather modest family and the father allowed his daughter to occupy one of these houses for her residence. This she continued to do not only in her father's lifetime but after his death also with the consent of her brothers. These people were undoubtedly the owners of the property. They were recorded as owners in the municipal registers, paid all rates and taxes assessed upon it and, if I am not mistaken, they used a portion of the house for keeping their cows. Subsequently the three brothers divided their patrimony. This particular house fell to the share of one of them, who was himself childless and on his death his widow, as his heir, became entitled to the house. That was the situation about the year 1914. In the house lived the sister-in-law of this lady with her children and grand children. I was told that the two ladies were formerly on good terms, but recently on the bank of the Ganga at Kanpur they had some quarrel among themselves and the lady, the owner, of the house had thereupon said to her sister-in-law "Get out of my house." Naturally she would not, hence this litigation. There was really no answer to the case and no gift of the house was alleged. The defendant's lawyers, however, I imagine for gaining as much time as they could, put up a plea of adverse possession and found a rather stupid Subordinate Judge to uphold

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it. On appeal to the District Judge, who was himself a Hindu, the game was up. Adverse possession was out of the question. Such cases where poor relations are allowed possession as licensees are fairly common and therefore the District Judge awarded a decree for possession. As I have said, Narain Das himself knew that there was nothing in the case and he wanted another 4 months to stay in the house. I told him plainly that this matter was quite beyond me. If a junior like myself argued it, very likely the appeal would not be admitted in the summary hearing and therefore we must have a senior counsel of some eminence to lend the weight of his personality to see it through the preliminary hurdles. Narain Das readily agreed and I induced Dr. Tej Bahadur to accept the case as my senior. The appeal was filed before a Judge, who was rather lenient in admissions. Dr. Sapru got up and said, "The question of law was limitation", and the learned Judge simply said "Admit, let notice go." So, one hurdle was crossed. Later I applied for stay of execution, which was granted as a matter of course. Some weeks afterwards Pandit Motilal hailed me in the Advocates' Library and said in his well-beloved joking way—"Kailash Nath, have you made it a rule to file every case of Kanpur?" I first did not appreciate to what he referred and said so-'Bhaiji; what is it about?' Thereupon he said, "That old woman came to Anand Bhawan and went to Jawaharlal's mother and was full of her case. Later she spoke to me about it and I had to accept it. It is a hopeless case. How did you put it through?" So I told him all the story and he accepted the respondent's brief.

In due course, I think after about 2 years, the appeal came on for final hearing before the Chief Justice, Sir Henry Richards and Mr. Justice Rafique. It was one of the hottest days in the hot weather of 1917 for which Allahabad is so famous or notorious. Both the Judges were well-equipped with rose water which it was then the fashion for the Judges in Allahabad to sprinkle on their head and on their face to keep themselves cool. That amenity, of course, was not permissible to the Advocates who sweltered at the bar. Pandit Moti Lal was then in Allahabad. Very likely he had some more urgent work at home or it may be that on that day he had nothing else except this wretched second appeal. He thought it was not necessary for him to attend the court and he handed over the brief to Jawaharlal, I imagine, with the remark that "you will have just to sit in court and would not be called upon to argue." So, Jawaharlal was there as a brief-holder for his father. The court room was crowded. My senior, Dr. Tej Bahadur, was sitting by my side. I am now trying to tell the story exactly as it happened. Both Dr. Sapru and I knew that there was really nothing in the case. When it was called, I naturally expected Dr. Sapru to get up, but he turned to me and said: "Kailash Nath, there is nothing in it. You get up and give it a decent burial." So, I got up and started the show. I only gave the facts and repeated many times that the daughter and her family had been living in the house for over 40 years and I added to reinforce the statement. "My lords, Narain Das was actually born in this house." At that stage I noticed Sir Henry Richards went off into a doze, he put the paper book before his face and was asleep. The brother Judge noticed it also and as for two Judges to go off to sleep together would have been a scandal, this Judge, Mr. Justice Rafique, whom alone I could address at the time, put to me some troublesome questions and I was trying to answer them. This conversation was going on when I saw the paper book in front of Sir Henry's face rustling. He had evidently woken up and was attempting to show to everybody that he was not in fact sleeping but deeply studying the case all the time. I saw him reading the plaint where in the array of parties Narain Das stated to be 35 years of age. The last words uttered by me before he went to sleep were: "My lords, Narain Das was born in this house", and he, I noticed it, turned over the page again and then he suddenly turned towards me and said: "Did you say that Narain Das was born in this house." I said: "Yes, my lord, that is so."

Chief Justice: "But Narain Das is aged 35."

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K. N. K.: "My lord, that is exactly my point. The family has been in this house for the last 50 years and children and grandchildren have been born."

Chief Justice: "Absurd, absurd. Who appears on the other side."

Before I could attempt to add any word of my own in the way of any foolish reinforcement of my argument, Dr. Sapru tugged at my gown and whispered to me to sit down at once and I did so, and now Jawaharlal had to rise. Sir Henry Richards was a very masterful Judge. I think he was the most intelligent Judge that I have come across in all my 40 years in India, but he was impatient and in his desire to do justice, as he saw it, he would surmount all sorts of obstacles. Jawaharlal, of course, began quietly saying that there was a clear case of finding of fact by the District Judge on this question of possession which had started only as a license. Sir Henry Richards remarked most decisively: "Yes, I know, I know; this is a finding of fact and we cannot interfere with it but let me tell you this is an absolutely perverse finding of fact. The plaintiff has no justice on her side." Sir Henry went on like this for some time and then he suddenly said: "But you are a woman, how do you come into the picture." Jawaharlal referred to the partition among the 3 brothers and his client having inherited the house from her husband. But the Chief Justice would have none of it.

"This is a joint family property. A Hindu woman cannot be a heir in a joint family. You have to prove partition among the 3 brothers."

Thereupon Jawaharlal quoted a sentence or two from the judgment or the District Judge. But Sir Henry was intractable.

"This is a mere casual observation; this is not a finding. Show me where you suggested it in your pleading as to how you got it. What is the evidence of partition?" and so on and so forth.

Jawaharlal then argued that this point had never been denied by the defendants and if their Lordships thought that it has not been put in the proper order, then the case might be remitted to the lower court for a proper decision upon it.

Sir Henry would not listen and said again warmly- "This is not a case in which the court should assist you in any way in the slightest degree. It was your business to put this allegation in proper manner in your plaint to have an issue upon it and to prove it. We won't send in an issue down at this stage!"

Jawaharlal struggled valiantly for over an hour. But who could struggle against such a Judicial tidal wave? I imagine even the most experienced counsel would have been washed away. Jawaharlal could not stand it. What to say of Jawaharlal, even Mr. Justice Rafique could not say anything. Judgment was delivered then and there, appeal was allowed and the suit dismissed with costs.

One can imagine the furore caused in Kanpur and the great loss of face of the sister-in-law. She came running to Anand Bhawan again and wept and shed tears and Motilalji for once adopted what was for him a most unusual course of filing an application for review of Judgment. As one of the two Judges had gone on leave, this application came on for preliminary hearing after many months. Motilalji took care to be present in court personally. I was also sitting as an interested listener, and this is what happened. When the application was called, Motilalji got up and as he had stated the facts briefly and was beginning to start an argument, Sir Henry grinned broadly and burst forth—"Pandit, I remember this case very well and Jawaharlal argued it excellently, and right or wrong, we will not have cases reargued in this court. Application dismissed. Call the next case." He said it all with such good humour and so quickly that even Motilalji could not help laughing, so did all of us, and the Judges too. Jawaharlal was not that day present in court, and I wonder whether he remembers the case at all. The last 32 years have been of such tremendous stresses and crises in the life of the nation with

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which his own has since been so closely intertwined.

I think after 1919 Jawaharlal appeared many times in law courts, not as an advocate but as a prisoner at the bar. These appearances of course have become and will always remain historic in our national story. They were so many milestones in our march to freedom.

His last appearance as an advocate was indeed on a historic occasion. It was in 1945 in the Red Fort at Delhi at the time of the I.N.A. trials. I do not think there has ever been a single occasion in India ever since the British rule when there has been an assembly of such a galaxy of Indian talents, so distinguished both at the bar and in the public sphere. In that year in public estimation the I.N.A. represented the cause of freedom and to uphold that cause at the bar appeared Jawaharlal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Bhulabhai Desai, Bakhshi Tek Chand, Kanwar Duleep Singh, P.K. Sen, Asaf Ali and others. Even the counting of these names brings to mind vividly the memories of long lives spent in the service of the country on the national platform, on the High Court Benches, at the bar and in Legislative Assemblies. It fell to me also to be a humble member of that noble company and to share with them the ennobling and exhilarating experiences of those stirring days. Jawaharlal's appearance was a token, a symbol of his close identification with the national struggle for independence carried on under exceptionally difficult circumstances by a great set of people. I need not enter into the details of I.N.A. trials here. That is another story.

Jawaharlal is now at the peak of his destiny and is engaged in upholding, maintaining and sustaining the cause of Indian independence and freedom at the bar of history. Prayers will go forth from every hearth and home in India on this day that long may he be spared to plead that noble cause, and his efforts be crowned with success to this ancient land and its inhabitants glorious and prosperous.

IMPRESSIONS OF MY WORLD TOUR

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

I am glad to be back to my country after a world tour of about five and a half months. During my tour I visited China, Japan, Hawai, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Pakistan. Everywhere people showed wonderful love and admiration for the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. Even in the remotest countryside, I did not come across any person who had not heard of Gandhi as a great leader of the Indian nation who had a special message for the world. Although they had no clear idea about the social, economic, political, educational and spiritual ideology of Gandhiji, they knew that he stood for peace, non-violence and world brotherhood. The way he achieved political independence for India evoked their universal praise, and they hoped that Gandhi's land, India, would be able to present to the world a new, positive, rational and dynamic socio-economic order which could establish a much better pattern of human life.

China, though distressed by the civil war, showed deep interest in Mahatma Gandhi's thought. Many Buddhist leaders, professors, and students desired closer cultural co-operation between India and China. Japan, now a slave country under the American Military authorities, evinced extraordinary faith in Gandhian ideals partly because of the moral and political frustration and partly because they feel that Japan needs a great leader like Gandhi to regain its lost freedom. The Gandhi Society in Japan

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has about 50,000 members including political leaders, members of the Diet, professors and many Buddhist priests. America showed unexpected warmth and affection for Gandhiji. Many Americans realised that mere wealth and political power were not conducive to real human happiness ; it was necessary to reinstate certain moral and spiritual values for which Gandhi lived and died. Many professors of economics in the American Universities expressed their deep interest and conviction in the decentralisation of industrial organisation. They were of definite opinion that excessive centralisation and mechanisation of industries lead to dictatorship, fascist tendencies and undesirable congestion in cities which does good to nobody. England naturally takes keener interest in Gandhian thought after the freedom of India. Still there are people in England who have not forgotten Gandhiji as a political agitator who caused many inconveniences to them and ultimately broke up their Empire. Most of the European countries that I visited evinced much greater interest in India and Mahatma Gandhi than I had ever expected. They are weary of wars and the scars of the fast global conflict are yet fresh on their faces. They shudder to visualise the possibility of another atomic war in the near future. Although nobody wants war, they do not know how to avoid it. Gandhi seems to be their only hope and ray of light in the midst of this enveloping darkness. Germany which has suffered the most can easily be a very good soil for the experimentation of Gandhian ideals. Switzerland is another country which has shown how decentralisation of economic, and political administration is consistent with economic solvency and prosperity. In many phases of her national life, Switzerland follows Gandhi more than any other country not only in Europe but, perhaps, in the world. Even Turkey was very enthusiastic for the ideals preached by Gandhiji. But Pakistan continues to be as hostile to India as ever ; it seems to tolerate nothing that is Indian or Gandhian. This was a very shocking experience, indeed, after a travel of five months in countries which had warm appreciation for India and its glorious leader, Gandhi.

It is but natural that the whole world expects much from Gandhi's country, India. They sincerely hope that India will be able to place before the peoples of other countries better solutions of many social, economic, political and educational problems that confront them in modern life. But when they read in newspapers that India also is following the large-scale industrial pattern of the West and is spending very substantial part of her total revenues on the Military establishments, they naturally feel extremely disappointed. Still they have faith in the noble and dynamic ideology of Gandhi and they continue to hope that India will ultimately follow Gandhi and show to the world a better way of life. India, however, seems to be going from bad to worse day by day. Our public morals and sense of civic duties are at a very low ebb. Corruption, inefficiency, and indiscipline plague our country more than, perhaps, any other nation that I know of. This is a tragedy of the highest order.

Another spectacle that made me extremely sad is the rapid growth of Fascism in America and Europe. In their inordinate anxiety to crush the gushing tide of Communism, America is following a very suicidal policy both inside and outside her territories. In the United States, every activity that is not convenient to the capitalists and the financiers is at once dubbed by their press and radio as "Un-American", and the forces of the State are let loose on it with the greatest violence and intolerence. Even in the Universities, the professors and students dare not discuss economic and political problems with perfect freedom. Professors are being asked to sign pledges that they will not in any way associate themselves with "Un-American," activities. In Europe, under the guise of the Marshall Aid, America is actively trying to encourage the old fascist tendencies to serve their immediate objective of destroying Communism and Soviet Russia. This

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is happening in Germany, Italy, Greece and Turkey. When they are asked as to the future consequences of such a short-sighted policy, the convenient reply is: Let us first finish our first task; when Communism is finished, we shall tackle fascism. Thus the world seems to be destined to be torn between Communism and Fascism without any end in sight. Here again, the only golden mean between the two extremes is Gandhism. There are many educated and enlightened people in the West who clearly realise the potentialities of Gandhian thought. They do not regard Gandhi as a medieval saint and thinker but earnestly believe that he was many decades ahead of the times. I have, therefore, often felt that Gandhism may spread and take roots earlier in the West than in the East. While we content ourselves with paying only lip-worship to his great ideals, the Western countries may have to resort to Gandhian way of life out of sheer necessity and force of circumstances.

In conclusion, I would add that my world tour has convinced me that nothing lasting can be attained without hard and honest work. Countries which are to-day prosperous and powerful are full of numerous citizens who know their duties and discharge them with earnestness. It is the keen sense of discipline, honesty and efficiency which promotes welfare and prosperity. If India has to attain greatness as a nation, all of us will have to work for building up a New India day and night with incessant vigour and sincerity. Instead of criticising others, each one of us will have to understand his or her duty and fulfil it to the utmost of our abilities. Only then can we expect to rise as a great and powerful nation showing to the world new ideals of life taught us by the Architect and Father of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi.

THE RUSSO-YUGOSLAV TENSION

By Mr. K. SHARMA, M.A.

IF another world war is to be prevented, the problem is how to make the Soviet and the U. S. A. (and her allies) live in peace with each other.

The "cold war" between the Slav and Atlantic Powers being in a temporary lull Russia backed by Cominform has intensified her quarrel with Marshal Tito's country. Ever since the late General Zhadanov started the original break with Marshal Tito, relations between the two countries have been far from cordial. With Yugoslavia's election to the Security Council as against Soviet championship of Czechoslovakia the cold war has entered a new phase. Close on the warning of Marshal Tito that an armed conflict in Yugoslavia will lead to another world war, comes the news of communist troop movements on that country's border. According to Press reports Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania are redisposing their troops and digging trenches, building pill boxes and wire entanglements. This opens up another phase of Russia's war of nerves on Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, Britain and the U. S. A. want the United Nations General Assembly to condemn Albania and Bulgaria for continuing to help the Greek guerillas.

A long resolution, sponsored by the U.S.A. Britain and Australia made the following main charges:—

(1) Albania and Bulgaria have continued to give moral and material assistance to the Greek guerilla movement, Albania being the principal source of material assistance. Yugoslavia is not named under this heading.

(2) Certain States not bordering on Greece, particularly Rumania, have increased their support to the guerillas.

(3) Further assistance to the Greek guerillas might renew an armed attack on

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Greece, in which case the U. N. would be obliged to call an emergency assembly.

(4) Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia should allow the U. N. Balkans Committee to check whether guerillas have in fact been disarmed and interned.

A few weeks ago Marshal Tito announced that Yugoslavia's frontier with Greece would be gradually closed. According to political observers, the Marshal's announcement merely formalised what was a *fait accompli* since the Greek-Yugoslav border had been practically closed since November last.

The Greek guerillas are reported to be under the over-all control of Pro-Cominform communists and therefore Marshal Tito's announcement would provide Cominform an excuse for anti-Yugoslav move. Border flare-ups would certainly cause serious deterioration in Russo-Yugoslav relations.

The vehemence of Marshal Tito's attack has lately increased. In Belgrade too the atmosphere seems to be anti-Stalin. Anti-Stalin posters and whispering campaigns are mainly responsible for this.

It is no longer realistic to ignore the fact that there is still an attempt on both sides to win nations to their particular blocks. This "muscling in" on each other's sphere of influence and other neutral nations is adding to the tension in the world.

Deplorable though this development is, and wide its possible effects upon the policies of several countries, it cannot be termed surprising. At first not much heed was paid; it was assumed to spring from some misunderstanding, which would disperse. Latterly, as unfriendly Russo-Yugoslav gestures and propaganda continued, a graver view came to be held by world politicians. The Cominform propaganda against Marshal Tito as a tool of American imperialism, however, did not deter the Export-Import Bank from lending Yugoslavia $ 20,000,000 on September, 8. The reason given is that this crediit is intended largely to rehabilitate Yugoslavia's aluminium ore, mercury, copper, lead, and zinc mines. Newspapers and politicians in other Iron Curtain countries have, however, fumed that the "American loan constitutes payment to Tito for his desertion from the camp of socialism and democracy to the camp of capital and reaction." Despite this, Military advisers are seeking Truman's approval for a stockpile of U. S. arms in areas close to Yugoslavia, to be made available to Tito in the event of an open clash with Russia or Soviet Balkan satellites.

In their eagerness to make the Tito-Kremlin split irreparable, the Western Powers have considered various political moves. They discussed sending an American-British-French note to warn that the Soviet Union was threatening the integrity and freedom of a member of the United Nations. This idea was later dropped lest it play into the hands of Cominform propaganda, which describes Tito as a Fascist, an agent-provocateur of American imperialism, the "Third-class Belgrade Tsar," and "Ring-leader of the Restorers of Capitalism." Another proposal was that either Britain or the U. S. A cite the Soviet Union under the U. N. Charter without waiting for Yugoslav initiative. The Western Powers finally agreed that Yugoslavs should decide for themselves whether they are threatened. According to a PTI—Reuter report, the London Conference of U. S. envoys from Europe which ended on October, 25 discussed political means of assistance to Yugoslavia. The problem of countering Soviet propaganda in Eastern Europe was another important topic of this conference. A number of reports and recommendations were also prepared for transmission to the U.S. State Department. Strict secrecy was maintained throughout the Conference, as was the case at a similar Conference of envoys from Western Europe, held a few days ago in Paris.

In turn, Russia demanded the recall of the Yugoslav Ambassador to Moscow. The Note handed to the Yugoslav Embassy in Moscow stated that the recent Budapest trial of the now executed former Hungarian

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Foreign Minister, M. Rajk, showed that the Yugoslav Ambassador had for a long time engaged spying and other subversive activities against the U. S. S. R. R. M. Azovic, the Yugoslav Ambassador had also "come out in the Yugoslav Press with slanderous fabrications against the Soviet Union," the note said.

In the ultimate analysis, so long as Marshal Tito continues to defy the might of the Soviet Union backed by Cominform, he will be regarded in the West as the Golden Boy of Balkan intrigue. Stalin's decisive question must, therefore, be: Would military action against Yugoslovia lead to another World War?

QUAKERS IN AMERICA

BY JANE JACOBS

—:o:—

IN numbers, the Quakers—the popular name for members of the Protestant sect called the Religious Society of Friends—are a tiny band. There are about 115,000 in the United States and less than 200,000 in the world. Yet in far, troubled regions over the entire earth, literally millions of people know the services administered through this group, and sometimes in remote places the only foreigners known at all are the Quaker service workers. In 1947 the American Friends Service Committee—the principal service organization sponsored by the American Quakers—together with its British counterpart was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its rehabilitation and relief work, and in 1948 the Committee was invited by the United Nations to undertake direction of the United Nations refugee relief program in southern Palestine. Other Quaker sponsored projects are today dotted throughout India, Europe, China and Mexico. In the United States, a number of summer work camps for students engaged in community service projects, and lecture and discussion institutes aimed at international understanding are among the best known of the many enterprises that help carry out the Quakers' beliefs in service and brotherhood.

This disparity between numbers and breadth of service is only one of many seeming paradoxes concerning the Quakers. Their deepest and most tenaciously adhered to convictions frequently run counter to American governmental policy and to popular feeling: yet no group is more fully and sincerely respected and trusted. They refuse to be limited or to have their work directed by political considerations of any sort; yet in regions of the bitterest civil war, as occurred in Spain and China, the Quaker services have been permitted to minister unmolested to whoever, on either side, needs their help.

Although the Quakers make no secret of their beliefs and couch them in the clearest and simplest language, much more is known by most people of the services they render than of the philosophy underlying that service. This is because the Quakers believe in the prime importance of conduct, rather than doctrine. They do not speak of their beliefs uninvited, nor do they ever attempt to argue their "rightness." To their minds, effective influence for good comes instead from act, example and participation.

The central core of Quaker philosophy is the conception that each human being is endowed with an "inner light," as they call it, which enables him to perceive, recognize and respond to right and truth. Members of the Society may differ intellectually on the source of this quality. Many consider it a portion of the spirit of God; others consider it a manifestation of man's basic social and sharing instincts toward his fellowmen, or simply a sense of right

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which is developed by use or atrophied by neglect. All agree, however. that this quality in man is universal, belonging to all people whatever their religion, that it is the truest guide to conduct, and that properly it is to be followed no matter what the inconvenience or risk. Each member holds whatever theory he wiil of the existence or non-existence of a future life. but all are agreed on the prime importance of this life and the necessity of making it the best they can.

Members of the Society reject the implication of differing standards of behavior for different occasions or toward different people. Long before such ideas were at all common, they accorded equal educational advantages to boys and girls in their schools and equal rights and privileges to both sexes in affairs of the church, recognized only one standard of morality for men and women, and acted on the promise of the equality and dignity of peoples of all races.

Quakers are much concerned with work and its meaning in life, and believe that the true satisfaction of work is its direct and immediate value to other human beings. The emphasis in Quaker projects is always on achieving an agreed-upon end in the most direct way possible. This often involves hard manual labor on the part of Quaker workers, which accords also with their belief that participation with others in manual work for a desirable end is one of the finest methods of sharing learning. Out of this concept have grown the Quaker work camps, summer projects in which young people of any, or no, religious beliefs join with young Quakers in volunteering their labor to fill all sorts of community needs.

Because of their belief in simplicity and unostentatiousness, as being most compatible with daily living of their religion, the Quakers used to wear "habit" of plain gray, very simply out. But during the last several generations, as this garb came to appear quaint and to make members of the Society conspicuous, it has been gradually abandoned and today only a few members continue to wear it. Simplicity in apparel, households, speech and writing continue, however, to be a part of Quaker self-discipline.

A Quaker meeting house is usually a plain, square building with rows of plain benches. It has no altar, stained glass, or other appurtenances of religious ritual, and in many cases no pastor. Regarding all life as sacramental to the extent that it is lived in accordance with right conduct, the Society has no normal sacraments, such as baptism or communion, nor has it any body of theology. The traditional Sunday meetings begin and end in silence. If any member feels a desire to speak, he does so and thus shares his inspiration with the others. If no one feels such an urge, no one speaks and the religious meeting is an hour of contemplative silence. The same simplicity is evident in such ceremonies as weddings and funerals. Silence begins and ends the session and only those who "have a concern" to speak do so. In the case of weddings, the bride and groom rise and hold hands and repeat their marriage vows to one another without a clergyman or other official to lead them.

Any congregation desiring to have a pastor, or to introduce such additions as music, for example, may do so, for each congregation is entirely free to follow its own choices. Thus, meetings vary somewhat from place to place, although they remain essentially similar. Business matters, passing of resolutions, decisions on projects and the like are handled at business meetings in which all members of the congregation participate.

Possibly because of the Society's emphasis on the spirit rather than the letter of belief, Quaker ideals and procedures have remained remarkably consistent and undeviating since the founding of the Society in England in the mid-seventeenth century. Its founder, George Fox, and his followers were subjected to bitter persecution

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for their independence of mind and their refusal to take oaths of allegiance, pay subservient lip service to institutions or officials they did not approve, or pay tithes to the established church and attend its services.

In Colonial America they at first fared no better. The New England colonists were themselves refugees from religious persecution, but stern Puritanical belief in the inherent sinfulness of man and the need to repress all natural instincts was the antithesis of the optimistic Quaker concept of man's basic goodness and inherent sense of right. The first two Quakers to arrive in New England, women, were imprisoned and then sent away, and stringent laws were enacted to prevent others from coming. They came regardless, many settling in the more liberal colony of New Jersey. Then in 1681 the wealthy English, Quaker, William Penn, obtained a grant of land from the English Crown in payment of a debt owed his father, and founded the American colony of Pennsylvania. In less than three years, the colony had a population of 7,000 members of the Society.

For 75 years, guided by a liberal constitution far in advance of its times, the Quakers made of Pennsylvania a land which many European philosophers regarded as a Utopia, and to which victims of intolerance or lack of opportunity in Europe came by the thousands. This popularity ironically proved the undoing of the Quaker-administered government, for the time came, in the mid-eighteenth century, when the Quakers were out-voted by others in the colony on the question of rendering armed assistance to the British in war against the French and American Indians. It was impossible for the Quakers, with their convictions against use of violence, to agree to this measure. When it became clear that their pacifist viewpoint did not prevail popularly, they felt they could not, in conscience, help administer a government whose policy they considered misguided.

Throughout the nineteenth century this unequivocal aversion to war forced the Friends to take little part formally in public affairs. They continued, however, as they do today, to exert other responsibilities of citizenship. Quietly and without fanfare, they persisted in informing law-making bodies and officials of their viewpoints and recommendations, interceding both at home and abroad where they saw injustice, and engaging, as individuals and as groups, in enterprises for social good. During this period, they were perhaps best known to the public in general for their reputation as businessmen and as educators. Businesses run by members of the Society were discovered generally to be extremely stable, to render a full measure of service and to make no extravagant claims or promises dubious of fulfilment. Many of the Quakers' great educational institutions were started during the nineteenth century. All of them, including 10 colleges, admit students of any belief. At most of them the number of non-Quakars in both student body and faculty is larger than the number who are members of the Society. They are characterized by a simple way of life for students and faculty, and are perhaps more open to educational innovation, than most schools.

Apart from their schools and the general life of the meeting, the Quakers in America usually carry out their zeal for public betterment today through the American Friends Service Committee. This organization was formed when the United States entered the first World War as a means through which Quakers, unable in good conscience to take up arms, might still find positive methods of serving their country and humanity. In France more than 46,000 families in 1,666 villages were assisted. In one French battle-ruined area alone, 25,000 fruit trees were planted. From 1917 to 1931, Committee workers in the Soviet Union helped fight typhus, malaria, cholera and tuberculosis. Missions in Poland and Serbia did similar work, also distributing seeds, tools and farm animals and helping to start peasant industries. The Committee helped feed more than 1,000,000 children in Germany during the period between 1920-24.

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When the peak of the need for relief services had passed, the British and American Friends, who work closely together, set up "Quaker Embassies", for friendship and programs of service, in large cities from London and Paris to Shanghai, Tokyo and Calcutta. These centers helped in such enterprises as developing co-operative housing projects, initiating prison reform and setting up health services. They studied causes of conflict and pleaded the cause of minorities. Meantime, in the United States and in Mexico, the Committee began its projects to work camps for needed community services, and its program of education for peace and international understanding. This educational program is carried on through summer institutes, set up in each of a dozen areas of the United States, and through "Peace Caravans", units of three to five young people each, who travel in rural and urban communities, leading discussions, holding classes, distributing literature and co-operating in community service projects.

The Committee, aware, in the words of one of its reports, of the wrongness in a situation in which it was necessary "to go with supplies to those who had nothing," was deeply concerned with means for eradicating war, economic injustice, racial prejudice, and other factors that contributed to such circumstances. But beginning with the Spanish Civil War, much of the energy it had intended for these basic endeavors has had to be channeled once again into relief work.

All of the Committee's workers who go out to the far places of the globe do so without salary—their expenses are paid for them and that is all. They live much as those they are helping live. The majority are not members of the Society of Friends. They are people of all ages, races and creeds who have in common a humanitarian motivation in wishing to help people less fortunate than they, and who see in the Committee's work an opportunity to perform that service. They are trained before they leave America at schools maintained by the Committee.

The Committee's work is supported by the general public as well as by Quakers. Large contributions are frequently given by other organizations who wish to participate in the humanitarian work sponsored by the Quakers but lack the machinery to carry out the servicse themselves. The money awarded by the Committee as its share of the Nobel Peace Prize is being spent in an effort to find means for improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.—USIS

SAVING AND SPENDING

BY MR. V. R. NATARAJAN, M.A.

SPENDING means the use of income for present consumption. The object of economic activity is to earn an income and to spend it. What is spending? Spending means to use the income for securing goods which satisfy wants directly. Thus spending may be defined as the use of income for the purposes of present consumption. After all, the goal of productive activities is consumption. We labour so that we may enjoy. It may thus appear that it is best for human happiness if men spend the whole of their income on consumption.

Saving means not spending. That part of the income which is not spent coustitutes saving. Income that is saved does not increase our consumption. Hence it does not increase present enjoyment. If saving does not increase enjoyment, why then do men save!

Men save because they look not only to the present but also into the future. Their capacity for work will decline as their youth disappears and they grow old. Something has to be laid aside from their present income as they grow old. Besides, a man

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earns income not simply for himself but also for his family. The future of one's children is a great concern of every responsible man. The boys must be properly educated so that they can have good jobs which suit them and bring them a decent income. The girls must be married to husbands who will look after them properly. Thus a man saves for discharging his duties towards his children.

The desire to accumulate property sometimes impels a man to save. He desires to possess houses, land, gardens, factories and mines. He wants to get rich. Property will yield income which will make it unnecessary for his children to work for their living. They will live a life of leisure. The name of the family will become well-known.

Thus a man saves from various motives, such as prudence, family affection, the desire for accumulation, family ambition and pride. None of these motives is altogether bad. Hence saving too is reserved to satisfy man's wants and desires. Thus *both spending and saving do good to Society* because both of them fulfil the desires and wants of man. It is sometimes said that spending gives employment to people while saving does not. This view is wrong. If a man spends his income on food and clothing, people will be employed in making food and cloth. On the other hand, if he saves and desires to possess a house or a factory, people will be employed in building houses and machines. *Thus both spending and saving give employment to people.* Spending makes men employed for the satisfaction of future needs.

As saving increases, the community is enabled to construct capital goods such as houses, roads, bridges, railways, machines, etc. All this conduces to economic progress and to national glory. Could the Tajmahal have been built in the past unless people had saved? Similarly, if a nation wants to have splendid roads and bridges, a vast net-work of railways, good ships, big electric works and factories, it must save. Saving increases a nation's capacity to produce and is thus likely to increase consumption in future. A nation cannot be great if its citizens spend the whole of their incomes on frivolous living for the present.

On the other hand, if there is no spending, then the goods that are produced with the help of the railways and factories will not be purchashed for consumption and sll the wealth that is created will prove to be useless. What is the sense in erecting a cotton mill out of savings, if the cloth that is ultimately produced by the mill remains unsold and unconsumed? A nation of misers will commit economic suicide.

The question of *spending vs. saving* has always attracted great attention. Saving is necessary so that through his surplus income, a member of a family may make *the family economically independent, thus allowing some of its members to do great work for society in art, science or literature,* occupations where the remuneration is not always sufficient and attractive.

So a proper amount of saving is necessary both in the interest of the family and also in the interest of society. Saving is good; but too much saving is not good, saving by curtailing the consumption of necessaries is not in the least desirable.

In India, the surplus national income (the surplus above the necessaries of life) is small and so the total annual saving is comparatively small. This is one of the serious hindrances to the adequate development of the production of wealth in India. The mass of the people in India has not the means to save in any considerable measure; but those persons of the middle classes who have the means to save, they are generally quite careful about securing the economic independence of the family as far as possible, and perhaps among them the tendency is to curtail unduly consumption so as to save more.

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

THE WISDOM OF YUDHISTHIRA

Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pandava brothers, loses the game in a dice match with the wily Sakuni playing for Duryodhana, his nephew. In fulfilment of the conditions of the game the Pandavas return to the forest for twelve long years, thereafter to live *incognito* in the city for twelve months. Once in their wanderings they suffer greatly from thirst. Nakula, the youngest, is sent to look for water. He finds a lake which is crystal clear. As he bends over the water to slake his thirst a voice cries out: "Stop, child. Answer my questions first before you drink". But Nakula, in his desperate thirst, pays no heed to the voice, drinks the water and immediately falls dead. His brother Sahadeva who goes in search of him, finds the same enchanted lake and shares the same fate. Thus, one by one, all the four brothers die, having drunk the water heedless of the warning.

At last comes Yudhisthira. He finds the corpses of the brothers and laments. Then the same old voice makes the same old demand. "Child, answer my questions first and then I will cure you of your grief and your thirst." Yudhisthira turns and sees Dharma, the personification of duty and virtue, standing beside him in the form of a crane.

The crane asks: "What is the road to heaven"?
"Truthfulness", answers Yudhisthira without hesitation.

"How does a man find happiness"?
"Through right conduct", says Yudhisthira.

"What must he subdue to escape grief?"
"His mind."

"When is a man loved?"
"When he is without vanity".

"Of all the wonders of the world" asks the crane, "which is the most wonderful?"
"Man who sees death all around him thinks that he himself will not die."

"How does one reach true religion?"
"Not by argument. Not by scriptures and doctrines but by treading the path of the saints."

Dharma is satisfied with the answers. "Therefore," he says, "let one of your brothers whom you desire come to life." Yudhisthira wishes to have Nakula, his step-brother, revived. The Yaksha, struck by his benevolence, says:

"Let all your brothers come to life. My son, you who are mild in the display of your power, I am your father, God Dharma."

Such was the wisdom and magnanimity of Yudhisthira, son of Dharma, and the eldest of the Pandava brothers.

. . . . . .

TESS'S LAMENT

Hardy's eyes were too clear to miss the touch of sadness behind the shows of things. And so if truthfulness is one main feature of his work, its compassion is another—the compassion that crowns his work with such perfect things as Tess's Lament. Who says' Hardy is harsh? If Tess's Lament is harsh what is music, asks a discerning critic And in these lines Pity itself would appear to have taken shape and vent itself in words of bitterness too deep for tears:

I would that folk forgot me quite,
Forgot me quite!
I would that I could shrink from sight,
And no more see the sun.

Would it were time to say farewell,
To claim my nook, to need my knell,
Time for them all to stand and tell
Of my days work as done.....

It wears me out to think of it,
To think of it;
I cannot hear my fate as writ,
I'd have my life unbe;

Would turn my memory to a blot,
Make every relic of me rot,
My doings be as they were not,
And gone all trace of me!

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THE HAPPY MORALIST

Gentleness and cheerfulness, these come before all morality; they are the perfect duties. And it is the trouble with moral men that they have neither one nor other. . . . . If your morals make you dreary, depend upon it they are wrong. I do not say "give them up," for they may be all you have; but conceal them like a vice, lest they should spoil the lives of better and simpler people.

There is an idea abroad among moral people that they should make their neighbours good. One person I have to make good is myself. But my duty to my neighbour is much more nearly expressed by saying that I have to make them happy—if I may.

—R. L. S.: *A X'mas Sermon.*

. . . . . .

A PHILOSOPHER'S PUZZLE

After contemplating the inscrutable relation between brain and consciousness, and finding that we can get no evidence of the last without the activity of the first, we seem obliged to relinquish the thought that consciousness continues after physical organisation has become inactive. But it seems a strange and repugnant conclusion that with the cessation of consciousness at death, there ceases to be any knowledge of having existed. With his last breath it becomes to each the same thing as though he had never lived.

—*Herbert Spencer.*

. . . .

JOHNSON AND GOLDSMITH

Johnson had nothing of the bear in him but the skin. As he was quick to retort, so was he quick to repent.

"Dr. Goldsmith," cried Dr. Johnson in a loud voice, "something passed to-day where you and I dined; I ask your pardon." Goldsmith answered placidly, "It must be much from you, sir, that I take ill."

. . . . .

EPITAPH

Here Abigail my wife doth lie;
She's at peace and so am I.

—*Du Lorens (Paraphrased.)*

MYER'S HEAVEN

Every prophet has had his own vision of heaven. Mahomed's paradise conjured up a vision of fairy nymphs to please the denizens of the desert Our conception of heaven is generally in accord with our culture and desires Buddha spoke of Nirvana and Shankara of absorption Popular religion, on the other hand, has always envisaged a heaven filled with the good things of the earth Omar's heaven was a pleasure house of wine and women Socrates would prefer to converse with Orpheus and Museus and Hesiod and Homer Many think of heaven in terms of endless leisure and endless pleasure—happiness according to the measure of their intelligence or leanings—physical or intellectual Here is Myer's conception of heaven as an endless pursuit of activity and adventure—nay of toil and tears—in preference to the abode of Milton's God where archangels never tire of singing and praying or Tennyson's tand of lotus-eaters where it is always one long and langorous afternoon.

"We need a summons to no houri—haunted paradise, no passionless contemplation, no monotony of prayer and praise; but to endless advance by endless effort, and, if need be, by endless pain. Be it mine then, to plunge among the unknown Destinies—to dare and still to dare."

—*F. W. H. Myers.*

Emerson's heaven also was

"Built of furtherance and pursuing,
Not of spent deeds but of doing."

—*Threnody.*

. . . . . .

MICAUBER'S ADVICE TO COPPERFIELD

"My other piece of advice, Copperfield," said Mr. Micauber, "you know. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen nineteen six, result happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds eight and six, result misery. The blossom is blighted, the leaf is withered, the God of day goes down upon the dreary scene, and—and in short, you are for ever floored. As I am."

Charles Dickens:—*David Copperfield.*

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CRISIS IN INDIAN JUTE INDUSTRY

BY

PROF. G. P. GUPTA M Com.

JUTE is one of the most important money crops of India. It is the most paying item to the cultivators, chief source of revenue for the country and a feeder to the Indian Jute Mills which are at present numbering at about 104. Above all jute is the principal dollar-earner to the country. In the past, jute and jute manufactures have been the chief articles of export to the dollar area countries. Manufactured jute alone constitutes about a third of the total exports and about 60 per cent of hard currency export earnings. In 1946 jute and jute products accounted for 38 per cent in value of the total U. S. imports from India and earned about 92 million dollars. This covered more than our food imports from that country in 1946 which have been reported to reach the figure of 71 million dollars. In 1947-48 also jute and jute products remained the main items of export to U. S. A.

PARTITION AND ITS EFFECTS

Now India has begun to feel a crisis in her jute industry. She is facing a serious problem of jute shortage and this situation has assumed wider dimensions with the division of India and partition of Bengal. The decision of the Pakistan Government not to devalue her rupee in terms of dollar with the devaluation of pound sterling has presented a problem to the Indian jute mills. All the jute mills are situated in Indian Dominion, but the major portion of the jute producing area is in the Eastern Pakistan. The division of the country has thus very seriously hampered the jute manufacture of the country. Through partition Pakistan obtained about 71 per cent of the total jute growing acreage of all India or 72 per cent of the aggregate jute production in both the dominions. The Indian Union was left with barely 29 per cent of the total all India acreage under jute, bearing about 28 per cent of the aggregate all India jute production. As a result the jute mill industry has to depend to a very great extent on the supplies of the raw materials from another country. The division of the country placed raw jute overnight in the position of a foreign commodity for the Indian mills which have to suffer a great deal on the account of procuring raw jute, the adverse effects of which could be seen in the confusion that prevailed in the matter of Indo-Pakistan Jute trade. Sincere efforts were made to arrive at an amicable settlement with the Pakistan Government with regard to the supply of raw jute by means of interdominion conferences and trade pacts, but nothing more than hopes could be achieved to this end. At the time of partition it was expected that Pakistan would not present any serious difficulty in supplying raw jute to the Bengal mills aud in fact everything went on happily for some months. But later on the Pakistan Government decided to levy an export duty on the jute transported across the land frontier of Pakistan in November, 1947 with the natural result that jute prices went high up. It may be pointed out that this act of the Pakistan Government was wholly in violation of the Standstill Agreement arrived at between the Union Governments.

"BATTLE OF JUTE"

Following the action of non-co-operation by Pakistan, the Indian Government also, in their own turn, declared the dominion of Pakistan a foreign territory for the purpose of customs duty on their exports of jute manufactures from Indian soil to the Pakistan territory. Thus was launched a "Battle of Jute" between India and Pakistan. This battle launched in November 1947 was carried on in the next year and ended in May 1948 when full implementation of the inter-dominion talks were effected and complete assurance was given to the Indian Mills to supply raw jute. According to the assurance, it must be noted, Pakistan was to supply 50,00,000 bales of raw jute to the Indian Union annually. This assurance was undoubtedly a remarkable feature to the Indian Jute manufacturers; but the situation very soon worsened. Pakistan had to face the devastating flood in Sindh and heavy rains in

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East Bengal. This gave a fatal blow to the supply of raw jute and Pakistan soon found herself unable to fulfil the commitments to India. There were rumours during 1948 that Pakistan has placed orders on foreign suppliers for a dozen of jute pressing machines and efforts were made to export raw jute *via* Chittagong port instead of Calcutta, which was so far the main consumer and exporting port of raw jute.* Pakistan may think of opening up new channels for her jute-produce and on that reason the Government of India is very anxious to bring more land under jute cultivation with the object of making India self-sufficient in Jute production. A new front was set up in October last year when Pakistan adopted a policy on raw jute exports to India, according to which Indian Mills were forced to buy a certain minimum quantity of raw jute every month, irrespective of their needs. This action of the Pakistan Government was very much resented by the Indian manufacturers and also the Indian Government which characterised it as highly unjust and arbitrery. The ultimate result of the resentment was that Pakistan had to rescind its decision and permitted to import raw jute according to the discretion of the Mill-owners. It has been seen now that with the object of achieving national economic self-sufficiency and of becoming free from the dangers of emergency, India must produce enough jute to meet her own requirements. The Government of India have therefore decided to expand the jute areas without affecting the production of food in the country. Developmental schemes for the increased production of jute in India have been prepared and have already been taken up by the Indian Central Jute Committee.

EXPORT OF "RAW JUTE" DETRIMENTAL

As examined, jute and jute products are the main items of export from India. But the export position of Indian jute is now in a confused condition and the said confusion was brought about by the transport difficulties partly due to the shortage of wagons and partly due to Governmental restrictions. During the previous year flow of raw jute from the interior to the exporting centres such as Calcutta and Chittagong was very largely hindered. Between July 1947 to April of the last year the total export of Jute was nearly 2,32,35,000 maunds, or 46,46,000 bales. Of this quantity, 41,34,000 bales were exported to Calcutta by boats and the remaining *via* Chittagong to overseas countries. In 1947, the total exports of raw jute approximately aggregated to 2.8 lakh tons, as against 3.4 lakh tons in the year 1946 but in the previous year the Government fixed up the quotas of jute exports to the various countries and considering this quota system it is not improbable to estimate the jute exports in 1948 to a very low figure. From January to June in 1948 the Government of India allocated the following quotas of raw jute :

U. K.	19,000	tons.	Czche & Russia	3,000	each tons
U. S. A.	19,000	,,	Poland	2.200	,,
Brazil	25,000	,,	Spain	2,200	,,
France	12,000	,,	China	2,200	,,
Belgium	6,700	,,	Germany	2,000	,,
Canada	1,000	,,	Italy	1,800	,,
Rumania	900	,,	Australia	1,670	,,
Portugal	750	,,	Netherland	1,650	,,
Eire	640	,,	Hungary	1,250	,,
Switz	600	,,	Sweden	1,100	,,
Norway	110	,,			

The heavy allotments of raw jute adversely affected the position of the Indian Jute mills. On representation from the jute manufacturers who were threatened with a breakdown in the industry on account of raw jute shortages, the Government had to ban the export of raw jute until September 1948 which was later on continued during October of the same year.

'DEVALUATION' AND JUTE POSITION

As a result of devaluation Indian jute manufacturers have been put to face a very serious problem on the account of procuring raw jute. Indian rupee, having been devalued in terms of dollars and Pakistan Government retaining the value of her rupee on the pre-Sep. 194 level has caused disparity in the rupees of India and Pakistan. The result of this maladjustment in the rupees of two dominions has been that the price of jute grown in Pakistan has risen to the Indian manufacturer. Indian manufacturers are, therefore, facing the problem of procuring raw jute for their mills. The annual consumption of Pakistan raw jute in Indian

* COMMERCE—A weekly journal.

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mills as estimated from the figures of the last year approximates to 4 million bales. This supply of raw jute is now being hampered unless the Pakistan Government devalues her rupee and brings it at par with the Indian silver coin or the prices of raw jute in Pakistan are brought down. The jute growers in Eastern Pakistan are also facing a crisis for not finding market for their produce and they are reported to have represented to their Government to end this deadlock. The Pakistan Government have decided to set up big plants for this jute produce, but the thing is not so simple as is supposed to be. The Indian jute manufacturers may face jute famine for some days but it is now expected that Pakistan Government will be put to hard times if she does not adopt any of the above mentioned courses for her jute export to Indian mills. Whatever may be the position at present, devaluation has caused a headache to the Indian jute manufacturers. The only solution of this for India is the achievement of self-sufficiency in her jute production.

JUTE REQUIREMENTS IN INDIA

The total requirements of raw jute of the Indian Union, as estimated by the Director of Indian Central Jute Committee, are generally estimated at nearly 70 lakhs of bales. The requirement is composed of as :—

Mill consumption	60 lakhs of bales (one Bale—400 lbs.)
Export of raw jute	9 lakhs of bales.
Non-mill village consumption	1 lakh of bales.

The yield of jute in Indian Union in 1947, as estimated by the I. C. J. C. was only 17 lakhs of bales whereas in 1948 the yield has been increased to 21 lakhs of bales. This increase has been possible due to the keen interest and active support of the Director of Jute Agricultural Research and his staff. Even now there is a deficit of about 50 lakhs of bales which is sought to be met from Pakistan. But as outlined above India cannot afford now to have jute imports from Pakistan and therefore self-sufficiency is the aim to be achieved.

FOREIGN DEMAND OF INDIA JUTE

The demand for Indian jute in foreign markets is still very strong, but further increase in demand is being checked by inadequate production and also the price question. Most of the foreign importers have a serious complaint against high prices of Indian jute and not only that many of them—notably U. S. A. are turning towards substitutes. In the U. K. raw jute shortage is being felt very heavily' The Dundee Industry of jute is facing an unprecedented shortage of raw jute and they are making attempts to find out some sort of substitutes. It was reported in the 'Economist' that a new Government factory near Johannesberg has already produced a large number of fibre bags from the 'Stockroo' plant.

NEED FOR INCREASED PRODUCTION

In view of the fact that India has been deprived of the major jute growing areas on 15th August 1947, and also Pakistan has waged a 'Battle of Jute' by deciding not to devalue her rupee in parity with Indian coin, it has become imperative for Indian people to increase the production of raw jute at home. Pakistan may, as is anticipated, relax her restrictions and raw jute may once again flow to Indian jute mills. India should never depend for her demand of raw jute on the foreign country and to depend permanently upon any foreign power for raw materials is risky. For any difference on the economic or the political side may paralyse the manufacturing industry here. The Government of India has therefore very wisely decided to make India self-sufficient in jute and to this end special efforts are being made to promote jute growing in fallow tracts.

The possibilities of jute production in India are no less than any other country. The output, as remarked by the director of I.C.J.C. can be increased by (1) Increasing the yield per acre by the use of improved strains and by the application of proper fertilizers, and (2) Increasing the acreage to some extent. It has been seen that if sufficient quantities of seeds of improved strains are produced and distributed properly and necessary arrangement for the supply of the fertilizers are made to the cultivators and if a small portion of vast tracts of cultivable waste land is reclaimed for the jute cultivation, Indian Union will be in the position to produce enough jute to meet her own requirements. But only this won't help. Additional land will have to

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be brought under jute cultivation, for which the Government must extend the schemes of jute cultivation in other parts of the country *viz.* provinces and state Unions. The provincial Govts. should take up the question of jute cultivation in top priority since jute is the principal dollar-earner commodity to India.

PROGRESS OF WORK EXAMINED

The Union Govt. has very seriously understood the problem of jute famine, The provinces have taken up the work also. The U. P. has done wonderfully well by producing in the previous year nearly 100,000 maunds of jute. Nearly 5,000 acres of additional land have been put under jute cultivation. Similarly West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and certain other areas are making sincere efforts to increase their jute output. Chief concentration is being placed upon South India, where no attempts have been made hitherto to grow jute, but where potential resources are available in plenty for jute cultivation. The Indian Central Jute Committee is engaged in sponsoring many experimental schemes—notably in Travancore and Cochin States, Tanjore, Tinnevelly, South Kanara, Malabar, Guntur and Godavari districts of the Madras Province. Self sufficiency in jute is the main object and schemes are being formulated to achieve this aim. Efforts should be made vigorously to produce as much as 70 lakhs of bales required for the Indian jute mills. Then and then only can the Government of India and the Indian jute industry be sure of achieving the biggest source of earning dollars—which is the main headache of the world at present.

MUSINGS IN RHYME

BY

MR. HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

—:o:—

The mind, at best, is only
A senseless measuring-tape:
It dares to measure me with you,
The lion with the ape.

Give o'er this wanton war of creeds,
Why waste life's little hour?
On earth we are but separate seeds
That bloom into one flower.

Today all suddenly I saw
The eyelids of the years
Heavy and hot and swollen red
With tired human tears.

Behold! what mystery of God
Is suddenly awake?
The moth eats up the lizard
And the frog eats up the snake!

The world is full of paddy
And the world is full of wheat,
Yet, there are tens of thousands
Who have no food to eat.

The priest performs your marriage
Just for your money's worth:
O marriages are made in heaven
And broken on the earth.

What is the beauty of the moon
To one who has no bed?
The beggar sells the Holy Book
To buy a loaf of bread.

Prohibition has come to stay
Is what we'd like to think
But we are drunk with ignorance
Which is far worse than drink.

The law divine is ruthless,
The law divine is grim:
Man breaks it, but remember
That broken law breaks him.

O all things are expensive now
Because of war and strife;
The only thing that's really cheap
To-day is human life.

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Go into any city,
Go into any town,
You'll find the prices going up,
The people going down.

O come with me, my children!
To the sweet and holy town
Where every clown becomes a king
And every king, a clown.

I had much rather sit and watch
Grey squirrels in their search
Of ripe red fruit on autumn-bough
Than waste my time in church.

The doctor's fees are heavy
And the lawyer's fees are high,
But the artist,—he is just supposed
To entertain—and die!

I am a wealthy gentleman,
My money-bags are fat,
But, if you scratch me deep enough,
You'll find I am a rat.

Man asked a worm: "O why were you
Included in his plan?"
The worm retorted with a smile:
"Pray, tell me, why was man?"

In dust and heat they stand and break
The stern and stubborn stones,
But, every hammer-stroke foretells
The breaking-up of thrones!

The vulture and the crocodile,
The hippopotamus
And all such cruel beasts of prey
Are ugly thoughts in us.

You cannot win your loaf of bread
By praying for it all day,
If that were only possible
Then men would only pray.

Life stood a-knocking at my door
And cried: "I want to live,
And it is I who beg of you,
And it is you who give."

Sometimes I think a real deal
Of splendid work is done
When one sits silent on a stone
And just enjoys the sun.

O I am sure that God above
Would cease to feel a fool
If every temple would become
A hospital or school.

A bird was sitting on a tree,
I shot it through the heart
And shrieked to smell a brother's blood
Upon the silent dart.

The cloud disdained the aeroplane,
The æroplane, the cloud:
The cloud's disdain was silent,
The æroplane's was loud.

SINGAPORE THEN AND NOW

BY MR. E. RAMSDEN FREEMAN

WHEN the manager of a large commercial firm suddenly leaves with neither a reprimand from the boss nor a polite letter of resignation, and three years later returns just as suddenly, the employees of that firm are liable to wonder. . . .

This is in effect what has happened to the southern extreme of the peninsula which Somerset Maugham has aptly called 'the meeting place of a hundred peoples', the city which has made and has broken, irrespective of colour, caste or creed, social position or wealth, men and women from all over the world.

Singapore, with docks crammed full of shipping night and day, looking from a bird's eye view for all the world like an overcrowded car-park in the U.S.A. Singapore, with well dressed social flies hovering lovingly around the vicinity of Raffles, its most elegant and luxurious

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hotel, the personification of Singapore's own pioneer, Sir Stamford Raffles. 'The pride of the East', residence of many hundreds of thousands and birthplace of the world. Gay—recklessly gay—by night; busy, industriously busy, whirring, loading and unloading filing and moving by day.

But the population is still rather amazed at what has happened to them.

The British evacuated themeselves almost without a shot in 1942. Three years later they returned, and from Singapore's point of view, again almost without a shot. But things are not as they were. Times have changed in Singapore perhaps more than anywhere else. And times are still changing rapidly. The city was not materially damaged at all but it's people suffered.

Technically the British are still the directors of this huge industry. In actual fact they have unconsciously but inevitably taken to two partners—very active partners and today the British remain mere fantoccini. The two partners are the Chinese and the Americans, the latter of whom are able to control the rubber and tin markets accurately by the tremendous quantities they consume. There are far more rich Chinese merchants than rich tuans.

Speaking of consumption, brings us to the food question. Although the gold standard is still prevalent all over the globe, in most places—and Singapore is an outstanding example—it is hopelessly obsolete. Metals and minerals slide a long way down the scale when food is scarce. Before the war it was estimated that the Asiatics consumed almost a pound of rice per day. Now they are lucky if that much comes their way in four or five days. The microcosm has nearly eighty per cent of its population Chinese. Total population figures are something in the region of 850,000 and steadily rising, out of which 25,000 to 30,000 can be accounted for as Europeans. The remainder, (Chinese 680,000 and Malayans and Indians 140,000,) all consume rice as their staple diet. They are told that other foodstuffs which contain equal nourishment are available but this they heed little. For them, the majority class in Singapore, this is the only serious grudge. Never before have they enjoyed such high wages and never before have jobs been so plentiful. As always in social and economic upheavals and revolutions, it is the upper middle class which suffers the most. For them, at the moment, life is very hard indeed. Several economists have said frankly that their figures and estimations would be totally unnecessary if only there were more rice available. But the possibility seems remote.

Superficially, Europeans' salaries are liberal and in most cases there is an equally liberal dearness allowance; but the cost of living has risen to such an extent that the tuans' are finding it almost as difficult to live as the habitual rice-eaters.

Everybody has a trade union—even the rickshaw men and the Chinese or near—Chinese cabaret girls. The immediate result—an obvious one—has been an unprecedented increase in strikes. And naturally, those steel-hearted big bosses who sit behind the scenes holding the political reins are experiencing a private war of their own.

The problem of course is how to please the Chinese, the Malayans and the Indians at the same time. From the evidence of the past it would seem that it is not defeatism to say that to please all three simultaneously is impossible. Clearly it is a matter of compromise.

There are, inter alia, two extreme parties, who paradoxically, both possess the word 'Nationalist' in their titles. Since people all over the world appear to believe that Singapore is the biggest and most easily plucked gold mine in the globe, the Malayans are naturally jealous of their territorial rights. On the other hand, the Chinese, who are in the majority in the City and who have settled there for generations, feel that they should qualify for citizenship. The various plans formulated by the British Government are today common knowledge.

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The question—the eternal question of creating international harmony—is still in the air.

There are plenty of amusements in Singapore. In fact, small the area is, it is impossible to see the amusing side in less than a week. A night could be profitably (except monetarily) spent in the three great amusement arcades. The Great World, The Happy World and The New World. Odd names for a world which is none of these. These misnomers are cabarets, where, besides the usual evening show, there is dancing, eating and drinking. Apart from the occasional times when curfew is imposed, there appears to be no fixed closing time. If necessary you eat, drink and dance until exhausted. Provided your pocket is lined with sufficient notes, good food and good living can be procured anywhere. The price of a cup of coffee, the national—or rather international—beverage is a good yardstick.

Houses and decent living accommodation are shorter than in the capital in Britain. Unless one is prepared to rasort to illegal measures, it is virtually impossible to obtain a house.

And there is extreme lawlessness. Lethal weapons, revolvers and automatics fetch fantastic prices on practically an open market. Of course, it has been the smugglers' happy hunting ground many years.

Living there to-day one has the sensation of living in a western 'boom town'. Prices, tempers, temperatures and standards are all high. At any moment, all but the third may collapse.

Whatever the outcome of this inflammatory city, whatever the final agreement, good or bad, there is one thing certain; neither this generation nor the next can hope to foretell the ultimate effect it will have on trade, social and economic relationships with the rest of the world. It is strange to-day but will be stranger in ten years' time.

GURUKULA UNIVERSITY AT KANGRI

BY PROFESSOR HEM CHANDRA DE

THE Gurukula University has attained the age of fifty years. During this period of its existence, it has grown into a considerable power for good in the enlightenment of India. Its very presence is an education in itself. For, does not the Gurukula typify the ancient traditional system of education in India only with modifications necessitated by new conditions and adapted to modern requirements?

The Gurukula stands in sharp contrast with city universities of to-day. They rise in busy commercial centres, the bustle and hustle of commerce pervading the university buildings themselves, portions of which are variegated with parti-coloured shops of various descriptions. The Gurukula, on the other hand, nestles in the bosom of Nature herself. Her varying moods grow familiar; her voices through which the supernatural speaks to man touch the chords of life.

On a festive, blissful, mysteriously impressive occasion like the Golden Jubilee of the Gurukula University, it is incumbent on us to look backwards and forwards.

The past brings us face to face with the founder of the University, the great Swami Shradhanand Ji Maharaj. With the keen insight of a seer, he saw that the Suddhi Movement or movement towards purification and national regeneration did not end in re-conversion, in welcoming waverers and wanderers back home into Higer Hinduism. The other, and, perhaps, the more important aspect, was the cultivation of purity, charity, justice, reverence in individual Indians. This demanded a preliminary process of preparation, *sadhana, tapasya*, commonly called Education. Such training should start early in life, during the seed-time of childhood and boyhood. Thia aspect of the Suddhi Movement which moulds life into sovereign power through self-knowledge, self-reverence, self-control is symbolised in the Gurukula.

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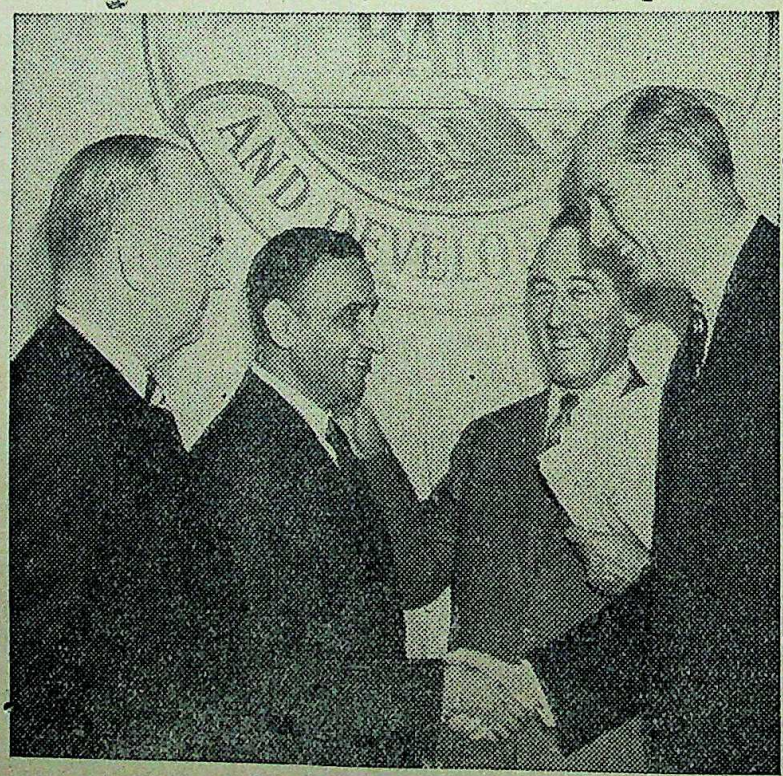
Thus education as the dynamics of Suddhi or purification formed an article of faith with Swami Shradhanand Ji Maharaj. But "faith without works is dead." "Even hell is paved with good intentions." The great Swami, however, was justified by his works. He collected thirty thousand rupees and the sale of his own property, including his house at Jallundur brought an additional sum of forty thousand rupees. And, according to the grace of God, it was given to him as a wise masterbuilder, to build the Gurukula on the magnificent site donated by an anonymous donor which comprised an area of two thousand and five hundred bighas of land at Kangri, Hardwar. He planted, he watered, and God gave the increase. He himself remained in charge of the institution from its foundation up to the year, 1917. In inspiring words, he expressed himself thus: 'The teachings of Rishi Dayanand and the truths of the Vedas saved me from all temptations. But the message of Siva Devi (referring to the pathetic message of his dying wife to take care of their children after her death) rendered me fit for the position of an *Acharya* by developing in me the love of a mother. According to the injunctions of the Vedas, an *Acharya* has to perform fully the duties of both father and mother.' As the first High Priest of purification at the Gurukula, he made that ideal real. It has now become a distinguishing tradition of the institution.



The photograph, shows (left to right) John W. Snyder, United States Secretary of the Treasury and United States governor of the International Bank and the Monetary Fund; Sir Chintaman Deshmukh; Camille Gutt of Belgium, managing director of the Monetary Fund, and Eugene R. Black of the United States, president of the International Bank.

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GUARDIANSHIP OF 'INDIA'

(A MOCK TRIAL)

Continued from—(November Issue.)

BY MR. R. JAVANTHINATHAN

[*N. B.* :—The characters in this trial are purely imaginary and no offence is meant to anybody living or dead.]

Characters figuring in the trial :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Chief Justice Spirit-De-Gandhi of the Supreme Court of Conscience.

Plaintiff :—Mr. Common Man.

Defendant :—Mrs. Jai Hind Lal.

Plaintiff's Counsel :—Mr. Anarchy, B.A., LL.B., BAR-AT-LAW.

Defendant's Counsel :—Mr. Patch-Abyss Sitaramiah, M.A., M.L.

Plaintiff's Witnesses :—

(1) Mrs. Ginger Potash Narayan.
(2) Mrs. Sorehead-Chatter Bose.
(3) Mrs. Gaol Walker.
(4) Miss Danger.
(5) Mrs. Communalism.
(6) Mrs. Parochialism.

Defendant's Witnesses :—

(1) Mrs. Steel-heart Pat-All. (lady doctor).
(2) Mrs. Un-Mount batons (mid-wife).
(3) Miss Democracy.
(4) Mrs. Babu Raja Press-Hard.
(5) Mrs. Patriotism.
(6) Prof. Mrs. Realist.

Clerk of the Crown.
Stenographer.
Exhibit 'A' :—Child 'India' (Two years old).
Court Sergeant.
Usher of the Court.
Advocates, spectators, etc.

II

Usher calls out: Babu Raja Press-Hard! Babu Raja Press-Hard! Babu Raja Press-Hard!

Soon a lean old woman, walks into the box, holding her chest with her hands and coughing intermittently.

Chief Justice :—I find something wrong with the health of this witness.

Defence counsel : Exactly so My Lord. She is a chronic asthma patient.

Chief Justice :—Let her then take a seat in the box, (the sergeant brings a chair to the witness box and Mrs. Press-Hard seats herself comfortably on it.)

Mrs. Press-Hard :—I thank your Lordship for this kindness which this poor woman does not deserve.

Def. counsel : Madam, what have you got to say with regard to the ability and bonafides of the defendant in bringing up the child of Mr. Common Man?

Mrs. Press-Hard :—(coughs) I have a lot to express but it is a pity that my health should stand in the way and compel me to be brief. Yet, I shall be true to my conscience and contribute my mite to the cause of justice. I am a trusted friend of both the late Mrs. Mohandas and Mrs. Jaihindlal and I know their hearts very well. Nowhere in the universe, one can come across such a pair of identical minds and whether Mohandas did a thing, or Jaihindlal did it, it meant little difference. (coughs) I am the head of the Women's College of Nationalism and in token of my friendship with Mrs. Jaihind Lal, I am arranging with the assistance of my pupils, to get up a gift named "Constitution" to be presented to the child in January next. I, for one, could see no danger lurking in the way of the child's progress under the pet care of the defendant. And I may add, that my gift, like a talisman would greatly enhance the honour of the child and multiply its fortunes.

Mr. Anarchy (Cross Examining): Madam, I myself have seen the progress you have made in getting up the gift, but you don't seem to pay proper attention to see that the gift is strong and unbreakable. For the matter of that, I can smash it in the twinkling of an eye.

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Mrs. Press-Hard:—You being Mr. Anarchy, will stoop to do it. But Jaihind Lal as a good mother, will teach the child how to keep the gift in tact, well and safe.

Mr. Anarchy:—Is not your gift a result of a conspiracy that you and the defendant hatched for the purpose of strengthening her hold on the child, so that in the long run you all can enjoy the fortunes of the child in such capacities as you happen to be?

Def. counsel: My lord, I object to this question. It casts aspersion on the integrity of both my client and the witness and I deem it defamatory.

Chief Justice. I don't think that the mere utterance of the word "Fire" will burn one's ears. The objection is overruled.

Mrs. Press-Hard:—(coughs) The defendant is incapable of hatching any conspiracy as she has a transparent heart and it is not in her nature to hide anything within the chambers of her heart. Secrecy is unknown to her at all.

(Cross Examination of fourth witness was over.)

———

Usher:—Patriotism! Patriotism! Patriotism!

(A fair woman in a white sari and a Gandhi cap enters the box.)

Defence counsel: Madam, it is now your privilege to tell the court, whether or not the defendant was bringing up the child efficiently and in genuine sincerity?

Mrs. Patriotism:—I am an unfortunate soul. Though my influence swayed all over the country for about 25 years, I am a non-entity after 1947. When the late Mrs. Mohandas was alive, I had some chance of prosperity, but after she was removed by the cruel hands of death, I was thrown to the background. When the late mother of the child was considered to be barren of any child, it was I, who belied all such allegations against her, and I was in fact the pipal tree which made her conceive the child. She knew my true worth and fondly treasured me in the heart of her hearts.

Mr. Anarchy: What has that got to do with the defendant? Confine to the point and don't stray away far.

Mrs. Patriotism: We ladies can't be as brief as you men are. It is our inseparable nature.

Chief Justice:—Carry on, quick.

Mrs. Patriotism; My Lord, I am coming to the very core of the case. It was I who brought the defendant and Mrs. Mohandas nearer to each other. If their hearts were fused into one, it was due to my influence. So long as the defendant has a warm corner of his heart for me, no one need fear about the child with my blessing. If only the plaintiff Mr. Common Man had thought of me and taken me into his confidence, he would not have dreamt of this suit.

Chief Justice: What is the speciality in you?

Mrs. Patriotism: My Lord. My very name is a magic wand. Anyone who believes in me will be worshipped by all. I am a magician who has worked wonders everywhere. The late Tilak, Gokhale, Netaji and others who shone brilliantly as the beaconlights for the erring humanity, were my disciples.

Chief Justice: Why not you then change the mind of the plaintiff?

Mrs. Patriotism:—It has never been my practice to thrust my power into an unwilling person. Whoever voluntarily approaches me will surely get ample reward in the fullness of time.

(Examination of the fifth witness was over.)

Usher: "Realist! Realist! Realist!

"(A young woman wearing the frame of a pair of spectacles without glasses steps into the box and bows down to the bench).

Chief Justice: Why do you wear the mere frame without glasses?

Prof. Realist? My Lord. That has exactly made me what I am to-day. I don't look at things through any glasses as I can't get any real view of the affairs. People mistake things not on account of anything wrong with the materials themselves, but

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invariably due to something wrong with their vision. Some have jaundiced eyes. Some look through coloured glasses. They do not usually realise that the fault is theirs.

Chief Justice: What do you know about the defendant?

Prof. Realist: My Lord. I am always in close alliance with Mrs. Jai Hind Lal and she is really enviable for her great vision of things. She calls the spade, spade and puts the right peg in the right hole. She alone knows the real nature of the child which beyond any shadow of doubt, is progressing well and I have only to wonder why the plaintiff should have refused to accept my words when I told him umpteen times that the child was O. K. He seems to be a sceptic and is given to suspecting everything and at everytime.

Mr. Anarchy: Why then should the defendant refuse to allow my witnesses to examine the child and report the condition to its father?

Prof. Realist: When the plaintiff is already smelling a rat at the method of the defendant, these people will only fan the flame of suspicion. But the defendant would be too glad to allow Mr. Common Man to come and see for himself how the child is well looked after.

Mr. Anarchy: What is your profession?

Prof. Realist: I am the Professor of the Research of Truth in the University of life. My business has always been to remove the trappings of any object suspected and reveal its true colours. Wherever people paint things according to their fancies, I wash off the colours and expose their true identity.

Chief Justice: Then you ought to be a Judge.

Prof. Realist: My lord, I count it an honour to be merited like this by your Lordship.

(Cross examination of all the defence witnesses was over.)

Chief Justice: It is now (looking at the clock) four O' clock. I can allow only fifteen minutes for arguments on each side. Let Mr. Anarchy say his case first.

Mr. Anarchy: My Lord, until now, the court heard with an uncanny patience the several witnesses who appeared for the two sides of this most complicated case. Any case, if it is worth its name, has two sides, and it is the business of the court to find out and say which side reflects the true colour of the case. My point is simple and based on the fundamentals of Legal rights to Guardianship. As a natural guardian of any child, its father has the exclusive right of its guardianship. Without going into the merit of the conduct of the defendant, the court can well take note of this legal aspect, and immediately annul the illegitimate guardianship of the defendant. And yet, in an anxiety to be fair to the other side, I produced some half a dozen witnesses merely to prove that morally also, the guardianship of the defendant is untenable.

Is it obligatory, My lord, on the part of a child to suffer various diseases after it comes to the earth? Don't we see around us so many children, getting on well, knowing no doctor at all? How healthy and wise are they? It is a misfortune of my client that his beloved wife should have been snatched away from him so soon after the birth of the baby. But with the death of the mother, any hope of the child's progress to which the plaintiff fondly clung, vanished into thin air. Your Lordship can now see for Your lordship-self the present condition of the child produced here as Exhibit 'A' and conclude if it is really any good entrusting the child to such a woman as the defendant claims to be. When the father himself demands the child, why should the defendant decline? The fact that the defendant poses to be interested in the child even against the wishes of its father, makes it evident that the defendant wants to make a profit out of the illegitimate guardianship. Her advisers are the persons who are reputed adepts in the arts of jobbery, nepotism, and corruption. It will be a cruelty unpardonably perpetrated on the child, if

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its present unnatural guardianship is perpetuated.

Next, the defendant does not know what tolerance is. She has constantly vituperated those who exposed her mischief to Mr. Common man. She is always putting more spokes in the wheels of her opponents in order to resist any possible damage to her reputation.

She has wealthy and influential counsels like the one arguing on the opposite side and it has been possible for her up to now to play her game, throwing sands on the eyes of the public. The time has come now for the repentence by all who sympathise with the lot of "Common man" and they rightly feel that such an experiment ought not to have taken place. I would even go further to say, on grounds of pity alone, the child had better died along with its mother. If one disease is cured, some other manifests. I have been thinking over this point and I have every reason to believe that something is radically wrong with the treatment of the child. The child is two years old and yet the day has not come for it to stand on its own legs and walk briskly. My Lord, the time alloted to me is over and I resume my seat closing with an appeal to your lordship to consider the pathetic plight of the child as a measure of justice and abrogate the guardianship of the defendant forthwith and duly restore the same to my client, which is everything to him. I thank the court for the indulgence granted to me.

Defence Counsel: (Replying) My lord, your lordship has just now heard a brilliant specimen of oration and I will not wonder if Your lordship has been pursuaded by it to a considerable extent. I will take just ten minutes to demonstrate before the court the bonafides of my client and prove how the suspicions given expression to from the other side are baselessly fabricated. Legally speaking, the plaintiff has no case whatsoever for the guardianship of the child. I can nail to the counter the argument in support of his contention, quoting the judgment of the Privy Council in the case of "Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. Narayana Iyer". Law reports have flashed the case conspicuously, wherein the legal rights to guardianship have been discussed threadbare by the legal luminaries.

It would be evident therefrom, the highest court on earth has decided the case which is an identical one in my favour. Since this is a court of conscience, I don't wish to confine myself to the four corners of the law alone. Let me convince the court of the moral aspects of the question as well. My defendant, a woman whose geuuine interests in the welfare of her fellow-beings are too well known to need mention, is known all over the universe. Her friends are tried specialists in practical nursery and are acknowledged as such by all foreign universities of medicine. My client has absolutely no mercenery motive in rearing up the child and she does not get any emolument worth its name for her service. It is the closest intimacy that existed between her and the late mother of the child, that prompted her to undertake this onerous task. In fact she owed a great obligation to her friend Mohandas, and in discharge of that alone, she has taken upon herself the onus, even against the alleged disapproval of its father. Many friends will swear witness before this court, to the fact how Mohandas herself when she was alive reposed her entire confidence in my client alone and how she had expressed many a time that my client was the sole legal heir (apparent) to her child.

The sheet anchor of my argument is conscience and sincerety and I am not disposed to indulge in any quibbles. My learned brother arguing on the other side, knows fully well that my client has been moving heaven and earth to enable the child grow healthily and happily. It is for Your Lordship to think over how irksome and responsible is the job of rearing up a sickly child aud that too a motherless one. Why should my client have accepted to wear this crown of thorns? Why should she have chosen to bear the cross when, it could have been easy for her to remain aloof aud enjoy her life with her wealth? I challenge for the matter of that anyone to come

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forward laying his hands on his conscience and say that any decent woman would have liked even to touch the loathsome skin of the child, when it was born. My client felt that she would be proving treacherous to the classic friendship of herself and Mohandas, if she did not come forward to take up the job. Even now she doesn't pride herself, though she is legitimately entitled to do so, on the progress the child has so far made and the success that has hitherto attended her efforts. But she is anxious that what she was privileged to do for the child so far, should not be undone by any vested interests who may pursuade the father of the child to their vicious designs.

Besides attending to the health of the child, my client devoted herself also to the task of consolidating its assets. Every step was taken to recover its property that was held in trust by an England Banker. The property in the shape of Sterling debts, is being credited to the accounts of the child little by little and before long, the entire portion would come into its possession. Though internal disorders were causing anxiety to my client. expenditure was curtailed to the barest minimum and my client will be pleased to place her accounts on the table of this court if so desired. I can assure the court that my client bears absolutely no ill will against any one much less the plaintiff or his witnesses. She only feels, that if such interested persons as those who deposed for the plaintiff today, had thought it fit to lend their hands of co-operation to my client iu her arduous task, what a glorious result would have been achieved! The child would have in that case become a bonny baby and an object of envy by all. If any better care-taker is appointed by your Lordship. my client would be ready to relinquish control over the child atonce and yet continue her service to the cause of the innocent babe.

A few words more and I have done. The trouble with the child was both physiological and psychological. Heaven only knows what those poignant nights were during the days of the child's treatment and how my client spent many a sleepless night in winkless attendance over the child. She breathlessly watched the operation that was carried on by the expert doctor Mrs. Pat-All, so remove the navel ulcer (Hyderabad) that developed on the centre of the child's body. Your Lordship will do well to compare the picture of the babe when it was born, and the picture of the same baby now. Again, my client has set herself to the task of rejuvenating the child with all possible suggestions. Recently she raised a loan (of 34 million dollars) from an American friend with which she proposes to get specially manufactured a nervine tonic to improve the blood circulation in the child's (railway) system. Steps have been taken to bring all the lands belonging to the child under the plough so that when it grows up, the child may not be in want of food.

My client has been working day and night to infuse in the child great qualities of tolerance and friendliness with all the neighbours. After all it is not my client who is going to enjoy the gift of a good child. If the plaintiff will be wise enough to wait for some more time patiently, the joy of life would be his and his alone. My client is not going to have the child for herself and it is her ambition that when she bids adieu to this mundane world (Heaven forbid such a cruelty) in the footsteps of her dear friend Mrs. Mohandas, she must peacefully breathe her last with the thought that she had faithfully discharged her debt to her friend and had remained true to her friendship and trust. I have no more to add. I conclude wishing a long and prosperous life to the child and its father and thank Your Lordship for granting me a patient hearing.

(Arguments of both sides were over).

It was now time for judgment and the court sergeant cried out "Silence! Silence!" Every one was agog to hear the pronouncement of judgment.

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Chief Justice (clearing his throat) to the clerk:—Call the stenographer. I am delivering judgment in open court here and now.

The clerk rushed into an adjacent room and soon emerged out with the stenographer.

Chief Justice: (delivering judgment): I am really proud to have had the opportunity of hearing this great case, great because not of its being naturally complicated, but because of its presentation in such a way as to make it appear complex with a weird skill of legal acumen. I must first, therefore congratulate both the learned counsels on either side, on their lucid (though riddlesome, are their opinions), exposition of their case. The peculiarity of this case is that while both the sides agree admirably on the fundamentals, they differ unfortunately on forms. So, if both the diverse points of view are reverse-geared and taken back to the core of fundamentals, I am sure the plaintiff or for the matter of that anybody, would wonder why on, earth, one should have been so mad as to institute a suit of this kind. It shall be my purpose therefore to enable both the sides to see eye to eye with each other both by retrospection and reflection as a result of which they can set up an example to all the court-birds, who will not hereafter be foolish to bring forward a fabricated case like the one we are having here. This is a case where legal force has very little to do and the crux has to be dissolved only by the moral application, of thought, mind and body. If as a result of my persuasion a compromise is arrived at, I shall always look upon this day as a landmark in my judicial career.

As I see the child produced as Exhibit 'A' in the court, I shudder to think of the cruel phase of life, it has gone through ever since its birth. From the scars that appear all over its body, it is as plain as an amalaka fruit in one's palm, that the ordeal to which it was pathetically subjected, is beyond comprehension and conception by any human mind. I only wonder that it should have pleased the providence to bless an innocent man like the plaintiff after a long period of prayers and perseverent enterprises, with an emaciated (truncated) child that too in the grip of all possible infantile ailments which baffle the greatest medical skill. I am unable to imagine what a sort of frame of mind, the defendant should have had, when she came forward to the rescue of the plaintiff by undertaking to bring up the child with promises of bright future both for the child and the plaintiff. Yet it is a knotty point to unravel, that the plaintiff should have stooped to have thought of this suit. When the child was in hopeless condition, it did not suit the plaintiff to complain against the defendant, and the moment he realised that the child is becoming to its own, he rushed to this court with a suit for the restoration of the baby. Is this an act of gratitude or elementary courtesy on the part of a human to kick away the ladder through which he ascended to a comfortable position? So, I am sorry that the defendant has only to loose his battle so far as the moral front is concerned. But if on any legal grounds, he has any valid point in his favour, I shall certainly not hesitate to enable him to take such advantage as he may be legally entitled to by virtue of that point. I am aware that I am a recognised medium of all disputes that may arise between man and man and with the influence I have over the general humanity, I hope here too Almighty will give me enough strength to pursuade the diverse elements to embrace each other realising their follies and earnestly repenting them.

Much has been said on the plaintiff's side to discredit the defendant and her intentions. Mr. Common Man seems to have ignored the fact that those who figured as his witnesses to day have so long systematically acted in a way calculated to handicap the defendant who earnestly looked forward to their co-operation. Child nursing is indeed, a rare and delicate art and each child constitutes a different problem. Mr. Common Man's child, unfortunately was born in a formidable condition and was found in the grip of various unheard of diseases. The medicines suggested by the plaintiff's witnesses may be famous and effective, but the ailments of the child do not belong to the common category of diseases

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which can be cured by patent drugs. They have been hyper-critics of the defendant, but an ounce of practice is thousand times better than a pound of theories. The soul of their arguments is that, had the child been entrusted to their care, it would have grown into a buxum baby by now. It is a point for hypothesis and from the materials available before me, I can dare say and that with a sense of sympathy, that they are only living in a fool's paradise to imagine like that. *They are, in my opinion finding persons for their drugs and not drugs for the persons.* Experience has shown that they have all along been brisk in canvassing patronage for their medicines, but little was proved to show that they approached and diagnosed the persons sincerely and administered suitable medicines. Theirs being a patent one, they cannot possibly be entrusted with a child which had different diseases, each one belonging to a particular category and one patent drug would not do for all. I will even go further and say that a patent medicine is not for battling a disease but it generally assists the growth during period of convalescence only. For, if it is administered during the period of illness, it may complicate the condition and will be worse than the original disease.

Secondly, it is a problem of treatment of diseases the cure of one, will lead to the manifestation of another. For instance, if the swelling of black-marketing is treated by the fomentation of Control-Hot-Water, it results in the paralysis of the trade-nerves. So also, if the itches of corruption are treated with vigilance-balm, it leads to the sprain of indiscipline. If only the nature of the diseases is properly assessed, opinion can be advanced about its treatment. I appeal therefore to the plaintiff and his witnesses, that in criticism nothing useful will spring up, and in co-operation and constructive suggestions alone, lies the happiness of all including themselves. I am not disposed to say that the defendant has done her job perfectly well, but being a human, she is fallible and is entitled to pardon as such. While the outside world appreciates the marvel that she has worked on the child, why not we take into account that fact, particularly when we are near her. Nothing can please me more than the understanding of the plaintiff of the bonafides of the defendant which has been established beyond a shadow of doubt. After all the child, when is now the bone of contention, is not going to be of any use to the defendant for she may not live long to demand any return for her labours. And she will be the last woman to do anything with the thought of reward. She knows virtue is its own reward. Not only she is altruistic, but the company she has is enequalled for its selflessness and sacrifice. I must take judicial note of the unparelleled skill displayed by her acquaintance Dr. Mrs. Pat-All in the treatment of the State-patches and other fits of communalism. Birds of same feathers flock together and it is but proper that Mrs. Jai Hind Lal should have chosen such a woman for her association.

There is however, no smoke without fire. I don't swallow without salt all that has been said on the defendant's side. When Mrs. Mohandas was alive, she had expressed, times, out of number, that she was against using the Control-Hot-Water, for her child, which she felt was an unnatural treatment. So also she had expressed herself on many a point, which the defendant followed implicitly when she was alive, but now is inclined to throw to winds. This wounds me much and the defendant, being such a woman of integrity as she is, ought to be more careful in her way of doing things and should be, cent per cent, true to the ideals of the late mother of the child. Her acquaintance with Mrs. Mohandas is the sun that pierces through the clouds of suspicion and she should not allow that sun to set.

I am more under pressure of conscience than any sanction of law to say all these. I sincerely hope that the plaintiff will realise that it would not be in the interests of the child itself to have quarrel with the defendant and he will withdraw this suit in a sweet compromise

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which will enhance the prestige of this court and glorify me. Likewise, I appeal to the plaintiff's witnesses also to extend their hands of co-operation to the defendant and work with her in union and thus further the interests of the child. Jai Hind.

The Chief Justice finished. The plaintiff, Mr. Common man declared that he withdrew his suit in response to the appeal from the noble bench and he went to the defendant and embraced her with tears welling up in his eyes. The defendant placed the baby in his arms which greeted its father with a smile. Happiness was his to find his baby in a really healthy condition and he charged the defendant willingly with the task of continuing her motherly care. The court dispersed with the cries of 'Jaibind Lal-ki-Jai' which deafened the ears of all those who were present.

—*Concluded.*

ANGLO-AMERICAN DOLLAR TALKS

Seated around the table during the dollar talks in Washington are L. to R: Sir Oliver Franks (British Ambassador to the U. S.); Sir Stafford Cripps (British Chancellor of the Exchequer); Mr. Dean Acheson (U. S. Secretary of State); Mr. Ernest Bevin (British Foreign Secretary); Mr. John W. Snyder (U. S. Secretary of the Treasury); Mr. Douglas C. Abbott (Canadian Finance Minister); Mr. Lester B. Pearson (Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs); Mr. Humphrey Hume Wrong (Canadian Ambassador to the U. S.) and Mr. Paul C. Hoffman, Economic Co-operation Administrator.

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Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Golden Jubilee Number

WITH this issue the *Indian Review* completes its fiftieth year. For six hundred months the *Review* has appeared regularly without interruption—except once in May 1931 when it was published as a double number with a view to issue the journal in the first, rather than the last week of the month. To mark the completion of half a century of this publication it is proposed to bring out the next (January) issue as a Golden Jubilee Number. Many well-known writers and others distinguished in our public life have kindly offered to co-operate with the management in making that number one worthy of the occasion. The Jubilee number will be more than twice the usual size, printed on excellent art paper and profusely illustrated. Every effort is made to produce a copy which in all respects will outshine its record in the past.

In this connection we wish to bring to the notice of our readers that the annual subscription which for fifty years has remained Rs. 5 will, from January onwards, be Rs. 6. In deference to the wishes of the late Editor whose particular aim was to keep the price of our publications within reach of the poorest of our readers the subscription which was fixed as low as Rs. 5 in 1900 remained the same in spite of two world wars and the inflation that followed them. The cost of material and labour rose abnormally but the price of the periodical remained unchanged. We have no doubt that our constituents will appreciate the urgency for the small increase necessitated by the abnormal conditions of the day.

We also take this opportunity to thank our contributors, subscribers and advertisers for their unfailing consideration in the past and request them to extend to us the same co-operation in the future. A week before his death in January last the late Editor pointed to one particular feature of this periodical—its freedom from narrow communalism and provincialism—and that anchor holds. The *Review* is an all India journal and will continue to strive for a progressive and integrated India, doing its bit for the cause of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

Nehru at 61

Fourteenth of November, the day the Prime Minister arrived in Bombay from his triumphal tour of America was also the day he completed his 60th year. And Bombay and all India made the most of this double opportunity to give the Prime Minister a reception, unparalleled in splendour as in cordiality. The celebrations were on such a scale of magnificence, and public enthusiasm so real and affecting that any one less accustomed to such demonstrations of popular esteem would have been left speechless. It was a measure of the people's appreciation of the man Nehru and their approval of the way the Indian leader interpreted the Mahatma's message and fulfilled his goodwill mission abroad.

While the Pandit's "rediscovery of America" must certainly make a difference in our future relations with the New World it is somewhat odd that neither the public nor the Pandit himself made any mention of another such triumphal tour by another Indian, perhaps a greater and a more

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typical Indian, who shook the Western world by his dynamic eloquence and personality, now 57 years ago. When in 1893 Swami Vivekananda visited America he had none of the credentials of our popular Prime Minister. He went out as an unknown wandering pilgrim—an Indian Sannyasin with no more equipment than his ochre coloured gaberdine, his begging bowl and his staff. Yet by sheer force of his personality and eloquence he made the message of his Master Ramakrishna echo from Cincinatti to San Fransisco. He spoke with the voice of thunder and the authority of a Prophet of the East and shook all America like a storm. And he made the most powerful use of a great forum from which to address the world of thought and culture—The Parliament of Religions at Chicago.

The story of that great adventure has been told many times by many writers and is worth recalling now. Here is a picture of the way the unknown Indian pilgrim got into the best American society, and by sheer courage and pertinacity, for the first time discovered India to the Americans. Says Mr. Bhattacharya in his recent publication—The Indian Cavalcade:—

> A chance introduction in a railway train brought Vivekananda into contact with a renowned Harward professor. Fascinated by the young Indian's personality, the professor used his influence to arrange that Vivekananda would represent Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions.
>
> The great assembly opened on Sept. 11, 1893, Vivekananda did not speak until the end of the day. At last he rose, saffron-robed turban on his head. He addressed the vast gathering as "Sisters and Brothers of America." The informal words were electrical in their effect. Hundreds rose and applauded. Never before had Vivekananda spoken to such an assembly, and unlike the other delegates he used no written text, not even notes. His subject was the Vedantic concept of Advaita, Oneness of all, and "his speech was like a tongue of flame. Among the grey wastes of cold dissertation it fired the souls of the listening throng." His voice was deep, impassioned, full of beauty and power; it was described later as "an admirable baritone having the vibrations of a Chinese gong."

During the session he spoke about a dozen times. The American press recognized him as "undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions." All at once Vivekananda had risen from obscurity into glory such as no Indian had yet known overseas.

> He wept over his victory, Romain Rolland tells us. "Oh Mother," he groaned, "what shall I do with fame when my people are lying in misery?"

It is strange that the Prime Minister should have visited Chicago itself where Swami Vivekananda made history and yet he should have made no mention in any of his speeches there or anywhere of his illustrious predecessor or his historic pronouncement which first brought the heritage of India's great culture and tradition to the notice of the Western world.

The Indian Constitution

The third reading of the draft constitution is the beginning of the end of the labours of the Indian Constituent Assembly for many months past. There is a sense of quiet satisfaction that the main task undertaken by the Constituent Assembly is nearing completion. It is too much to hope that every one will be satisfied with the final outcome. Indeed no constitution in the world could be perfect. So much depends on the way it is worked and the

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spirit of goodwill and give and take we bring to the actual working of the new constitution.

The Indian constitution is by all accounts the most voluminous of all written constitutions. When we have a written constitution it does not mean that the last word was said. It is a flexible constitution and it is upto future generations to make the best use of it. Much labour and thought have gone into its making. The framers of the constitution were indeed guided by the experience of Britain and U. S. A. and other advanced countries, but there are features that are racy of the soil.

The drafters are experienced legislators and the Assembly has had time to discuss the constitution from every point of view. Every kind of criticism has been freely heard and suggestions for improvement incorporated. The fundamentals have been agreed upon and the views of the minorities duly appreciated.

Members who frankly criticized the provisions from various angles have rightly expressed the view that in practice, if the Constitution is worked in the right spirit, the defects could be overcome.

During the debate naturally several speakers paid homage to Mahatma Gandhi and expressed the hope that Gandhian ideals would guide the administration in working out the Constitution.

Dr. Ambedkar's Warning

Credit must go to the Drafting Committee for the care and thoroughness with which it has grappled with this monumental task. But the Chairman, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, deserves special praise as he has been the brain behind this great work. It was his singleminded devotion to the task he undertook, his tact and firmness, his skill and adroitness in facing opposition and steering the draft through a House of such variegated views and interests, that were mainly responsible for the completion of this historic work.

A 40-minute speech by the Chairman brought to an end the eight-day debate on the third reading of the constitution of Indian Republic which was passed by the Constituent Assembly and duly authenticated by the President.

The greatest cheers greeted him when after reviewing the work of the Constituent Assembly and replying to the criticisms in respect of over-centralisation, Dr. Ambedkar said, "On Jan. 26, 1950 India will be an independent country," but he posed himself the question whether she would be able to maintain her independence or lose it again.

If the parties place creed above country, our independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably be lost for ever. This eventuality we must all resolutely guard against and we must be determined to defend our independence with the last drop of our blood.

South West Africa

At last the 7 Nation Sub-Committee of the United Nations voted unanimously to permit the Rev. Michael Scott, South African missionary, to testify on South-West Africa's future before the United Nations Trusteeship Committee as representative of the Herero and other tribes. The Sub-Committee, set up by the Trusteeship Committee, decided to accept the credentials submitted by Mr. Scott, so far the only applicant on behalf of the African population of the territory.

South Africa, which holds a mandate over the former German colony, told the United Nations that it considers South-West Africa an integral part of the Union's administration, and that it has no intention of transforming the area into a trust territory as requested by the United Nations.

All the same, the Trusteeship Committee, by a vote of 29 to none with 11 abstentions decided to hear Mr. Scott speak on South-West Africa's future.

In his evidence before the Committee the Reverend Scott said he had documentary evidence showing that the mandatory Power had bombed and shot natives, that planes had been used against these defenceless inhabitants to drive them from their lands that their windmills had been destroyed, their homes and gardens burned and their cattle confiscated. Evidence also showed that pass laws (requiring Africans to have various passes) the Masters and Servants Act, and other discriminatory legislation had reduced the

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tribes he represented to a condition of servitude, he declared.

Mr. Scott made two proposals to the Committee "specifically on behalf of those Africans of the Herero and Bergtamara people who asked me to come to the United Nations on their behalf". The proposals were:

(1) "That an opportunity be given to these African people to state their own case before the United Nations or before a Commission appointed by you and to request that no final decision regarding the disposal of South-West Africa be reached until your petitioners have been given an opportunity of expressing their views through their own spokesmen whom they have themselves nominated (2) "That their lands be returned to them and this territory be brought under the trusteeship system of the United Nations."

Mr. Scott said the matter had been made urgent by the Union's passage of the South-West Africa Act, claiming to terminate the mandate and in effect absorb the territory. We have heard the most terrific indictment of the Union's rule over the German Colony, a rule which would make the tribes welcome the Germans back rather than be handed over to the tender mercies of the apostles of the aparthied. It is now for the United Nations to end this monstrous state of affairs and give the tribes of S. W. Africa the sort of Government which will ultimately make them peaceful and contented. The first step in this process is to wrest them from the clutches of Dr. Malan and his tribe.

The Cyclone havoc

The magnitude of the havoc caused by the Cyclone which swept over the East Coast of Andhradesa was never realised until we had the full reports of those who had visited the scene of the tragedy.

Telegraph and telephone lines went out of order and rail and road communications were suspended for days together: water sources were in floods, and crops over a wide area—about 10,00,000 acres, and some of them rice growing ones—were destroyed. Besides, much loss was caused by the collapse of huts and houses, thousands of cattle were swept away, 773 human lives lost and 10,000 families uprooted. According to the Congress President the total loss in terms of money is "easily estimated at Rs. 50 crores."

But the suffering of the people and the woeful condition of the devastated area call for immediate relief. The Governor-General and the Prime Minister have given a lead by making handsome donations to the Governor's Fund and the rest of the country should lose no time in rushing help to the afflicted people of Andhradesa.

The Andhra Province

For over three decades Andhras have been asking for a separate province and the Congress has always conceded the demand in theory. It was felt that the desire for linguistic provinces with a view to consolidate and strengthen the different units according to their peculiar genius was quite legitimate and a big province like Madras would not suffer in efficiency from an administrative point of view if such separation is carried out with the full consent of the parties concerned. But the country was preoccupied with major problems of more vital importance in the recent past and the question had to be deferred to a more propitious hour. Now that the Tamil Nad Congress, the Andhra Committee and the Madras Legislature have all agreed to the terms of the J.V.P. report there is no point in delaying this question and the Congress Working Committee has done the right thing in taking the momentous decision on the formation of the Andhra Province and requesting the Government of India to take steps "forthwith" for its constitution.

By a resolution adopted at Delhi after two and a half hours' discussion the Committee urged the Government to appoint a boundary commission to demarcate the new province's borders and hoped its name would be included in Schedule I of the Draft Constitution.

The Working Committee also set at naught, for some time at least, the age-old bitter dispute over the city of Madras by ruling that Andhra Province will consist only of the undisputed Telugu-speaking districts of Madras Province, "but without the city of Madras."

With the passing of this resolution the establishment of an Andhra province in the near future becomes a certainty.

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The Shah's Visit to U. S. A.

On the invitation of President Truman the Shah of Iran is visiting the U. S. A. He is given the same honours and privileges as were afforded to Pandit Nehru, India's Prime Minister. The Shah is the first monarch to address the U. N. General Assembly.

"Do not fail us," he appealed to the member-nations. "Give us a future, give us the inner assurance of peace" he said.

Delegates applauded as, speaking on behalf of one of the smaller nations, the Shah added: "Assure us of our freedom and independence in which we can contribute to the progress of civilisation in each land, according to its national culture and tradition.

Pakistan as Aggressor

Foreign diplomats do not usually speak with the bluntness of the Indian Prime Minister. But the Kashmir issue is one that is so palpably provoking that Pandit Nehru's outspokenness should have been welcomed in London with a fair measure of approval. That papers like the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, generally credited with a sense of reasonableness and moderation, should have succumbed to the vicious propaganda of Pakistan is in the eyes of the Indian Prime Minister inexcusable, Addressing a crowded press conference of 200 representatives of British and the world press Pandit Nehru spoke with unusual warmth. "India was there" he said as a protector at the invitation of the lawful Government of Kashmir and the popular leader of the people: but what do the armies of Pakistan do there?—I ask you for a straight answer to that question," he asked with passion.

"The one is a robber and invader; the other is a friend of the country, going in as a friend of the people, India will not put up with this, no matter what are the consequences." said the Pandit.

This is strong language seldom used by statesmen at the helm of affairs. That the Prime Minister chose to use such words shows the depth of feeling and the strength of his convictions, and its sole justification for such language is the moral indignation aroused by the monstrous nature of the offence—an offence against Kashmir and India and humanity.

Yet Pandit Nehru has declared time and again that war should be ruled out in the settlement of the Kashmir issue. India is ready for mediation and to stand by the will of the people of Kashmir.

The Role of Labour in Free India

India's Labour Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, appealed for "a change in social values," and said "labour must receive the dignity which it deserves," The Labour Minister, who was speaking at the Benares Hindu University Convocation on the "role of labour in the new India", said that while it was necessary to emphasise the need for sacrifice and discipline under the present conditions, it did not mean that "exploitation of the working classes in any form should be tolerated."

He asked labour to realise that their tactics had to be changed as the tactics of yesterday could not yield "the same dividends" and might even lead labour to disaster.

Appealing to the educated classes to give "disinterested help" to labour, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that he would be happy if universities insisted upon performance of social work as an essential condition for the conferment of degrees.

An Unostentatious Scholar

It is with profound regret that we record the passing of Mr. V. Narayana Aiyar at a comparatively early age. He was practising as an Advocate of the Madras High Court for ten years but his aptitude lay in learning and research. For nearly eight years he collaborated in the work in connection with the Tamil Lexicon. A scholar in three languages—Sanskrit and Tamil and English—he did some excellent work in connection with the translation of our pocket classics. The Upakhyanamala—the Garland of Stories published by G. A. Natesan & Co., was one of his last and lasting works. During his last days he was engaged in another work of translation but his premature death has left it unfinished. Modest and unassuming, he will be remembered by his few chosen friends as a true scholar with a passion for Vedic learning.

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION. by Dr. N. V. Rajkumar, Foreign Secretary, Indian National Congress with a foreword by The Hon'ble Shri R. R. Diwakar. Published by the All India Congress Committee 7, Jantar Mandar Road, New Delhi. Pp. 147. Price Rs. 2-14.

This is an official publication of the Indian National Congress giving an outline history of the various stages through which the Congress constitution evolved into the 1948 constitution.

The volume records how the first constitution was made in 1899 after several years of "attempts." Next the historical 23rd Congress of Surat and the split there are described. The famous constitution of 1908 following the Surat split is quoted in full as providing the basic foundation for all future Congress constitutions. The history goes on to narrate the amendments of 1915 enabling Tilak to re-enter the congress and the Nagpur 1920 session when Mahatma Gandhi began to influence the organisation. From this year onwards, the book brings out the gradual but rapid transformation of the congress from the conglomeration of intellectuals into the revolutionary men's organisation of the 1930's and forties. In conclusion the 1948 constitution is given in extenso.

The author has tried to speak mainly through the language of the congress resolutions and constitutions themselves but wherever there is need he has provided lucid, short and instructive narratives detailing the circumstances leading to the events. There are also summarised versions of changes introduced at every stage. There are three appendices all of them being Mahatma Gandhi's notes for recommending the revisions of 1934, 1946 and 1948.

The book is brief but full and the get-up and printing are of high standard. Perhaps the price could be reduced considerably enabling it to reach a wider range of readers.

LABOUR PROBLEMS IN GREECE. 1949—(International Labour Office Geneva).

The Report of the Mission sent by the International Labour Office embodying its investigations and recommendations on conditions in Greece, in order that the Greek Government may be advised and assisted in the solution of its problems, is very exhaustive. Athens and Salonika, the chief industrial centres of the state, form the main bases of the recommendations which are designed to be put into effect by stages spread over a period of years, though the conditions at the time of their visit were fluid and abnormal. Thus political insecurity distorts public administration; and even three years after liberation the state of Greek economy is distressing. Recovery has not proceeded satisfactorily for a number of reasons; and the most serious physical reconstruction problems relate to transport, not more than 5 per cent. of the highways being in good condition. There is no effective market at present for any substantially greater volume of production.

Labour has suffered a most serious dilution of its skilled sector. An expanded programme of vocational training for youth and adult alike is a crying necessity. Labour inspection is most onerous. Greek conditions illustrate the truth of the dictum that it is impossible to achieve a satisfactory system of social security in an unsound economy. Social insurance is also suffering from the same illness. Trade unionism has not mobilised the support of the working class as a whole. The Mission condemns compulsory trade union contribution and would recommend its suppression. Unions should be free to acquire a legal personality. Labour legislation is above board; and conditions of labour give no cause for despair in Greece.

At the end there is a summary of the recommendations contained in the Report, besides the observations of the Greek Government.

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BAPU. Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi By F. Mary Barr. International Book House Ltd, Bombay P. P. 214. Price 2—12.

This volume is a welcome newcomer into the sphere of Gandhian literature. The book is not a mere verbatim report of some letters and conversations of Mahatma Gandhi. On the other hand it is an intimate narrative of the story of the author's relationship with the Mahatma studded here and there with reports of letters and conversations.

The story itself is very typical of the Mahatma's gigantic heart. The author, who started as a worker in a not altogether unprejudiced mission atmosphere, subject to influence by British officialdom has recorded the evolution of her complete transformation to the Gandhian ideal.

It is wonderful to read how the great man in the midst of Himalayan work which he took on himself found time and place to attend to even the most trivial needs of those who sought his guidance. The book shows up the Mahatma in his oft repeated claim of not being merely the leader but also of being the mother of his disciples. The proverb that a leader of men is distinguished by his capacity for attention to details would appear to be proved.

The book is worth reading several times over.

HISTORY OF SRI VIJAYA. By Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. (Sir William Meyer Lectures 1946-47), University of Madras, 1949 - pp. 157,2 Maps & Illustrations.

The author has a long and creditable record of research in the history of Indian cultural and other expansion in South-East Asia. He traces in his thoroughly scholarly manner, the factors that enabled Hindu culture to penetrate into Indo-China and Indonesia and the data that would go to prove the preponderant share of South India in this cultural expansion. The Sumatran Kingdom of Sri Vijaya flourished for several centuries from before the 7th century A. D., and its earliest inscriptions were unmistakably of a South Indian script; It had its centre in Palembang in Sumatra and soon developed into the cultural leader of the Archipelago. It was, in the beginning, a centre of Brahmanical Hindu culture and adopted Buddhism only later.

The author says that about the middle of the 9th century a Sailendra prince from Java came to occupy the throne of Sri Vijaya, while the original family continued in Java sometime longer. Sri Vijaya developed cultural contacts both with India and China, and served "a half-way house, maritime and intellectual, between China and India."

The author discusses the contact between the Cholas of Tanjore of early 11th century and Sri Vijaya, and holds that Rajendra Chola's overseas expedition was, perhaps, the cause of an important change in the political relations between the Malayan Kingdom and Java. He also holds that a new *Vihara*, was constructed at Negapatam by the Ruler of Sri Vijaya, about the end of the 11th century and was named after the reigning Chola Kulottunga (surnamed Rajendra) as *Rajendrasolapperumballi*.

The decline of Sri Vijaya in the 12th and 13th centuries is next traced. The simultaneous attacks from Java and Siam brought it about, in a large measure. The Arabs came to enjoy its commercial heritage.

The art of Sri Vijaya is held, in its earliest phase, to be directly South Indian in its main features. With the Sailendra advent from Java, some definitely Javanese cultural influences, already affected by Pala and Nalanda art, began to permeate, and the later phases of Sumatran art mark a new stage dominated by Javanese and by South Indian influences.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

"THE INDIAN REVIEW," (12 as.), published by G. A. Natesan & Co. in Madras, contains a number of interesting articles. This *Review* is level-headed in its policy and provides a fine example of decorous constructive journalism. Its format is neat. . . . Readers who appreciate an unbiassed survey of the political panorama will find it in The Indian Review—*Illustrated Weekly of India*.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

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Nov. 1. The draft constitution of the U.S. of Indonesia signed today at the Hague.

Nov. 2 Pandit Nehru made honorary citizen of San Francisco.

Nov. 3. U. N Control head quarters announce fulfilment of Karachi agreement respecting cease-fire line in Kashmir.

Nov 4 Hussein Sirry Pasha forms an all-independent Egyptian Cabinet.

—Pandit Nehru offered Freedom of City at Vancouver.

Nov 5. Report of Pakistan's encroachment on Indian territory in Assam.

—India refuses Pak wheat.

Nov 6 Pandit Nehru awarded Spingarn medal in recognition of Service to Negroes.

Nov 7 Governor-General rejects mercy petition on behalf of Godse and Apte sentenced to death in Gandhi murder case.

Nov. 8 Pandit Nehru back in London: meets Mr. Attlee.

—Big Three Foreign Ministers meet at Paris to discuss West German Problem.

Nov 9 Gen. Romulo Philippine President of U. N. proposes four point plan to end East West bloc deadlock in atomic energy control.

Nov. 10 Conference on S E. Asia opens at Canberra.

Nov 11 Andhra Provincial Congress Committee meeting at Vijayavada accepts J V P report coupled with demands for "Madras City Province."

Nov 12. Nehru in a talk to Pressmen in London indicts Pakistan in respect of the Kashmir issue.

Nov. 13 Advisory Committee, concluding its Session at Delhi, suggests modification of Industries Control Bill.

Nov 14. Pandit Nehru felicitated on his 61st birthday at a grand reception in Bombay

Nov 15 Godse and Apte, sentenced to death in Gandhi murder case, executed at Ambala.

Nov. 16. Congress Working Committee, meeting at Delhi, recommends immediate formation of Andhra Province.

Nov 17. Third Reading of India's draft Constitution begins in the Constituent Assembly.

—Congress Working Committee clarifies R.S.S. members' relation with the Congress.

Nov. 18 M. K Vellodi Secretary, Ministry of States appointed to succeed Major General Choudhury, Military Governor of Hyderabad.

Nov. 19. Gen. Delvoie, Military Adviser to U N C I P. resigns.

—Soviet demands recall of Yugoslav diplomat

Nov 20. Debate on third reading of India's Constitution.

Nov. 21 U N debate on S. W. Africa.

—Red threat to Chungking

The Prime Minister accepts invitation to Commonwealth Conference in Ceylon.

Nov. 22. Dr. P. V Cherian elected Mayor of Madras.

Nov. 23. Shah of Iran addresses the United Nations Assembly

Nov 24. The Nizam signs the instrument of accession to the Indian Union

Nov. 25. Maharaja of Mysore and Rajpramukh of Kerala in their Proclamations Ordain that the constitution of India will be the constitution of their States.

Nov. 26. Rev. Michael Scott indicts S. Afrtca in his evidence before the U. N. Trusteeship Committee.

Nov 27. The Governor General at Shillong-Hindu Maha Sabha executive decides to rename the Sabha as "Akhil Bharat" "Hindu Maha Sabha."

Nov, 28. Constituent Assembly, — having completed third reading of India's constitution, meets for the last time in its legislative capacity under existing constitution.

Nov. 29 World Labour Conference meet in London

Nov. 30 Sheik Abdulla decides to go to Lake Success re: Kashmir Question.

—Red entry into Chungking.

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TOPICS From PERIODICALS

DIGNITY OF MAN

Among the many fundamental contributions Gandhiji made to uplift mankind, not the least is the conferring of a unique dignity on man, writes Sjt. J. C. Kumarappa in *Harijan*.

For ages honour and status were the attributes of men of wealth and circumstances. The lowest among men, if he came by material possessions, by hook or by crook, no questions were asked but was accorded first rank in society. Peerages were conferred, decorations were showered and all knees bowed to such.

Under the influence of such ideals slave economy flourished. Work was looked down upon, while indulgence held sway.

In a society founded on such valuations, man was not honoured for what he was but for the feathers he wore on his head or for the garland of skulls round his neck or for the barbaric splendour of the resplendent robes or the glamour and luxury of his dwelling place. Imperialisms of all kinds have their origin in such ideals. Even in our land today there are persons who hold such caparisoning and upholstery essential for maintaining dignity. Where such valuations prevail, work is at a discount, the weak labour for the well-being of the mighty.

With the advent of the machine-age, man lost his position even as a worker. He yielded place to the machine. His purpose in life was to tend machines.

In a land suffering from shortage of labour, something had to be done to make such work honourable. Hence arose the movement in the U. S. A. to dignify labour. Yet man had no attribute of his own but his capacity to produce material things.

It fell to Gandhiji to discover that work had two aspects—its power to develop man and afford an outlet for the expression of his personality.

Work did not confer dignity on the divine image. Nor were material possessions requisite to obtain honour and status. A new code of values was the result. Under this, work was respected according to the worker's character and personality. Scavenging could be the noblest of professions and the pursuit of law the meanest of criminal ventures, according to the motives of the actors.

This code conferred dignity on man himself, apart from his environment, birth, or material circumstance. So that even the poorest in the land can enjoy a status equal to that of the highest provided the needed character and personality were present, thus bringing about an equality of status in this class—colour—caste—ridden world.

This is indeed true democracy that restores to every human being a freedom that politics cannot give and a status no wealth can buy. May we all attain such position through our service to the needy and love of fellowmen.

WHY WORRY ?

There are only two reasons for worry. Either you're successful or you're not successful, says *American life*.

"And if you're successful there's nothing to worry about. If you're not successful, there's only two things to worry about—your health is either good, or you're sick.

And if your health is good there is nothing to worry about and if you're sick—there's only two things to worry about. You're either going to get well or you're going to die.

If you're going to get well, there's nothing to worry about; if you're not going to get well, there's only two things to worry about. You're either going to Heaven, or you are not going to Heaven.

And if you are going to Heaven, there's nothing to worry about; and if you are going to the other place, you'll be so doggone busy shaking hands with old friends you won't have time to worry."

So, why worry ?

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INDUSTRIAL MUSIC

Recorded programs, designed and tested by the Muzak Corporation, reduce worker fatigue in factories throughout the United States. This is the burden of an article in the June number of *Commercial America*.

The idea of working to music is not new. Centuries ago, as the writer says, the Greeks had songs for harvesting; mariners of old hauled mainsail to the tangy tune of sea chanties: the cotton fields of the American South produced the folk-songs which are part of United States heritage today. While the idea itself is not new, its scientific application to the modern industrial machine is a fascinating development of the past dozen years or so. Known to millions as "Music-by-Muzak," the extension of recorded music to the workaday world as well as to entertainment, eating, and other places has been due to the efforts of the Muzak Corporation in New York City.

It all started back in the pre-radio days of 1922 when Major General George O. Squier, Chief Signal Officer of the U. S. Army, proposed the use of electric light and power lines to transmit "news, instructions, music, local advertising, etc." to homes in individual local areas. In the next 14 years of experimentation, the scope of the original idea was changed and broadened considerably. Transcribed music was found to be ideally suited to the needs of hotels and restaurants for space and economic reasons. Telephone lines proved more satisfactory than power lines, which suffered from distortion and interference from trolleys, factories and other facilities using the same power lines. And, most important of all, the idea of functional, music-with-purse, was born.

By 1936, Muzak was ready to introduce its first programs of specially arranged and recorded "background" music to restaurants and hotels in New York City and vicinity. The idea of soft, nondistracting mood music in such public places spread quickly, and during the next few years franchises were set up in leading cities across the United States for the distribution of this special type of music. Meanwhile, Muzak was actively involved in extensive research into the application of music in industry, an experimental field just beginning to be investigated in a small number of plants here and in England. The years of World War II, with the attendant pressures, greatly accelerated the phenomenal growth of this musical means of achieving industrial harmony and efficiency.

Postwar years saw industrial music installations increase in leaps and bounds as materials became easier to obtain. Today, Muzak's varied, functional work programs are operating in thousands of plants and factories, distributed through central studios in more than 150 leading cities throughout, the United States, in Canada, Mexico and Hawaii.

Subsequent research developed a program formula for work music in the office where mental and visual fatigue, boredom from tedious tasks and nervous tensions from pressure jobs were the main issues rather than the physical and noise fatigues of the factory.

At the present time, Muzak sends out a number of different work-music pragrams to plants, factories and offices, banks, stores, insurance and telephone companies, aside from its familiar "background" music in hotels, restaurants, physicians' and dentists' offices, hospitals, schools, employment bureaus, railroad and airline terminals, clubs reception rooms of all kinds and other public places where waiting is a factor. An amazing network of specially leased telephone lines transmits these programs from each central franchise studio to local subscribers within that territory. These special telephone lines have a frequency range many times greater than that of ordinary lines in order to reproduce the full sound of an orchestra. Each studio has a huge "switchboard" which pipes the right music to the right subscriber at the right time of day.

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THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

Dr. Selig Brodetsky, the newly appointed President of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, outlines in the American periodical *Jewish Frontier* some of the future plans and problems of the university. The birth of Israel has created new needs. Before the war the university concentrated its efforts on the sciences and mathematics. Jewish and Arab studies, with a lesser emphasis on history, philosophy, and languages. The needs of the new State have called into being new faculties—of law, of medicine, in the first place; the Department of Agriculture, at present part of the Faculty of Science, is to become a faculty on its own; Departments of Economics and the Social Sciences have been opened. Before the war there were a thousand students; there are at present only five or six hundred, but the number is expected to reach two thousand or so in the next few years. The university's difficulties are formidable. It has not yet reoccupied its splendid buildings on Mount Scopus; these are in international hands and can be reached only by passing through an area held by the Arab Legion. Meanwhile it has its headquarters in a rented Christian monastery. For its support it depends very largely on contributions from overseas. Its costs for the coming academic year are put at £670,000. Its receipts from fees, endowments, and grants from the Government and from the Jewish Agency bring in hardly more than £100,000. The balance comes from "Friends of the Hebrew University," particularly in the United States. Its position is therefore unstable. But it has the advantage, as Dr. Brodetsky says, that "the university belongs to all world Jewry." He adds the hope that "many non-Jews, especially "Arabs and others from the Middle East, "will come to study with us."

UNDER-WATER LIFE

Mrs. Laurel Griffin of San Pedro, California, is probably the world's only deep-sea diving artist, the "Los Angeles Times" reports. The wife of an expert American deep-sea diver, Mrs. Griffin has been painting under the water for the last two years.

When she first started painting under water, Mrs. Griffin used a diving bell and thus was able to reproduce submarine gardens in water colours. Soon she began making dives in a shallow-water diving suit and observation helmet. This gives her much more freedom of movement. Since the use of this equipment makes working with water colours impossible, Mrs. Griffin now uses special oil paints and works on a specially treated canvas. Her easel is weighted down by lead stripping.

All of Mrs. Griffin's diving equipment is equipped with two-way communication systems so that she can keep in constant touch with her husband who tends her air and life lines from the deck of their yawl. The yawl is both their home and workshop.

Painting the often grotesque and fantastic marine growth on the ocean floor is thrilling, according to Mrs. Griffin. She points out that marine life soon loses its bright colour when brought to the surface.

The Griffins have lived a sea-going life for the last eight years. When Mrs. Griffin is not employed on a diving job, they sail their boat on the Pacific Ocean to find new places for future art work by Mrs. Griffin. This summer the Griffins plan a cruise to Mexican waters where they will record on film and canvas the beauties beneath the sea.

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APOSTLE THOMAS

In regard to St. Thomas and his associations with the Madras Coast the following facts presented by Principal C. S. Srinivasachari, the well-known South Indian historian may be read with interest. The Apostle, says the Principal, in the course of a letter to the press is believed to have suffered martyrdom at St. Thomas Mount and to have been buried at first at San Thome by the shore.

San Thome was known to the Arab geographers and travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries as Betumah, i.e. the house or church or town of Thomas. It was to this Betumah that King Alfred of England probably sent his emissaries about 883 A. D. as noted in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Subsequently certain Persian merchants who were Nestorian Christians built a Church at the place, as well as a chapel over the site of the tomb and a monastery at the top of St. Thomas Mount. This community of Nestorian Christians was in existence when Marco Polo visited the coast in 1293 A. D. Other mediæval European travellers like Friar Oderic and Nicolo di Conti had noticed the existence of the shrine. Joseph of Cranganore, a Syrian Christian of the 15th century, visited the place and found that it was a sacred spot to both the Christians and Hindus, whose ancient shrine of Mylapore was well known. Duarte, Barbosa, the famous explorer, who visited the place in the early years of the 16th century, found the church in ruins. The Portuguese then came upon the scene and in 1522 A. D. rebuilt the old chapel wherein they happened to discover the empty grave of the Apostle. In the previous year, Gaspar Correa, a voluminous historian of Portuguese enterprise in the East, had arrived at the place and effected some small repairs to the chapel.

San Thome had always been identified with the adjoining Hindu temple-town of Mylapore and its first name under the Portuguese was San Thome de Meliapor. Mylapore was more ancient than San Thome, and the latter place was known also as Old Mylapore.

Ptolemy, the famous Graeco-Roman geographer of the 2nd century, A. D. noted Malli-arpha (identified with Mylapore) as a place on the east coast of South India. Dr. Medlycott definitely identified Ptolemy's Malliarpha with Mylapore (in his *India and the Apostole Thomas*—1905) as containing the two essential ingredients of the name Mylapore. D'Anville, the French geographer of the 18th century, had previously suggested the identification. The Arab work of the 16th century, *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen* (tr. by M. J. Rowlandson, 1883 and recently by Mr. S. M. H. Nainar) mentions Meelapur. One writer has opined that it is the Malifattan of Rashid-ud-din Dr. Medlycott laid special stress on the Malabar tradition in support of the claim of Mylapore to hold the first tomb of St. Thomas.

The Rev. H. Hosten S. J., spent some time at San Thome in 1921 in investigations as to the truth of the tradition of St. Thomas' connection with Mylapore and the Mount and has published his views in *The Catholic Herald of India.*

NEW UNESCO MAGAZINE

The U. N. Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (U. N. E. S. C. O.) have started a new monthly magazine *Impetus* which replaces the *Reconstruction Newsletter* which since 1947 has been reporting phases of reconstruction in education, science and culture.

The new magazine will be a forum, for presenting opinion and exchanging views on reconstruction and development. With the adoption of the plan by U.N.E.S.C.O. to raise the living standard in the under-privileged areas of the world this magazine is expected to be of considerable interest to India.

The magazine is distributed free to organizations and individuals throughout the world, who, by their interest and activities, seek to further the reconstruction and development of schools, libraries, laboratories, museums, art galleries, etc. Libraries or individuals who are interested should write direct to U. N. E. S. C. O. 19, Avenue Kelèber, Paris, for putting them on the mailing list.

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CHRISTIAN STAGNATION

In a thoughtful article in the *Aryan Path* Mr. C. M. Turnbull, an ex-Christian challenges the Western outlook and the Western Way of life.

"In refusing to say the creed of the Church I apparently cease to be a Christian; in saying that Christ is no more divine (and no less) than other great spiritual leaders, I am proclaimed a heathen—it is an honour.

Freed from dogma I can follow the truth, and really believe, I believe in good wherever it is to be found, be it in the teachings of Christ, in the *Gita*, the *Koran* or the *Dhammapada*. Fundamentally I believe it to be the same truth that underlies all these."

The West is fettered by its beliefs, *i.e.*, the teachings of Christ, which are incompatible with its politics, so it excuses them, and the Church aids and abets by presenting an interpretation of these beliefs which does not clash too violently with the particular political and social set-up in existence,

"Thus the Church condones and excuses mass murder, executions, State control, and a whole host of other unsavoury aspects of our life which the State insists upon as necessary for the order of things, but which Christ condemned. Leo Tolstoy has ably pointed this out, and in India that truly great soul, Gandhiji, did likewise by casting off dogma and convention, and following the truth that was within him."

With the death of Gandhiji many of us in the West, he says, were jolted to our senses—we suddenly realised that here was a person (and millions with him) who had refused to lie to himself any longer, but had followed instead the truth, without wavering.

"If more of us followed and obeyed our consciences rather than a set of complicated laws and regulations there would be more peace and goodwill in the world."

SCIENTISTS AND LEADERSHIP

The world's leaders are misleading us. So declares Dr. M. F. Ashley Montagu, physical anthropologist of Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital, Philadelphia.

"Our world at the present time," he says in a report to the *Journal of Social Psychology*, is largely directed by criminally irresponsible adventurers and cynical and complacent men who have grown old in the way of self-interest and ultra-nationalism. Unless their place is taken by men of understanding and humility whose guiding principle is love, the world of man is doomed.

"Men who do not love one another are sick," declares Dr. Montagu.

"They are sick," he explains, "not from any sickness arising within themselves, but from a sickness which the malorganization of their societies has thrust upon them.

"The belief in false values, in competition instead of co-operation, in class and race and national prejudice instead of love, in narrow selfish interests instead of altruism, in atomism (especially atombombism) instead of universalism, in the value of the dollar instead of the value of man, represents social man turning upon all that is biologically good in him."

Love and co-operation among men as natural states have a support in the findings of biological sciences, Dr. Montagu explains.

Even the tiny, black planarian worms (the lowest animals in the evolutionary scale to possess a head) he says, help each other to survive damaging ultra-violet rays when they are together.

A POLE ?

My father was a Pole.
How interesting North or South ?

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STREPTOMYCIN

The *British Medical Journal* has warned that use of the wonder drug streptomycin may have to be abandoned because it is too dangerous.

The *Journal* said the drug can have serious poisonous effects on the "eighth nerve" causing giddiness and deafness and may even upset a patient's sense of balance permanently.

The leading article in the *Journal* said that streptomycin was much more harmful and also less potent than penicillin and would find no place in therapeutics but for the fact that it acts on many bacteria against which penicillin is powerless.

The drug is used frequently to combat tuberculosis but in the majority of cases the *Journal* stated, patients become resistent to the drug and remain so indefinitely.

NEHRU IN AMERICA

The picture magazine *Life* said in its recent issue that the United States' welcome to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, was one that for "variety, quantity and simple anxiety to please, was probably unmatched in the history of American hospitality."

In a pictorial review of Pandit Nehru's visit the magazine said the welcome was "partly a tribute to the rising power and independence of his nation in world affairs but it was also a tribute to a personality whose reputation for suavity, culture snd refinement of mind was something rather special in the world inhabited by to-day's great national leaders."

Life described Pandit Nehru as "one of the most likeable foreign emissaries" ever to visit the United States. It said that "no matter how hectic the pressure of official and unofficial ceremonies and dinners became it was evident that the Pandit could take it and that he was determined to learn as much about America and about as many kinds of Americans as he could possibly cram into his mouth-long schedule."

A picture accompanying the article showed the Prime Minister arm in arm with a Boston taxi-driver who asked to be photographed with him. A full-page colour picture showed President Truman welcoming Pandit Nehru to America.

"INDIAN ALLIANCE"

The *Chicago Tribune*, in an editorial on October 26 welcoming Pandit Nehru to the city said that the Indian Prime Minister was entering a section of the United States which never found excuses for British imperialism and always understood and sympathised with the ambitions of the Indian people for independence.

"Here in Chicago he is among friends who believed in the justice of his cause because they believed in the principles of their own declaration of independence.

"Mr. Nehru was warmly received in the East, but not wholly for the same reason. The Eastern interventionists are troubled. Their eyes have been centred on Europe. They rejoiced in 1941 when Mr. Roosevelt's refusal to make the slightest concession to Japan led to Pearl Harbour and our intervention in Europe, which was their goal.

"Now, as a consequence of destroying German and Japanese power, Russia is unchecked in Asia as well as Europe. The interventionists, face to face with the consequences of their policy, are desperately trying to strengthen Europe as a brake on Russia's westward expansion, and now that most of China has fallen, they are hoping that India will restrain Russian ambition in the East. Hence their elaborate reception of Mr Nehru, and a good deal of hinting about loans that his country might have.

"All this Mr. Nehru knows. We hope he realises that the cordial greeting extended to him in this part of the country has no ulterior purpose, but it is an expression of respect for him as a leader and for his country's successful struggle to throw off foreign yoke.

"In our judgment, those who are trying to buy India as an ally against Russian tyranny are not thinking realistically. And India that can be bought would not be worth much as an ally. A genuinely independent India, determined to maintain her independence, might be worth a great deal."

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA

Colonial rule in Africa is bound to end, and the down-trodden people of Africa will come into their own sooner or later, declared Raja Maharaj Singh, Governor, in a Press interview.

A former Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa and a recognized authority on African problems in U. N. councils, Raja Maharaj Siugh said that the South African problem could be solved only by the organization of a united front of all non-European races in the continent.

He reviewed the African scene in the light of political developments in various parts of the continent, the struggle of the African natives for their "birthright of self-government" and the problem of Indians in South Africa.

On the problem of Indians in South Africa, Raja Maharaj singh said he supported the idea, of a round table conference of India, Pakistan and South Africa—"if only to keep our-selves in the right."

"At the same time, I don't believe that there will be a change of heart in the Malan Government. On the contrary, I expect that Dr. Malan will continue to wish to repatriate as many Indians and Pakistanis as possible. But by agreeing to a Round Table Conference we would be able to show once more to the world who is the guilty party."

Asked whether Britain would be able to assist India in reaching an equitable settlement with South Africa, another Commonwealth nation, Raja Maharaj Singh said: "I don't think so. Unfortunately, Britain has throughout adopted at best a neutral attitude in this dispute."

Raja Maharaj Singh hoped that India and Pakistan would always present a joint front on the South African question, since the South African Government's policy adversely affected Indians and Pakistanis equally.

He stated that no purpose would be served by the resumption of diplomatic or trade relations at this stage. He said that this should await the result of the Round Table Conference. "There must be also," he added, "some *quid pro quo* on the part of the South African Government."

Madagascar

MADAGASCAR INDIANS

The Government of India have asked Mr. R. T. Chari, Secretary to the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa, to visit Madagascar, the French Colony, in order to obtain first hand information about the position of Indians there.

According to reports received in New Delhi, the Government of Madagascar has enacted a law under which arbitrary powers to deport Indian settlers from the colony at short notice have been given to the Governor. There are about 15,000 Indians setteld in Madagascar, for several generations. They are now reported to be undergoing serious hardships and some of them have already been deported and others who had come to India on a short visit have not been allowed to return to Madagascar. The Indian settlers complain that the French colonial authorities are out to uproot as many Indians as possible.

The interests of Indian settlers in Madagascar are at present looked after by the Britsh Consul-General who also acts on behelf of India. It appears he has been unable to help the Indian population in this matter.

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United Kingdom

STATUS OF INDIANS IN U. K.

A bill dealing with the legal status and question of nationality of Indians in the United Kingdom after India declares herself a Republic on Jan. 26 next will be introduced in the House of Commons before it rises for the Christmas vacation on Dec. 16. the U. P. I. learns.

The British Government, it is gathered will propose as a temporary measure that Indians in England continue to enjoy full rights of British citizenship as at present until a comprehensive study of the new situation is made, in consultation with the Government of India. Other Commonwealth countries may also have to be consulted before a dicision is taken.

There are about 5,000 permanent Indian residents in this country. Another 5,000 are classified as floating or temporary residents. There are, besides, students, sailors and visitors whose stay in England is purely temporary. There are as many as 15,000 Indians in the British isles at present.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA GOVT. SERVICE

According to a press Note issued by the External Affairs Ministry, the Government of Burma have decided to allow family allotments to the families in India of their non-national employees who are at present in areas under the control of insurgents in Burma.

Families in India of such Indian employees of the Government of Burma may apply for monthly monetary assistance through the Indian Embassy, Rangoon, to the head of the Department under which the employee is working, giving the following particulars: Name of applicant; name of Indian employee from whose salary an allotment is sought; designation and appointment held by the employee: relationship of applicant with the employee; full address of applicant in India; amount of family allotment desired; amount of financial assistance received monthly in the past from the employees and documentary evidence, if any, in support of statements made above, e.g., letters, etc., from the employee to the applicant.

Pakistan

HINDUS IN PAKISTAN

Sri Sanat Kumar Roy Choudhary writes :—

"About a year ago when the Draft Constitution was first circulated I pressed for allowing Hindus resident in Pakistan such facilities to acquire the Indian domicile in case they desired it, so that we may legitimately be able to look after their welfare and to bring them to India if the situation became intolerable.

"No notice was taken of my suggestion at the time probably because a double domicile was a new thing in constitutional law. Since then however, the Germans have made a constitution allowing German residents in foreign countries to become German nationals.

"The Indian Constituent Assembly has been moved to give Indians in Malaya such facilities to acquire an India domicile if they so desired possibly because of some happenings there which the Indian Government was powerless to prevent.

"Is it too much to ask our constitution framers to look to the woes of Hindus in Pakistan and allow them the same facility? or will the very word 'Hindu' be a disqualifiction for their case being considerd by our secular State?"

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QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

SEPARATE ANDHRA PROVINCE

The Congress Working Committee, meeting at New Delhi on November 16, decided to recommend to the Government the formation of a separate Andhra Province "forthwith". This will be the first "linguistic province". The proposed Andhra Province will have no claim on Madras City and the capital of the new province will be decided at a future date. The Working Committee passed the following resolution on the subject:—

"The Working Committee considered the reports of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, the Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committee and the Government of Madras in regard to the formation of the Andhra Province. In view of their general agreement that an Andhra Province may be constituted in accordance with the report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed at the Jaipur Congress, the Working Committee resolve that the Government of India be requested to take steps to form forthwith the Andhra Province generally consisting of undisputed Andhra Districts but without the city of Madras.

"The exact demarcation should be made by a Boundary Commission to be appointed therefor. The Committee trust that these steps will enable the inclusion of the Andhra Province in schedule one of the new constitution".

A separate Andhra Province which now awaits only official adjustments is the consummation of a 36-year old movement, and the Indian National Congress in the past had adopted resolutions favouring the creation of such a province.

The Government of the proposed Andhra Province is likely to be in Madras till a new capital has been decided upon at a later date. The new province will consist of 10 districts covering approximately an area of more than 67,000 square miles with a population of nearly 20 millions.

SALARIES AND SAVINGS

The Government of India have decided to enforce a compulsory savings scheme for Government servants drawing above Rs. 250 a month.

Secretaries, Additional and Joint Secretaries to the Government, the Chief Commissioner, Financial Commissioner and other members of the Railway Board have offered to subject themselves to a cut in their salaries, the announcement said.

The Government have decided to cut their salaries at the rate of Rs. 250 from those drawing Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 250 plus one quarter of the excess of pay over Rs. 3,000 from those drawing Rs. 3,001 and above.

The Ministers have already volunteered to accept a cut of 15 per cent in their salaries from November, 1949, until February 28, 1952.

Officers of non-Asian domicile and contract officers who are protected by their contracts, will be exempted from the cut. All other officers, under the Governor-General's rule-making control, serving in Civil, Defence, Railway and Posts and Telegraph Departments will be subjected to the cut. Officers whose pay is cut will be exempted from the compulsory savings scheme.

Under the scheme, Government servants drawing above Rs. 250 a month and serving in Civil, Defence, Railway and Posts and Telegraphs Departments under the rule-making control of the Governor-General will be required compulsorily to subscribe to one or other of the existing Provident Funds.

Government contributions to Contributory Provident Funds will be restricted to the existing rates.

Government servants of non-Asian domicile are exempted from the scheme.

The compulsory subscriptions will be enforced from December 1,1949, to March 1, 1952.

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

PANDIT NEHRU ON HIS VISIT TO U. S. A.

Pandit Nehru arrived in Bombay on November 14 after his five-week tour of Britain, United States and Canada.

Addressing a Press conference immediately after his arrival at the Government House, Pandit Nehru said. "The welcome given to me—official and popular—wherever I went symbolised the world's respect for new India."

I have had a wonderful tour and wherever I have gone—England, the United States and Canada—I have been besieged and inundated with courtesy and with a great deal of affection. Everywhere, they thought of Mahatma Gandhi and his teachings—peace and co-operation—with our people.

They associated new India with that great leader and his teachings—and me, however humble I may be, with that great man.

Pandit Nehru declared: Everywhere I found an enormous fund of goodwill for our people. I also found an enormous desire for peace in the world and co-operation among the peoples of the world.

So, I return with optimism for the future, not only for our country, but for the whole world.

I have taken this rather long holiday and I must now settle down to work.

Throughout my stay aboard. I gathered fresh experience and naturally I liked to be away from India. At the same time, I have been away for a long time and so I am glad to be back.

I naturally feel happy at the welcome I got there but I rejoice to come back and to land on Indian soil first in Bombay, this beautiful city in many ways, so full of affection and to see friendly and familiar faces looking at me.

I have had a wonderful welcome. It would be wrong to say that I am a hero. The welcome accorded to me was not personal but it was rather a welcome and pespect for the new India. And I became the symbol of that new independent India, I think it was a welcome, specially so far as the large masses of people are concerned, for something that they had in their minds and hearts that India represented. Perhaps, it was because they had heard something of India and of Mahatma Gandhi.

They thought of Mahatma Gandhi and his teachings in terms of peace and co-operation with the peoples of the world. They knew that India stood for peace and co-operation and for the raising of the under-privileged people everywhere. Because of that they associated me with this great man.

Wherever I went, it was not only an official welcome but a popular too. I found an enormous fund of goodwill for India and the Indian people among the countries that I visited. I found an enormous desire everywhere for peace in the world and for co-operation among people. And so I return full of optimism for the future not only for our country but also for the whole world.

SARDAR PATEL'S CALL TO PEOPLE

Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel, in a broadcast from New Delhi emphasised the gravity of the economic situation facing the country and appealed for the co-operation of every section of the people in overcoming it. "The time for preparing paper schemes has gone," he said. "The time has come for clear-cut policies and for strong and determined action."

He appealed to the agriculturists to grow food on every inch of space available to them, deliver to the Government the maximum they could spare and keep to themselves the minimum.

Government, industry and labour must all play the game in a spirit of national service. Industrialists should concentrate on getting the maximum out of their plants and machinery. Labour should lend its helping hand to the industrialists to exploit their resources to the maximum national advantage. Government should ensure there were no impediments, no bottle-necks and no red-tape, The tradesmen should ensure that the produced articles reached the consumer with the minimum of difficulty and minimum of extra cost. "In such an inexorable and unrelenting struggle for existence mercenary motives must not be allowed to rule to the exclusion of patriotic duty."

Asking the people to place every pie they could save at the disposal of Government for utilisation in nation-building activities, Sardar Patel said development programmes, which needed capital could not be kept in suspense for very long without doing grave damage to India's national economy. It would be as wrong for anyone today not to invest in saving as it would be in times of war for anyone to shirk the obligations of compulsory national service.

Sardar Patel commended to business and professions, Government's scheme of voluntary cuts in higher salaries and compulsory savings for Government servants of different salary grades. The Government of India, he said, hoped shortly to supplement this by a similiar scheme for Government servants drawing Rs. 250 and below.

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R. S. S. AND THE CONGRESS

No Congressman shall organise or join any volunteer organisation other than the Congress Seval Dal and, therefore, the members of the R. S. S. who belong to a volunteer organisation (the R. S. S.), will not be exempt from this rule and discipline if they choose to become Congress members.

This was made clear by the Congrees Working Committee in a statement clarifying its earlier ruling on the admission of R. S. S. members into the Congress.

The Committe's statement said :

"Some time back a reference was made to the Working Committee by the Bihar P.C.C. whether members of the R. S. S. were debarred from becoming primary members of the Indian National Congress. In answering that reference, the Working Commitee did nothing more than explain the constitutional position of the primary members of the Congress. According to Article IV of the Constitution, any person of the age of 21 years and over who believes in Article I (1) shall, on making written declaration to that effect, become a primary member of the Congress. There was no ban in the constitution of the Congress on any person becoming a primary member if he conformed to the conditions laid down in the obove article. By no stretch of imagination this explanation could be misconstrued as an invitation to the R. S. S. or any other group to become primary members of the Congress.

"All primary members, under the Congress Constitution, are of course subject to the rules of discipline, and the members of the R. S. S. are no exception to these rules even if they choose to become primary members. The rules of discipline include the following rule: "No Congressman shall organise or join any volunteer Dal other than the Congress Seva Dal."

HYDERABAD ADMINISTRATION

Mr. M. K. Vellodi, Secretary, Ministry of States, has been appointed to succeed Mojor-General J. N. Chaudhuri, Military Governor of Hyderabad.

The services of Major-General Chaudhuri, the announcement says, will be placed at the disposal of the Defence Ministry with effect from December 14, 1949.

The announcement adds: "As a measure of retrenchment, the post of Adviser, Ministry of States, will be abolished with effect from December 1, and Mr. V. P. Menon will assume the duties of Secretary."

COMPENSATION FOR ZAMINDARS

The manner and method of finding finance to pay compensation for Zamindars under the Madras Estates Abolition Act are being investigated by the Finance Minister, Mr. B. Gopala Reddi.

The Minister disclosed to Pressmen that only about Rs. 2,00,00,000 would be required to pay the 50 per cent advance compensation for the 33 Estates including some of the big northern estates, already taken over by the Madras Government.

The Minister ruled out any suggestion to collect funds by any levy on estate ryots for this purpose. This question had already been fully examined and given up by the Government, as it would not be proper to subject the poor tenants, who had been victims of rack-renting for years, to further levies.

He also explained that this expenditure on payment of compensation could not be charged to the General Revenues but should be met only from capital expenditure. Funds for this purpose could be raised either by disposing of Government securities or raising loans.

DISSOLVE MUSLIM LEAGUE IN INDIA

Mr. S. A. Shafee Mahomed, former Sheriff of Madras in a statement to the press, asked for the liquidation of the Muslim League in India.

He said: "If some sort of a Gallop Poll were taken, the Muslim League would find itself drowned." Changing the Muslim Leagues' policy with having led to the partition of the country and to the terrible aftermath that the Muslim masses were still experiencing, he said they had not forgotten "the mad days of 1947."

"But for the magnanimity of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders, the 'Deliverance Day' and 'Direct Action Day' stunts of the League would have led to disaster and the perpetuation of India's slavery."

"Bill, you young scamp, if you had your due, you'd get a good whipping."

"I know it, Daddy; but bills are not always paid when due."

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EDUCATIONAL

ORIENTAL LEARNING

H. E. The Governor of Bombay, Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, inaugurating the 15th session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Bombay on November 5 said that while India had attained political independence, "scholarship and intellectual effort outstrip the limits of race and country, and nations have much to learn from each other."

The Conference. jointly organised by the University of Bombay and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was attended by 600 delegates from all over India. After its inauguration, the Conference broke into 18 sections, including sections on classical Sanskrit, Islamic culture, and technical sciences and fine arts.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vice-President of the Conference, was elected as President in the absence of Dr. S. K. De, former head of the Department of Sanskrit in Dacca University.

Dr. De, in his presidential address, read by the Secretary of the reception Committee, suggested that the Conference should no longer confine its activities to India alone, as at present, but should expand its activities and cover Asia.

"The Conference can do this by inviting representatives from these countries and without abandoning its Indian character, it may periodically expand itself into a kind of 'Asiatic Conference of oriental learning' and if possible, it may even hold some of its sessions outside India," he added.

UNIVERSITY FOR RAYALASEEMA

Addressing a public meeting here on November 5, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said that a separate University for Rayalaseema was essential and therefore must be established. Appealing to the Rayalaseemites and the people of the Circars to forget differences between them, the Congress President said that he would go to the length of even favouring a separate province for Rayalaseema. For, he said, there was nothing wrong in having two provinces in a territory with a single common language but not one province in a region with two languages.

UNESCO SEMINAR IN MYSORE

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India's Education Minister, inaugurating the sixth Seminar of UNESCO in Mysore observed that if mankind is to achieve conditions where peace and tranquillity can become a reality between individuals and nations, the common people of the world must assert themselves. If they take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the world and demand that the governance of man must be in the interest of peace, then and then alone can the different governments of the world be compelled to pursue policies which will lead to peace instead of war. This is where the need for adult education or social education—education for the complete man—becomes imperative.

Laying special stress on a programme of social education for Asian countries, the Minister announced that the Government of India propose to give first priority to this question in their scheme of educational development for the country.

G. K. GOKHALE COLLEGE AT KAGAL

The foundation stone of G. K. Gokhale College of Arts was recently laid by Mr. Parashuram Patwardhan, Raja of Jamkhindi last month at Kagal, about 12 miles from Kolhapur. Mr. Patwardhan donated to the college a sum of Rs. 25,000 and a library worth Rs. 1,00,000.

The G. K. Gokhale College will be run by the Shikshan Prasarak Mandal, Kolhapur, and will commence working from the next academic year. It is situated at Kagal, the birthplace of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR ARTISTS

The sevenman committee appointed by the Government of India to select artists for the award of eight India Government scholarships on the best painting depicting rural life of India have selected the following: S. H. Raja, Dhirendra Nath Brahma, L. P. Khone, Gopen Roy, S. P. Palsikar, Manik Lal Banerjee, C. P. Saxena and Namita Ghosal.

The competition was limited to artists below 35 years of age. About 100 artists from all over India competed for the scholarships.

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END OF GANDHI MURDER CASE

The principal convicts in the Gandhi Murder Conspiracy Case, Nathuram Vinayak Godse and Narayan D. Apte sentenced to death by the Special Court in Delhi's Red Fort on February 10 this year, were hanged on November 15 in Ambala Jail.

The bodies of Godse and Apte were cremated inside the jail by the jail authorities. The cremation was performed according to Hindu Sanatanist rites, as desired by the prisoners and their relatives.

The relatives of Godse and Apte were not permitted to be present at the time of the cremation.

Godse and Apte are stated to have executed wills.

It may be recalled that the trial of Nathuram Godse, Narayan Apte and six others before the Special Judge. Mr. Atma Charan, started on May 27, 1948, and ended on December 30 the same year. One hundred and forty-nine witnesses gave evidence for the prosecution.

One of the accused, Dr. V. D. Savarkar, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, was acquitted by the special Court.

Nathuram Godse and Apte were condemned to death and five others received life sentences. Appeals against the Judgment of the Special Court were filed by the convicts. The East Punjab High Court, on June 21 this year, upheld the sentences of death passed on Nathuram Godse and the life sentences on three others. Dr. Parachure and Shankar Kistayya were acquitted.

A pauper appeal for leave to appeal to the Privy Council by the convicted men was rejected by that court on October 12. On October 26, Mr. S. S. Dulat, who had succeeded Mr. Atma Charan, signed the warrants for the execution of Nathuram Godse and Apte, fixing November 15 as the date for the hanging.

PLEADERS AS ADVOCATES

Orders have been passed by the Government permitting pleaders to enrol themselves as Advocates of the High Court on payment of the prescribed fee. This is in response to requests made by the Provincial Bar Federation regarding unification of the Bar.

BOOK ON MUSLIM LAW

A book on Mohammedan Law is nearing completion in London from the pen of Miss. Kamila Tyabji, an Indian Muslim woman, still in her twenties, who has already made British legal history by appearing in sari and barrister's wig, in appeal cases before the Privy Council.

Member of a family for several generations distinguished in law in India, she has lived for nine years in Britain. She has an attractive "bachelor flat" in Balham South-West London. There she is now putting finishing touches to her book on Mohammedan Law which is to be her thesis for a doctor's degree at Oxford.

She had to learn Arabic for the purpose and evolved a system of her own to master the language. With a copy of the Holy Quran in one hand and an English translation in the other she sat down and learned the language practically word by word, picking up the rules by memorising examples—a remarkable tribute to her concentration of purpose.

NIZAM'S FUNDS IN LONDON

The British High Court has given leave for London Solicitors acting for the Nizam of Hyderabad to serve a writ for the repayment of £ 411,000 of his former Finance Minister, Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, now in New York. The writ will pass through diplomatic channels.

Nawab Moin led the Hyderabad delegation to the United Nations Assembly in Paris a year ago at the time of the "complaint" against India.

The Nizam later withdrew his "complaint" and repudiated the delegation. The money concerned is now lying in a London Bank.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF MYSORE HIGH COURT

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore has confirmed Mr. Justice P. Medapa as Chief Justice of the Mysore High Court and Mr. Justice T. N. Mallappa as Judge of the Mysore High Court, both with effect from November 18, 1949.

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PAKISTAN RUPEE SLUMPS

The non-official exchange rate between India and Pakistan, which had been fluctuating within small variations with its highest limit at 115. in spite of Pakistan's fixing the official rate at 144, has now stabilised itself at a further lower rate of 105 Indian rupees for 100 Pakistan rupees, writes the UPI City Editor at Bombay.

This development, it appears is due to a widespread belief gradually manifesting itself in influential banking circles in Bombay that Pakistan may find it difficult to maintain the present official rate for long.

Reports from Karachi that offences of buying and selling of the Pakistani rupees at rates other than those prescribed officially will be punishable with imprisonment for two years, are being regarded here as proof of Pakistan's apprehension that the people of Pakistan lack confidence in their own currency, inasmuch as the Government have been constrained to adopt the most extreme step to stop the flight of capital and conversion of the Pakistan currency into sterling.

Since Pakistan is not a member of the International Monetary Fund, India, it is pointed out, is free not to accept Pakistan's exchange rate under Section 2 of Article XI of the Fund, to which India is a signatory. Besides, this step, on the contrary, will help the Indian banks having branches in the Pakistan Dominion to transfer their funds to India to a very great extent. This will inevitably mean a profit for Indian banks in the other Dominion and loss to the latter. In view of this possible development, it may be necessary for Pakistan it is argued, to stage a *volte face* in regard to her decision on non-devaluation.

DIVIDEND ON DEFERRED SHARES

The possibility of Central legislation limiting the dividend on deferred shares to twice that on ordinary, has again thrown the future of the Tata deferred shares into the melting pot, writes the Press Trust of India Bombay correspondent.

The limit on dividend of deferred shares has been recommended in a memorandum of draft amendments to the Indian Companies Act, prepared and circulated by the Government of India's Ministry of Commerce.

The memorandum suggested that "the rate of dividend payable to deferred share-holders, shall not exceed double the rate of dividend paid to ordinary share-holders. Dividend payable to preference share-holders shall be at a fixed rate.

"The old companies shall be allowed two years' time to fall in the line with this scheme."

It would appear that the attention of some big operators on the Bombay Stock Exchange was drawn to this part of the memorandum, and, rather suddenly making up their minds that it brought the end of Tata deferreds, in sight, they started panicky selling in kerb trading, incurring huge losses.

The exact legal implications of the proposed provision in the Companies Act, particularly in its application to Tata deferred shares in view of the specific managing agency agreement, are not yet quite clear. Also the provision is merely in the stage of a proposal yet, and has to go through many stages before it becomes final. But the panic started had not subsided.

A new urgency now attaches to the scheme of conversion of Tata deferred shares into ordinary shares, which is generally regarded as necessary in the larger interests of the quities market.

WORLD BANK LOAN FOR INDIA

One million tons increased food production annually is expected in India as the result of the ten-million dollar loan recently sanctioned by the International Bank, it is learnt.

An official of the Central Ministry of Agriculture said the increased production had been planned by reclamation, during the next seven years, of a total of three million acres of weed-infested land, which had been out of cultivation for a number of years. An additional 120,000 acres of new land would also come under cultivation after reclamation.

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"WOMAN OF ACHIEVEMENT IN 1949"

Srimathi Vijayalakshmi, India's Ambassador to the United States. was among five "Women of Achievement in 1949" to whom the Women's International Exposition, assembled in New York, presented medallions of honour.

The presentations were made by the President of the U. N. General Assembly, General Carlos P. Romulo.

Srimathi Vijayalakshmi, in accepting the medallion, made a brief speech in which she said she could not lay claim to any "achievements." She had worked for causes which had for their aim the levelling down of barriers between people in the world, she said.

She thanked the Women's International Exposition for the honour done to her and paid a tribute to the 26-year work of the organisation in striving toward the attainment of world friendship and understanding.

Srimathi Vijayalakshmi, has also been awarded a scroll of honour by a Women's Graduate Association "in recognition of her contribution to the cause of liberty, freedom and peace." The citation said that she had shown "singular devotion to truth, liberty and the dignity of the human spirit." It described her as "gifted with a genius for friendship" and as the "symbol of the ideal woman of both the East and West renowned for her self-sacrifice and known as one who had inspired the emancipation of the women of India."

WOMEN IN PAKISTAN FOREIGN SERVICE

A resolution protesting against the Pakistan Government's decision to ban the entry of women in the Pakistan foreign service was unanimously adopted at an emergent meeting of the Working Committee of Anjuman Haquq-E-Niswan, Lahore.

The Government was further urged to revise its decision and provide forthwith suitable posts in foreign service for the women candidates who were declared successful in the last competitive examination.

WOMEN IN U. S. GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

About one-fifth of all U. S. Government employees are women, and 41 per cent of all U. S. postmasters are women, says an USIS message.

Women in the U. S. Foreign Service have increased greatly since the first officer was appointed in 1922, and there are about 50 women in administrative posts in the foreign offices of the U. S. Economic Co-operation Administration.

The Democratic National Committee's State and County organisation have women officers on a 50-50 basis—on equal number of men and women officers. The other major U. S. political party, the Republicans, has a separate women's organisation with a membership of 400,000.

The U. S. Federation of Women's Clubs includes units with a membership of five million in the United States and is also affiliated with similar groups in 31 other nations.

WOMAN IN SYDNEY UNIVERSITY

Miss Margaret Telfer, acting Registrar of Sydney University, is the first woman appointed to this high position in an Australian university.

She was appointed Assistant Registrar in 1947.

Miss Telfer, who holds the degree of Bachelor of Arts and Diploma of Education, first joined the University's administrative staff in 1939 as adviser to women students.

For 13 years, from 1926 until 1939, she was secretary of the Sydney University's women's Union. The Union controls Manning House, a non-residential club for women graduates.

In her 23 years' association with the University she has seen the number of women students increase from 600 in 1926 to 2,000 in 1949—a fifth of the year's total enrolments. The number of women students enrolled this year is a record for the 97-year-old University.

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A BOMBAY'S GIFT TO PANDIT NEHRU

An "embarrassed" Pandit Nehru was on his 61st birthday presented with the golden replica of the Asoka Pillar, Bombay's gift to the Prime Minister, at the Government House Bombay, by Mayor S. K. Patil.

A four foot high silver-coated Asoka pillar was also presented to him by Mr. Patil.

Suggesting that it would be better if the gifts were kept in a museum, Pandit Nehru said:

"The gift is a lovely one, but I am embarrassed because of the high cost and the weight of the gifts. I personally think that it would be a good thing to auction the gifts and ear-mark the proceeds for a public purpose. Alternately, they may be kept in a museum.

The replica weighs 235-1/4 tolas in gold and 12-1/4 tolas of platinum with 15 carrots of diamonds inlaid in it. Its height is 12-1/2 inches.

The two replicas were made out of the collections made from the Bombay public and were decided upon as the most suitable form of gifts to the Prime Minister by a thousand-man committee.

The golden replica bore the following inscription.

Born: Allahabad, 1889;

President Indian National Congress 1929, 1936, 1937 & 1946.

First Prime Minister of Free Bharat, 15th August, 1947.

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London 1948;

Historic visit to U.S.A. 1949;

Diamond Jubilee Celebrations; Bombay, 14th November, 1949.

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

The Government of India have accepted the Ceylon Government's invitation to attend the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Conference which is expected to be held in Colombo sometime early in 1950.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will make every endeavour to attend the Conference if the date suits him. It is stated that no definite decision has yet been taken on the agenda for the conference.

NOBEL PRIZE AWARD FOR JAP PROFESSOR

The Swedish Academy of Science has awarded the 1949 Nobel Prize for physics to Professor Hideki Yukawa of Japan—the first time a Japaness has won a Nobel award.

The prize amounted to 156,289,62 Swedish Kroner (30,171,74 U.S.dollars). It will be handed to Professor Yukawa at the Nobel Festival in Stockholm on December 10, which is the 53rd anniversary of the death of Alfred Nobel.

This year's Nobel prize for chemistry was awarded to Professor F. W. Giauque of Berkeley, California. This is the fifth Chemistry prize to go to America since the first Nobel prizes were distributed in 1901.

PANDIT NEHRU'S BIOGRAPHY IN POST-CARD SIZE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister was presented with an exquisite specimen of the art of miniature writing containing his own life story. The scroll, little larger in size than an ordinary post-card, contains about two lakhs of letters.

The Specimen was prepared by Mr. Anant Bhatt, a young Bombay artist.

Mr. Bhatt in 1942 wrote the life of Mahatma Gandhi in about 32,000 words on one side of a post-card.

Mr. Bhatt claims that he could write the whole of "Bhagwat Gita" in Devanagari script on one side of a post card in one day.

AMERICAN EDITOR TO VISIT INDIA

Mr. Robert R. McCormick, Editor and Publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, and one of the Directors of the New York *Daily News* is expected to visit India in January next year.

The purpose of his visit is to collect material for a series of articles for American readers with a view to fostering closer understanding between the Indian and American peoples.

It is learnt that Mr. McCormick will also visit Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma.

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Prayers, Praises and Psalms

TEXT IN SANSKRIT DEVANAGARI AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

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MAHATMAJI'S FOREWORD

Mahatma Gandhi says in his Foreword: "The collection presented in this volume does enable. . . . one like me to know how our ancestors prayed to the One Supreme Lord of the Universe and in what words they derived solace in the hour of their trial or gave praise in the hour of their so-called triumph. May this collection help the reader to dispel his unbelief or strengthen his belief."

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